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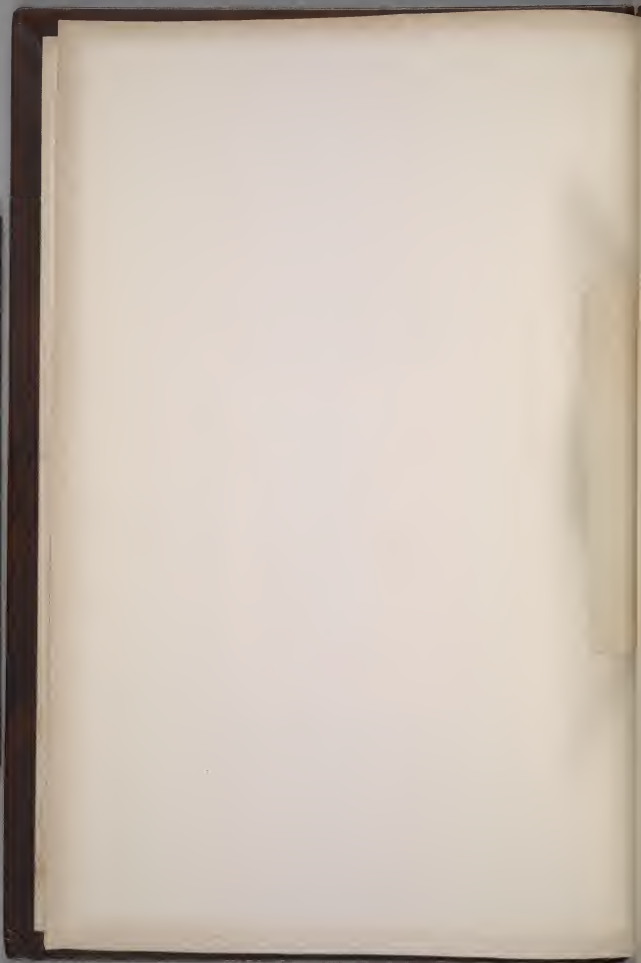
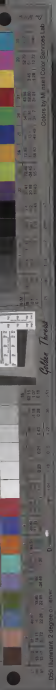
(2) + A-E4
R-3I⁶, 3K4 (the last a blank), 6A*⁶-6B*⁶,
4A-6T⁶, 6V⁴-6Y⁴,
6C*⁴, + colophon leaf
four-piece and 8 folding plates



LIBRARY
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A4





85 [Raleigh (Sir Walter)] THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, FIRST EDITION, with errors uncorrected, 2 parts in one vol., engraved allegorical title-page and 8 double-page engraved maps (one inserted from a smaller copy), device at end, margins of first few leaves repaired slightly affecting the engraved title, some damp stains, contemporary inscription at end "*Laus Deo Henry Boughton*", extensive marginal notes throughout in his hand and 2 blank pages at the end of part 1 filled with a disquisition by him headed "*Westminster Hall or our looking at Lawiers*", also signed by him (on p. 145) "*pret - 30s. ii Nov 1614*", folio, modern sheep with crimson label, William Stansby for Walter Burre, 1614

£325

Printed title-page from the 1617 edition with portrait of Raleigh inserted.

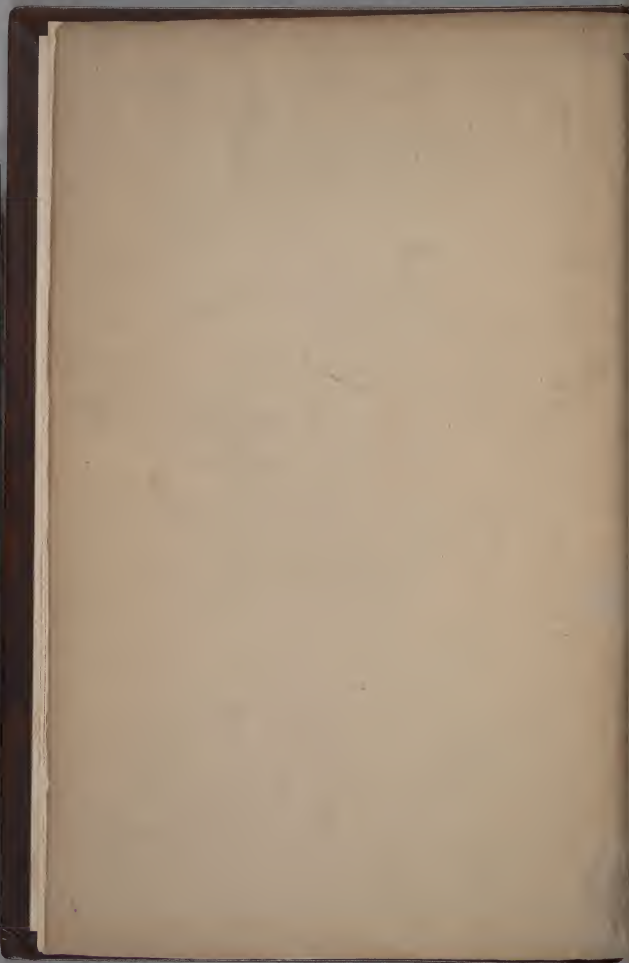
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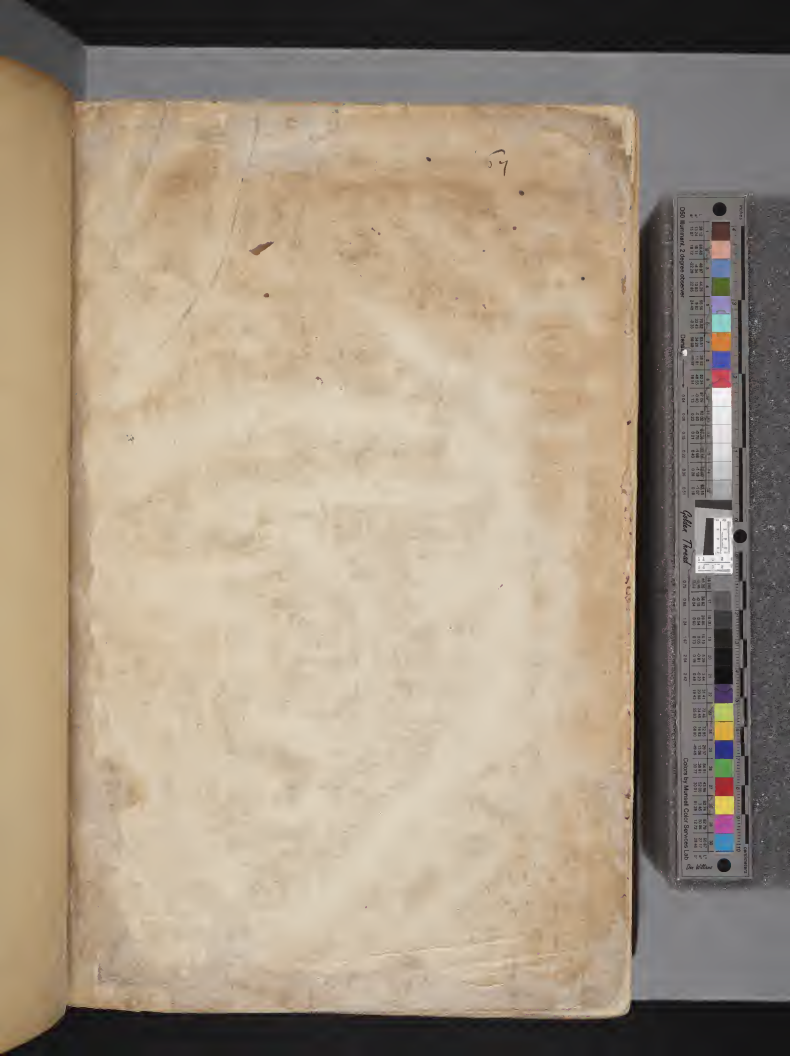




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Chas. Wordsworth
Coll. S. at Indus. Trin
apud Constantiniam
die 24th
M D C C C L X V I I I









THE MINDE OF
THE FRONT.

From Death ¹⁰³⁹⁶ and darke Obliuion (neere the same)
The Mistresse of Mans life, graue *Historie*,
Raising the VVorld to good, or Euill same, 1661
Doth vindicate it to Eternitie.

High Prouidence would so: that nor the good
Might be defrauded, nor the Great securd,
But both might know their wayes are vnderstood,
And the reward, and punishment as surd.

This makes, that lighted by the beemie hand
Of Truth, which searcheth the most hidden springs,
And guided by Experience, whose streight wand
Doth mete, whose Line doth sound the depth of things :

Shee chearefully supporteth what shee reares;
Assisted by no strengths, but are her owne,
Some note of which each varied Pillar beares,
By which as proper titles shee is knowne,

Times witnesse, Herald of Anuquitie,
The light of Truth, and life of Memorie.



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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE
CITY
OF
NEW
YORK
FROM
ITS
FIRST
SETTLEMENT
TO
THE
PRESENT
TIME
BY
JOHN
ROBERTSON
1811

THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

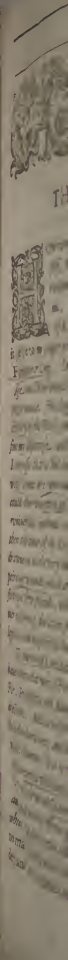
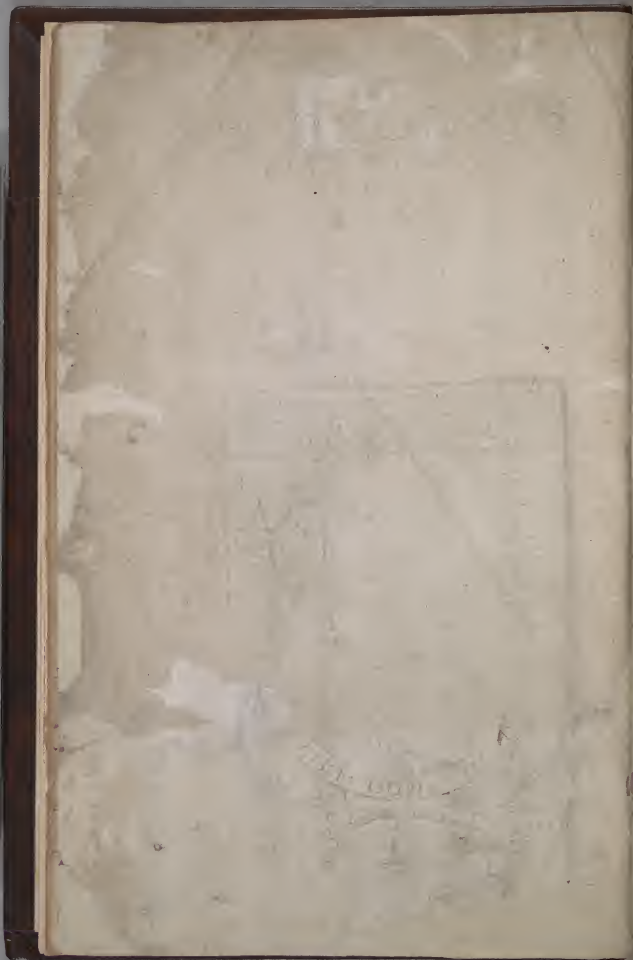
- 1 **B**etwixt the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the Creation unto Abraham.
- 2 Of the Times from the Birth of Abraham, to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.
- 3 From the destruction of Jerusalem, to the time of Philip of Macedon.
- 4 From the Reigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdom, in the Race of Antigonus.
- 5 From the settled rule of Alexanders Successors in the East, untill the Romans (prevailing over all) made Conquest of Asia and Macedon.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.



The true and
of the honorable
S^r Walter
lively portraiture
and learned Knight
Raleigh.







THE PREFACE.

HOW unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my self, to undertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reason, though exceeding weake, hath sufficiently resolved me. For had it bene begotten then with my first dawne of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it selfe to my younger yeares: and before any wound receiued, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well haue doubted, that the darknesse of Age and Death would haue couered ouer both It and mee, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation: I haue proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly purposed (some few allies excepted) to confine my discourse, within this our renowned Iland of Great Brittain. I confesse that it had better sortd with my disability, the better part of whose times are runne out in other trauailes; to haue set together (as I could) the vnioyned, and scatered frame of our English affaires, than of the vniuersall: in whome had there bene no other defect, (who am all defect) then the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawne on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost, and soulepeirceing wounds, which are eueraing while vncured, with the desire to satisfie those few friends, which I haue tried by the fire of aduersitie; the former enforcing, the latter perswading; haue caused mee to make my thoughts legible, and my selfe the Subiect of euery opinion wise or weake.

To the world I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither haue others that were, (Fortune changing) sped much better in any age. For, Prosperity and Aduersity haue euermore tied and untied vulgar affections. And as we see it in experience, That dogs doe alwaies barked at those they know not; and that it is in their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so is it with the inconsiderate multitude. Who, wanting that vertue which we call Honesty in all men, and that speciall gift of GOD which we call Charity in Christian men; condemne, without hearing, and wound, without offence giuen: led thereunto by vncertaine report only; which his Maiesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. Blame no man (saith Siracides) before thou haue inquired the matter: vnderstand first, and then reforme righteously. Rumor, res sine teste,

A

fine



The Preface.

fine iudice, maligna, fallax; Rumor is without witnesse, without iudge, malicious and decievable. This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that

Lea laria boni
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gave Sr. Augustine Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of good men, and detested that of the euill. And hereinno man hath giuen a better rule, then this of Seneca; Conscientia satisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus; sequatur vël mala, dum benè merearis. Let vs satisfie our

owne consciences, and not trouble our selues with fame: be it neuer so ill, it is to be despised so we deserue well.

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For my selfe, if I haue in any thing serued my Country, and prised it before my priuate: the generall acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time, than doth a faire sunshine day to a Sea-man after shipwrack; and the contrary no other harme than an outrageous tempest after the port attained. I know that I lost the lose of many, for my fidelity to wardes Her, whom I must still honor in the dust; though further than the defence of Her excellent person, I neuer persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it: He that is the Supream Iudge of all the world, hath taken the accompt; so as for this kind of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, benè parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that haue made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath beene begotten for them: I can neither enuy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine owne misshap in that kind; but content my selfe to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, in many particulars.

To Labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can trauaile the world without a passeport. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility, to perswade by the mouth of one Advocate, euen Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying and extensue vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giuing life which GOD hath cast vpon Slime and Dust: as that among those that were, of whom we reade and heare, and among those that are, whom we see and conuerse with; euery one hath receiued a seuerall picture of face, and euerie one a diuers picture of minde: euery one a forme apare, euery one of fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing where-in Nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found so great diuersity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many naturall and vnaturall; wise, foolish; manly, and childish affections, and passions in Mortall Men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference, of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme internall.

And though it hath pleased GOD, to reserue the Art of reading mens thoughts to himselfe: yet, as the fruit tels the name of the Tree; so doe the

out-

The Preface.

outward workes of men (so farre as their cogitations are acted) giue vs whereof to guesse at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to expresse the one by the other, very neare the life: did not craft in many, feare in the most, and the worlds loue in all, teach euery capacity, according to the compass it hath, to qualifie and maske ouer their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam recidunt, quibus veritas non subest. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeite behauiour: the thinges that are forced for pretences, hauing no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their owne natures. Neither can any man (saith Plutarch) so change himselfe, but that his heart may be sometime seene at his tongues end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable creatures, if wee direct our eyes to the Multitude; Omnis honestæ rei malus iudex est vulgus. The common people are euill Iudges of honest things, and whose iudgement (saith Ecclesiastes) is to bee despised; if to the better sort; euery vnderstanding hath a peculiar iudgment, by which it both censureth other men, and valueth it selfe. And therefore vnto mee it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my worthelesse papers torne with Rats: seeing the stouthefull Censurers of all ages, haue not spared to taxe the Reuerend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the seuerest men to themselves, with Hypocrisie; the greatest louers of Iustice, with Popularity; and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vaine-glorie. But of these nature. Eccle. 11. cures, which lie in way to finde fault, and to turne good into euill, seeing Salomon complained long since: and that the very age of the world renders it euery day after other more malicious; I must leaue the professors to their easie waies of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility. *I allow none as fast fast, as they can mend. 65*

To me it belongs in the first part of this praeface, following the common and approved custome of those who haue left the memories of time past to after ages; to giue, as neare as I can, the same right to History which they haue done. Yet seeing therein I should but borrow other mens wordes; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath bene honored; in this one it triumpheth ouer all humane knowledge, That it hath giuen vs life in our vnderstanding, since the world it selfe had life and beginning, euen to this day: yea it hath triumphed ouer time, which besides it, nothing but eternitie hath triumphed ouer: for it hath carried our knowledge ouer the vast & deuouring space of so many thousands of yeares, and giuen so faire and peircing eyes to our minde; that we plainly behold liuing now, as if we had liued then, that great World, Magni Dei sapiens opus, the wife worke (saith Hermes) of a great GOD, as it was then, when but new to it selfe. By it I say it

The Preface.

is, that we live in the very time when it was created : we behold how it was governed : how it was covered with waters, and againe repeopled : How Kings and Kingdomes haue flourished and fallen; and for what vice and deformity be made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe vnto History, that it hath made vs acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darkenesse of the earth, delivered vs their memory and fame. In a word, wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-past miseries, with our owne like errors and ill deseruings.

But it is neither of Examples the most liuely instructions, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupid mindes; as to make vs remember, That the infinite eye and wisdom of GOD doth pierce through all our pretences, as to make vs remember, That the iustice of GOD doth require none other accuser, than our owne consciences : which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formalities, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, cover from his knowledge. And so much did that Heathen wisdom confesse, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true GOD. If any (saith Eurypides) hauing in his life committed wickednesse, thinke he can hide it from the euertlasting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GODS iudgements in particular, vpon those of all degrees, which haue plaied with his mercies; would require a volume apart : for the Sea of examples hath no bottome. The markes, set on priuate men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that liued with them : so as they who succeed, and haue not seene the fall of others, doe not feare their owne faults. GODS iudgements vpon the greater and greatest, haue bene left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who haue gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkable in the world. Now to poynt farre off, and to speake of the conuersion of Angells in a Devils, for Ambition : Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who haue gnawne the grasse of the earth with beasts, for pride and ingratitude towards GOD : Or of that wise working of Pharao, when he slue the Infants of Israel, ere they had recovered their Cradles : Or of the policy of Iezabel, in couering the Murder of Naboth by a triall of the Elders, according to the Law : with many thousands of the like : what were it other, than to make an hopelesse prooffe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farre-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not obserued, what labour, practise, perill, bloodshed, and cruelty

The Preface.

cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world haue undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make them-selves and their issues maisters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the rest, no fruit, flower, grasse, nor lease, springing vpon the face of the Earth, of those seedes: No; their very roots and ruines doe hardly remaine. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum euertuntur, vel stando & durando deficient: All that the hand of man can make, is either ouerturned by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diuersly giuen by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdomes and States haue fallen (say the Politicians) by outward and forraigne force, or by inward negligence and dissension, or by a third cause arising from both: Others observe, That the greatest haue sunck downe vnder their owne weight; of which Liuius hath a touch: eo creuit, vt magnitudine laboret sua: Others, That the diuine providence (which Craippus obiected to Pompey) hath set downe the date and period of euery estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will giue my selfe a day ouer to reioice.

For seeing the first bookes of the following story, haue undertaken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface, to trauiell after and ouer-take far-off Antiquity, and to iudge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath bene gathered by our owne Kings, and their Neighbour Princes: who hauing beheld, both in diuine and humane letters, the successe of infidelitie, iniustice, and crueltye; haue (notwithstanding) planted after the same patternes.

True it is that the iudgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred vpp a-like with examples of like nature: But euery one is touched most, with that which most neerely seemeth to touch his owne priuate; Or otherwise best sueth with his apprehension. But the iudgements of GOD are for euermchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long processe of time, and wou to giue his blessing in one age, to that which he hath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will bee able to discern the bitter fruites of irreligious policie, as well among those examples that are found in ages removed farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no lesse appeare by euident proofe, than by asseueration, That ill doing hath alwayes bene attended with ill successe; I will here, by way of preface, runne ouer some examples, which the worke ensuing hath not reached.

Old 293.
44. 443.
23. 479. 739.
John 7. 13.

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The Preface.

2b Among our Kings of the Norman race, we haue no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods iustice, upon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force, craft, and crueltie, hee had dispossest, ouer-reacht, and lastly made blind and destroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne sonnes Lords of this Land: GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Nieces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with a boue a hundred and fiftie others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearly beloued.

14 1038 22 That after the Murder of that King, the issue of bloud then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did againe breake out; and that so often, and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young yeares of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more then suspitious; yet in that hee afterwards caused his owne Vncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whome the Earle as then supposed to beeliue; (the King making that to be treason in his Vncle, which was indeed treason in him-selfe, had his Vncles intelligence beene true) this I say made it manifest, that hee was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to haue had it otherwise; though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

0.340 23 This cruelly the secret and vnsearchable iudgement of GOD reuenged, on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and so it fell out, even to the last of that Line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried vnder the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent bloud. For Richard the second, who saw, both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with diuers others of his Counsaillours, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet hee alwaies tooke him-selfe for ouer-wise, to bee taught by examples. The Earles of Huntington and Kent, Montague and Spencer, who thought them-selues as great politicians in those daies, as others haue done in these; hoping to please the King, and to secure them-selues, by the Murder of Gloucester, died soone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farre more shamefully then did that Duke. And as for the King him-selfe (who in regard of many decedes, unworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot bee excused, as the disauowing him-selfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons, and Parents) He was in the Prime of his youth deposed; and murdered by his Cosen-germane and-cousin, Henry of Lancaster; afterwards Henry the fourth.

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The Preface.

This King, whose Title was weake, and his obtaining the Crowne traitorous: who brake Faith with the Lordes at his landing, protesting to intend only the recouerie of his proper Inheritance; brake faith with Richard himselfe; and brake Faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom he swore that the deposed King should liue. After that he had enioyed this Realme some few yeares, and in that time had beene set vpon on all sides by his Subiects, and neuer free from conspiracies and rebellions: he saw (if Soules immortall see and discerne any thinges after the bodies death) his Grand-childe Henrie the sixt, and his Sonne the Prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crowne (for which he had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race; and by the Issues of his Enemies worne and enioyed: Enemies, whom by his owne practise hee supposed, that he had left no lesse powerlesse, than the succession of the Kingdome questionlesse; by entailing the same vpon his owne Issues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reason could haue iudged no otherwise, but that these cautious prouisions of the Father, seconded by the valour and signall victories of his Sonne Henry the sixt, had buried the hopes of euery Competitor, vnder the despair of al reconquest and recouery. I say, that humane reason might so haue iudged: were not this passage of Calaubon also true; Dies, hora, momentum, euertendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundata; A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that seemed to haue beene founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henrie the sixt, vpon whom the great storme of his Grand-fathers greuous fautes fell, as it formerly had done vpon Richard the Grand-childe of Edward: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince; yet as he refused the daughter of Armaignac, of the House of Nauarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom hee was affianced (by which match hee might haue defended his Inheritance in France) and married the Daughter of Aniou, (by which he lost all that hee had in France) so as in condescending to the unworthy death of his Vnckle of Gloucester, the maine and strong pillar of the house of Lancaster; He drew on himselfe and this kingdome the greatest ioynt-losse & dishonor, that euer it sustained since the Norman Conquest. Of whom it may truly be said, which a Counsellor of his owne spake of Henrie the Third of France, Qu'il estoit vn fort gentil Prince; mais son reigne est aduenu en vn fort mauuois temps, That he was a very gentle Prince; but his reign happened in a very vnfortunate season.

It is true, that Buckingham and Suffolke were the practisers and contriuers of the Dukes death: Buckingham and Suffolke, because the Duke gave instructions to their authority, which otherwise vnder the Queen had bin absolute; the Queene, in respect of her personall wound, spretæque in iuria formæ;

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a good man
not a good fit



The Preface.

forma, because Gloucester dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the successe to the Counsaile. For after the cutting downe of Gloucester, Yorke grew vp so fast, as hee dared to dispute his right, both by arguments and armes; in which quarrell, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolued. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke; yet his sonne the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, despoyled Henry the Father, and Edward, the sonne, both of their liues and Kingdomes. And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queene, other then this, That shee liued to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that she liued to looke on, while her Husband the King, and her onely sonne the Prince, were heuen in sunder; while the Crowne was set on his head that did it. Shee liued to see her selfe despoiled of her Estate, and of her moueables: and lastly, her Father, by rendring vp to the Crowne of France the Earledome of Prouence and other places, for the payment of Fifty thousand crownes for her ransome, to become a starke beggar. And this was the end of that subtritie, which Siracides calleth fine, but vnrighteous: for other fruit hath it neuer yielded since the world was.

And now came it to Edward the fourths turne (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of Lancaster were rooted vpp; One onely Earle of Richmond excepted: whome also hee had once bought of the Duke of Britaine, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward such a plantation, as could any way promise it selfe stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter, which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence: of which tragical Actors, there was not one that escaped the iudgement of GOD in the same kinde. And He, which (besides the execution of his brother of Clarence, for none other offence then hee him-selfe had formed in his owne imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the sixth, his predecessour; taught him also by the same Art to kill his owne sonnes and Successors Edward and Richard. For those Kings, which haue sold the blood of others at a low rate; haue but made the Market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To Edward the fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Maister in mischeife of all that fore-went him: who although, for the necessity of his Tragedie, hee had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, then all the rest; yet hee so well fitted euery affection that playd with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne interest. For he wrought so cunningly vpon the affections of Hastings, and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred: as hee easily

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easily allured them to condescend, that Riuet and Grey, the Kings Maternal Uncle and his brother, should (for the first) bee seuered from him: secondly, bee wrought their consent to haue them imprisoned, and lastly (for the avoyding of future inconuenience) to haue their heads seuered from their bodies. And hauing now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercise that common precept, which the Deuill hath written on euery pass, namely, To depreesse those whom they had grieued, and to destroy those whom they had deprest; Hee urged that argument so farre and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the yong king himselfe, and of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For hee caused it to be hammered into Buckinghams head, That, whensoever the king, or his brother, should haue aboue yeares to exercise their power; they would take a most seuerer revenge of that curelesse wrong, offered to their vncle and brother, Riuet and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters sonnes was without suspect; and yet the Diuell, who neuer dissuades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so hee did. But when hee found by Catesby, who sounded him, that he was not for dable; He first refused to kill him sitting in councell: wherein hauing fayled with his sword; He set the Hangman vpon him with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could moue his appetite; He caused his head to be stricken off, before hee ate his dinner. A greater iudgement of GOD, than this vpon Hastings, I haue neuer obserued in any storie. For the selfe same day that the Earle Riuet, Grey, and others, were (without triall of Law, or offence giuen) by Hastings aduice executed at Pomfret: I say Hastings himselfe in the same daie, and (as I take it) in the same house, in the same law lesse manner had his head stricken off in the Tower of London. But Buckingham liued a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king. And hauing receiued the Earldome of Hereford for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely sonne, after many grievous vexations of minde, and vnforsunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and deliuered up by his trustiest seruant; He had his head seuered from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peeres. And what success had Richard himselfe after all these mischieses and Murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion: and after such time, as with a most mercilesse hand hee had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords; orther than the prosperity of so short a life, as it tooke end, ere himselfe could well looke ouer and discern it: the great outcrie of innocent blood, obtraying at GODS hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonor, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruell King, Henry the seauenth off and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of GODS iustice. A politicke Prince hee was

Sceleris sceleribus tuenda
Ten de dem.



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if euer there were any, and who by the ingine of his wisdom, beat downe and ouerturned as many strong oppositions both before and after hee were the crowne as euer King of England did: I say by his wisdom, because as he euer left the raines of his affections in the hands of his profit, so he alwaies wayed his vndertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. Hee had well obserued the proceedings of Loys the eleuenth, whome hee followed in all that was royall or royal-like, but hee was farremore iust, and began not their processs whome hee hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

Hee could neuer indure any mediation in rewarding his seruants, and therein exceeding wise, for what so euer him-selfe gaue, hee him-selfe receiued backe the thanks and the love, knowing it well that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so reddely as by benefitts) were traynes that better became great Kings, than great subiects. On the contrary, in what so euer hee greented his subiects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. How-so-euer, the taking off, of Stanles head, who set the Crowne on his, and the death of the young Earle of Warwick, sonne to George D. of Clarence, shewes, as the successe also did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his Ancesters, for his possession in the first line ended in his grand children, as that of Edward the third and Henry the fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eight: if all the pictures and Patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many seruants did hee aduance in hast (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gaue hee abundant flowres from whence to gather hony, and in the end of Haruest burnt them in the Hine? How many wiues did hee cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the bloud (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whome our common Chronicles haue kept the accompt) did he execute? Yea, in his very dearth-bed, and when he was at the point to haue given his accompt to GOD for the abundance of bloud already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolk the Father, and executed the Earle of Surrey the sonne; the one, whose desertings he knew not how to value, hauing neuer omitted any thing that concerned his owne honour, and the Kings seruice; the other, neuer having committed any thing worthy of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and aduised; the other, no lesse valiant than learned; and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which hee heaped vpon the Fatherlesse, and widowes at home: and besides the ruaine enterprises abroade, wherein it is thought that hee consumed more Treasure, than all our victorious Kings

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Kings did in their severall Conquests : what causelesse and cruell warres did he make vpon his owne Nephew King James the first? What Lawes and Wills did he devise, to establish this Kingdome in his owne issues? vsing his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut downe those branches, which sprang from the same roote that him-selfe did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious prouisions) it pleased GOD to take away all his owne, without increase; though, for themselves in their severall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these wordes of Samuel to Agag King of the Amalekites, haue beene verified vpon many others: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse: so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women. And that blood, which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen vpon in the North, GOD hath diffused by the sunshine of his grace: from whence His Maiesty now living, and long to liue, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if all the malice of the world were infused into one eie: yet could it not discern in His life, euen to this daie, any one of those foule spots, by which the Consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) haue beene defiled; nor any droppe of that innocent blood on the sword of his iustice, with which the most that fore-went him, haue slayned both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of England; it may truly be avowed, That he hath received it euen from the hand of GOD, and hath stayed the time of putting it on, howsoever he were prouoked to hasten it: That Hee neuer tooke reuenge of any man, that sought to put him beside it: That Hee refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as euer Prince did, That His Maiesty entred not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right set open; and into which, by a generall loue and Obedience, Hee was received. And howsoever His Maiesties preceding title to this Kingdome, was preferred by many Princes (witness the Treaty at Cambray in the yeare, 1559) yet hee neuer pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady, his Pradecessor; no, notwithstanding the iniury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long reigne.

Neither ought wee to forget, or neglect our thankfulnessse to GOD for the uniting of the Northern parts of Brittain to the South, to wit of Scotland to England, which though they were euered but by small brookes and banks, yet by reason of the long continued warre, and the cruelties exercised vpon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely severed. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings which His Maiesty hath brought with him vnto this Land: No, put all our petty grieuances together and heape them vp to their height, they will appeare but as a Mole-hill, compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Historians since

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I acknowledge the uniting of the Red-Rose, and the White, as
the greatest happiness, (Christian Religion excepted) that ever this King-
dom received from GOD; certainly the peace betwix the two Lyons
of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the
former; for by it, besides the sparing of our britisb blood, heretofore and du-
ring the difference so often & abundantly shed, the state of England is more
assured, the Kingdom more enabled to recover her antient honor and rights,
and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, po-
licies and conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But
had the Duke of Parma in the yeare 1588, ioyned the army which hee com-
manded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; and had his
Majesty at the same time declared himselfe against us in the north: it is eafie
to divine what had become of the liberty of England, certainly we would
then without murmur haue bought this union at a farre greater price than it
hath since cost us.

It is true, that there was neuer any Common-wealth or Kingdome in the
world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the world and
not about it. They are not infinite to examine every mans cause, or to re-
lieue every mans wants. And yet, in the latter, (though to his owne preiudice)
His Majesty hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than
of his owne Coffers. Of whome it may be said, as of Salomon; Dedit Deus
Salomoni latitudinem Cordis: Which if other men doe not understand
with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitude of knowledge;
yet may it bee better spoken of His Majesty, than of any King that ever
England had; who as well in Diuine, as Humane understanding, hath
exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

I could say much more of the Kings Majesty, without flatterie: did I
not feare the imputation of presumption, and withall suspect, that it might
befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pic-
tures of Queene Elizabeth, made by vnskilfull and common Painters;
which by her owne Commandement, were knockt in peece and cast into the
fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the beauty of the externall: and weeke
writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leane to poste-
rity, of well-formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most perfect and
Princely mindes, a most defective representation. It may suffice, and there
needes no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruell and
turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Prin-
ces (of whome for that purpose I haue inserted this breife discou[er]se) with
His Majesties temperate, reuengelesse, and liberall disposition: I say, that
if the honest Reader weigh them iustly, and with an euen hand: and withall,
but bestow every deformed child on his true Parent; He shall finde, that there
is no man which hath so iust cause to complaine, as the King him selfe hath.

Now

Pineda
in Sal. 1. 12. 4.

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Now as we haue told the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we finde, that G.O.D. is euery where the same G.O.D. And as it pleased him to punish the usurpation, and vnnaturall cruelty of Henry the first, and of our third Edward, in their Children for many generations: so dealt He with the sonnes of Loys Debonaire, the sonne of Charles the great, or Charlemain. For after such time as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eyes of Bernard his Nephew, the sonne of Pepin, the eldest sonne of Charlemain, and heire of the Empire, and then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Robert his elder brother: there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poysonings, imprisonments, and ciuill warre: till the wolerace of that famous Emperour was extinguished.

And though Debonaire, after he had rid himselfe of his Nephew by a violent death; and of his Bastard Brothers by a ciuill death (hauing inclosed them with sure gard, all the daies of their liues, within a Mon (strer) held him selfe secure from all opposition: Yet G.O.D. raised up against him (which hee suspected not) his owne sonnes, to reuenge him, to inuade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his owne sonnes, with whome (to satisfy their ambition) hee had shared his estate, and giuen them Crownes to weare, and Kingdomes to gouerne, during his owne life. Teas his eldest sonne Lothaire (for hee had foure, three by his first wife, and one by his second; to witt, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles) made it the cause of his deposition, That he had vsed violence towards his Brothers and Kinsmen, and that he had suffered his Nephew (whome hee might haue deliuered) to be slaine, eo quod, saith the Text, fratricibus et propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permiserit. Because hee vsed violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffered his Nephew to be slaine whom he might haue deliuered.

Yet did hee that which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his crueltie. For among many other things, which hee performed in the Generall Assemblie of the States, it followes, Post hac autem palam se erratico confellus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosij exemplum, penitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quae in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat. After this hee did openly confesse him selfe to haue erred, and following the example of the Emperour Theodosius: hee vnderwent voluntary penance as, well for his other offences, as for that which hee had done against Bernard his owne Nephew.

787 This hee did: and it was praise-worthie. But the blood that is vniustly spilt, is not againe gathered vp from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead; haue but dead rewards.

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This King, as I haue said, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire his eldest he gave the Kingdome of Italy; as Charlemain, his Father, had done to Pepin the Father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin the second sonne he gave the Kingdome of Aquitaine: to Loys, the Kingdome of Bauier: and to Charles, whome hee had by a second wife, called Iudith, the remainder of the Kingdome of France. But this second wife, being a Mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded Debonaire to cast his sonne Pepin out of Aquitaine; thereby to greaten Charles: which, after the death of his sonne Pepin, he prosecuted to effect, against his Grandchild, bearing the same name. In the meane while, being invaded by his sonne Loys of Bauier, he dies for greife.

Debonaire dead: Loys of Bauier, and Charles afterwards called the bald, and their Nephew Pepin of Aquitaine, ioyne in league against the Emperour Lothaire their eldest Brother. They fight neare to Auxerre the most bloody battaile that euer was stroken in France: in which, the maruelous losse of Nobility, and men of warre, gave courage to the Saracens to invade Italie; to the Hunnes, to fall vpon Almaine; and the Danes, to enter vpon Normandy. Charles the Bald by treason seizeth vpon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyster, Carloman rebells against his Father Charles the Bald, the Father burnes out the eies of his sonne Carloman; Bauire invades the Emperour Lothaire his Brother, Lothaire quits the Empire, Hee is assailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conscience, for his rebellion against his Father and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monestarie. Charles the Bald the Vncle oppresseth his Nephewes the Sonnes of Lothaire, hee usurpeth the Empire to the preiudice of Loys of Bauire his elder Brother, Bauiers armies and his sonne Carloman are beaten, hee dies of greife, and the Vsurper Charles is poisoned by Zedechias a Iew his Physitian, his sonne Loys le Beque dies of the same drinke. Beque had Charles the simple, and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman; they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breaks his Neck, the younger is slaine by a wild Bore; the sonne of Bauiere had the same ill destiny and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in sportng with his companions. Charles the groile becomes Lord of all that the sonnes of Debonaire held in Germanie, wherewith not contented, hee invades Charles the simple, but being forsaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his vnderstanding, hee dies a distracted begger. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes; and lastly being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to die in the prison of Peron: Loys the sonne of Charles the simple breaks his Neck in Chasing a Wolfe, and of the two sonnes of this Loys, the one dies of poyson, the other dies in the prison of Orleans, after whome Hugh Capet, of another race, and a stranger to the French, makes him selfe King.

These

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These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire: who after hee had once apparelled iniustice with authority, his sonnes and successors tooke up the fashion; and wore that Garment so long without other prouision, as when the same was torne from their shoulers, euery man despised them as miserable and naked beggers. The wretched successe they had, (saith a learned French-man) *leswes*, qu'en ceste mort il y auoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la iustice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit of Bernard the sonne of Pepin, the true heire of Charlemaine, men had more meddling, than either GOD, or Iustice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certaine that Francis the first, One of the worthiest Kings (except for that fact) that euer the French-men had, did neuer enioy him-selfe; after hee had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol and Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Prouence, which poore people were there-upon burnt, and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true, that the said King Francis repented him-selfe of the fact, and gave charge to Henry his sonne, to doe iustice vpon the Murderers; threatening his sonne with GODS iudgments; if he neglected it. But this vnreasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry him-selfe was slaine in sport by Montgomerie; we all may remember what became of his foure sonnes, Francis Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: Yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty, and breach of faith; with all their Massacres, vpon those of the religion, and great effusion of blood; the Crowne was set on his head, whome they all laboured to dissolue; the Protestants remaine more in number than euer they were; and hold to this day more strong citties than euer they had.

Let vs now see if GOD be not the same GOD in Spaine, as in England and France. Towards whome we wil looke no further backe than to Don Pedro of Castile: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicil, our Richard the third, and the great Euan Vasilowich of Moscouia, were but pettie ones: this Castilian, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, hauing beene the most mercilesse. For besides those of his owne blood and Nobility which hee caused to be slaine in his owne Court and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis the great Maister of Calatraua, Ruis Gonfales, Alphonso Tello, and Don Iohn of Arragon, whome he cutt in peeces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian buriall: If ay besides these, and the slaughter of Gomes Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great commander of Castile; Hee made away the two Infants of Arragon his Cousen-germans, his brother Don Frederick, Don Iohn de la Cerde, Albuquerques, Nuges de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo,

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de Toledo, Gutterie his great Tresurer, and all his Kinred; and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whome after hee had kept in close prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived sixteene yeares, and the other, foure: ent; hee murdered them there. Nay hee spared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly as he caused the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Deane, to be killed of purpose to enioy their treasures: so did he put to death Mahomer Aben Alhamar King of Barbatic, with seauen and thirty of his Nobilitie; that came vnto him for succour, with a great summe of money, to leuy (by his fauour) some companies of souldiers to returne withall: Tea he would needs assist the Hangm, in with his wne hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Urban declared him an enemy both to GOD and Mm. But what was his end? Having bene formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster: He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of Astramara, who dispossessed all his Children of their inheritance; which, but for the Farkers iniustice and cruelty, had neuer bene in danger of any such thing.

If wee can parallell any man with this King, it must be Duk: Iohn of Bur. oigne: who, after his traitorous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancelour of France, the Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reuerend Church-men the Earle of gran Prè Heñor of Chartres, and (in effect) all the Officers of iustice, of the Chamber of Accomptes, Treasurie, and Request, (with sixteene hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while hee hoped to gouerne, and to haue mastered France: Hee was soone after stricken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slaine. These were the Louers of other mens miseries: and miserie found them out.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, which lived both with Henry the seventh, Henry the eighth, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon was the first: and the first that layd the foundation of the present Austrian greatnesse. For this King did not content him selfe to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten therevpon the Kingdome of Castile and Leon, which Isabel his wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her own Neece the Daughter of the last Henry: but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of Nauarre; and, contrarie to faith, and the promise that hee made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted thereof, as there was no means left for any army to invade it. This King I say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick

Kings

*Spirit of Austria.
Hastinard*

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Kings of Naples, Princes of his owne blood, and by double alliance tied vnto him; sold them to the French; and with the same Army, sent for their succour vnder Gonsaluo, cast them out; and shaued their Kingdome with the French, whome afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wise and politique King, who sold Heaven and his owne Honour, to make his sonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greatest Monarch of the world: saw him die in the flower of his yeares; and his wife great with child, with her vttermost birth, at once and together buried. His eldest daughter married vnto Don Alphonso Prince of Portugall, beheld her first husband breake his neck in her presence, and being with child by her second, died with it. A iust iudgement of GOD vpon the race of Iohn, father to Alphonso, now wholly extinguished: who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slaine, with his owne hand, the sonne and onely consort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Duchesse of Vico. The second Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned foole; and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eighth, hee saw cast off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; and the mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeale shed a world of innocent blood; lost Callice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude: all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand haue maisters of a new name; and, by a strange familie are governed and possesst.

Charles the fifth, sonne to the Arch-duke Philip, in whose vaine enterprises vpon the French, vpon the Almanes, and other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian souldiers, and renowned Captaines, were consumed: who gaue the while a most perilous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes, the Key of Christendome, to be taken; was in conclusion chased out of France, and in a sort out of Germany; and left to the French, Metz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire; stole away from Insprug; and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice; hauing hoped to swallow vp all those dominions, wherein hee consocted nothing saue his owne disgraces. And hauing, after the slaughter of so many Millions of men, no one foot of ground in either: Hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the yeare to his sonne Philip; from whom he very slowly received his meane and ordinary maintenance.

His Sonne againe King Philip the second, not satisfied to hold Holland and Zeland (wrested by his Ancestors from Iaqueline their lawfull Princess) and to possesse in peace manie other Provinces of the Netherlands: perswaded by that mischeuous Cardinal of Granule, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable seruices, done to his Father the Emperour by the Nobility of those countries; nor

Spain

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Hills: of the
Netherlands.

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only forgot the present, made him upon his entrie, of forty millions of
Florens, called the Nouale aide; nor only forgot, that hee had twice most
solemnly sworne to the Generall states, to maintaine and preserve their au-
cient rights, priuiledges, and customes, which they had enioyed vnder their
thirty and five Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of those Prouin-
ces: but beginning first to constraime them, and enbrall them by the Spanish
Inquisition, and then to impoverish them by many new deuised and intol-
erable Impositions; He lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to
make him-selfe not onely an absolute Monarch ouer them, like vnto the
Kings and Soueraignes of England and France; but Turke-like, to tread
vnder his feete all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, priuiledges, and
ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the Pope
a dispensation of his former Oathes (which dispensation was the true
cause of all the warre and bloodshed since then) and after he had tried what
hee could performe, by diuiding of their owne Nobility, vnder the govern-
ment of his base sister Margaret of Austria, and the Cardinal Granuile,
Hee employed that most mercilesse Spaniard Don Ferdinand Aluarez of
Toledo Duke of Alua, followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations:
by whom he first slaughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont,
Prince of Gaucare; and Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made
away Montigue, and the Marquis of Bergues; and cut off in those sixe
yeares (that Alua gouerned) of Gentlemen and others, eightene thousand
and sixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbar-
ous murders and massacres. By whose ministry when he could not yet
bring his affaires to their wished endes, hauing it in his hope to worke that
by subtilty, which he had failed to performe by force: Hee sent for govern-
our his bastard brother Don Iohn of Austria; a Prince of great hope, and
very gracious to those people. But hee, vsing the same papall aduantage
that his predecessors had done: made no scruple to take Oath vpon the Holy
Euangelists, to obserue the treaty made with the generall states; and to
discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, and other strangers, there-
in garrisoned. Towards whose Pay and Passport, the Netherlands strai-
ned them-selves to make payment of sixe hundred thousand pounds. Which
monies receiued, He suddenly surpris'd the Citadels of Antwerp and Ne-
meures: not doubting (being vn suspected by the States) to haue posses-
him-selfe of all the maistring places of those Prouinces. For whatsoeuer
hee ouerly pretended: Hee held in secret a contrary counsell with the Secre-
tarie Escouedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others; Ministers of the
Spanish tyranny; formerly practised, and now againe intended. But
let vs now see the effect and end of this periuie, and of all other the
Dukes cruelties. First for him-selfe; after hee had murdered so many of
the Nobilitie; executed (as aforesaid) eightene thousand sixe hundred
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in sixe yeares; and most cruelly slaine Man, Woman, and Childe, in Mecklin, Zutphen, Naerden, and other places: and after hee had consumed fixe and thirtie millions of treasure in sixe yeares: notwithstanding his Spanisb want, That hee would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrells, and milke-tubbs: Hee departed the country no other wise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation; leaving his Masters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than hee found them at his first arrivall. For Don Iohn, whose haughty conceits of him selfe over-came the greatest difficulties; though his indgement were over-weake to manage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers ieaousie and distrust; with the untimely death that seized him, even in the flowre of his youth. And for Escouedo his sharpe-witted Secretarie, who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Maister both England and the Netherlands; being sent into Spaine upon some new project, He was at the first arrivall, and before any access to the King, by certaine Russians appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his owne lodging. Lastly, if wee consider the King of Spaines carriage, his counsaile, and successe in this businesse; there is nothing left to the memorie of man more remarkable. For hee hath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above foure hundred thousand Christians, for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gave place to none; and for revenue, did equall his West Indies: for the losse of a Nation, which most willingly obeyed him; and who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in despite of all his forces become free Estates, and farre more rich and powerfull, than they were, when hee first began to impouerish and oppresse them.

Ob by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poisoninges and under what reasons of State, and politique subtiltie, have these forenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon themselves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent ministers! and in the end have brought those things to passe for their enemies, and seene an effect so directly contrary to all their owne counsailes and cruelties; as the one could neuer have hoped for themselves; and the other neuer have succeeded: if no such opposition had ever bene made. GOD hath said it and performed it ever: Perdam sapientiam sapientum, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; and the children of the present time, will still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for ever, or at least we hope, that there is nothing after them to bee hoped for.

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For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our selues; or preiudge our selues, that GOD hath giuen vs letters patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a non obstante: so wee neither looke behind vs what hath beene, nor before vs what shall bee. It is true, that the quantitie which wee haue, is of the body: wee are by it ioyned to the earth: we are compounded of earth; and wee inhabit it. The Heauens are high, farr off and vnsearchable: wee haue sense and feeling of corporal things; and of eternall grace, but by reuelation. No meruaile then that our thoughts are also earthly: and it is lesse to bee wondered at, that the words of worthless men cannot cleanse them; seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose vnderstanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, haue not performed it. For as the Prophet Esai cryed out long agoe, Lord, who hath beleueed our reports? And out of doubt, as Esai complained then for him selfe and others: so are they lesse beleueed, euery day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, bee in euery mans mouth, yea in the discourse of euery woman, who for the greatest number are but Idolls of vanitie: what is it other than an vniuersall dissimulation? Wee professe that wee know GOD: but by wordes we deny him. For Beatitudo doth not consist in the knowledge of diuine things, but in a diuine life: for the *Deuilli* know them better than men. *Beatitudo non est diuinorum cognitio, sed vita diuina.* And certainly there is nothing more to bee admired, and more to bee lamented, than the priuat contention, the passionate dispute, the personall hatred, and the perpetuall warre, massacres, and murders, for Religion among Christians: the discourse whereof hath so occupied the World, as it hath well neare driuen the practise thereof out of the world. Who would not soone resolue, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their liues which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heauen; and that the World it selfe were but vsed as it ought, and as an Inne or place, wherein to repose our selues in passing on towards our celestiall habitation: when on the contrary, besides the discourse of outward profession, the soule hath nothing but hypocrisie. Wee are all (in effect) become Comedians in religion: and while we act in gesture and voice, diuine vertues, in all the course of our liues wee renounce our Persons, and the parts wee play. For *Charitie*, *Iustice*, and *Truth*, haue but their being in termes, like the Philosophers *Materia prima*.

Neither is it that wisdom, which Salomon defineth to be the Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God, that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we giue it our good word, but the same which is altogether exercised in the seruice of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it.

These

Paulista Titus
Ch. 1. vs. 10.

from
wells

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Fortune from the Man; a base groome beates the one, and a bitter contempt spurnes at the other, with equall libertie.

The second, is the greating of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whome wee leaue behind vs. Certainly, of those which conceive that their soules departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them, which Lactantius spake of certaine Heathen Philosophers, quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. For when our spirits immortall shalbe once seporate from our mortall bodies, and disposed by GOD: there remaineth in them no other ioy of their posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other sorrow for their pueritie, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth vp a Beggars cottage.

Latit. de falsif.
sq. 3. et 39.

S. Aug. de cura
pro mort.

Job. 1. 14. & 15.

Eccl. 9. 5. & 10. 3.

Ques. 63. 16.

Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt viui etiam eorum filij quia animarum mortuorum rebus viuientium non intersunt: The dead though holy, know nothing of the liuing, nor, not of their owne children: for the foules of those departed, are not conuerfant with their affaires that remaine. And if wee doubt of Saint Augustine, wee cannot of Iob; who tells vs, That wee know not if our sonnes shalbe honorable: neither shall wee vnderstand concerning them, whether they shalbe of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also consermeth: Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth him-himselfe in vaine: hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The liuing (saith hee) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all. for who can shew vnto man, what shalbe after him vnder the Sunne? Hee therefore accompted it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and trauaile in the world; not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wise man should enioy the fruits thereof: which made mee (saith hee) endeaour euen to abhorre mine owne labour. And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death GOD hath reserved? mans knowledge lying but in his hope; seeing the Prophet Esai confesseth of the elect, That Abraham is ignorant of vs, and Israel knowes vs not. But hereof wee are assured, that the long and darke night of death: (of whose following day we shall neuer behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed ouer it) shall couer vs ouer, till the world bee no more. After which, and when wee shall againe receiue Organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of Angelicall affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the blessed bee exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or lesse ioy nor any returne of forgoone and mortall affection, towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whome whether wee shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them: no man can assure vs; and the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary; If a diuine life retain any of those faculties, which the soule exercised in a mortall body; wee shall not at that time so diuide the ioyes of Heauen, as to cast any part thereof on the memory

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of their felicities which remaine in the World. No; but their estates greater than ever the World gave, wee shall (by the difference knowne unto us) even detest their consideration. And whatsoever comfort shall remaine of all forepast, the same will consist in the charitie, which we exercised living; and in that Pietie, Justice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of GOD to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unnecessary and ruaine? certainlie no. For that infinite wisdom of GOD, which hath distinguished his Angels by degrees: which hath given greater and lesse light, and beautie, to Heavenly bodies: which hath made differences betwene beasts and birds: created the Eagle and the flie, the Cedar and the Shrub: and among stones, given the fairest tincture to the Rubie, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Iudges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posteritie, for a marke and ensigne of the vertue and understanding of their Ancestors: so, seeing Siracides preferreth Death before Beggerie: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall under the miserable succour of other mens pittie; I accompt it foolishly base to condemne such a care: Provided, that worldly goods bee well gotten, and that wee raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For as Plato doth first preferre the perfection of bodilie health; secondly, the forme and beautie; and thirdly, Divinitas nulla fraude quæritas: so Hieremie cries, Woe vnto them that erect their houses by vnrighteousnesse, and their chambers without equitie: and Esai the same, Woeto those that spoyle and were not spoyled. And it was out of the true wisdom of Salomon, that hee commandeth us, not to drinke the wine of violence; not to lie in wait for bloud; and not to swallow them vp alive, whose riches wee couet: for such are the wages (saith hee) of euery one that is greedy of gaine.

And if wee could afford our selues but so much leisure as to consider, That hee which hath most in the world, hath in respect of the world, nothing in it; and that he which hath the longest time lent him to liue in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past when wee were not, or by that time which is to come in which wee shall abide for euer: I say, if both, to wit our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing; it is not out of any excellency of understanding, that wee so much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coueting those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortall, and neglecting those things which are immortall, as if our selues after the world were but mortall.

But let euery man value his owne wisdom, as hee pleaseth. Let the rich-

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Rich man thinke all fooles, that cannot equal his abundance; the Reuenger esteeme all negligent, that haue not troden downe their opposites; the Politician, all grosse, that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when wee once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all winds drive vs; and when by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can neuer be weighed againe, the Navigation of this life takes end: Then it is I say, that our owne cogitations (those sad and seuerer cogitations, formerly beaten from vs by our Health and Felicitie) returne againe, and pay vs to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our liues past. It is then that wee cry out to GOD for mercie; then, when our selues can no longer exercise cruelty towards others: and it is onely then, that wee are stricken through the soule with this terrible sentence, That GOD will not be mockt. For if according to Saint Peter, The righteous scarcely bee saued: and that GOD spared not his Angells: where shall those appeare, who, hauing serued their appetites all their liues, presume to thinke, that the seuerer commandments of the All-powerfull GOD were giuen but in sport; and that the short breath, which wee draw when death presseth vs, if wee can but fashion it to the sound of Mercy (without any kinde of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith a reuerend Father, Cum hac spe ad eternos labores & bella descendunt: I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to haue it said, that we ended well: for wee all desire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall wee call a disesteeming, an opposing, or (indeed) a mocking of GOD; if those men doe not oppose him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for GOD, to aske him for giuenesse at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they other-wise, that die this kinde of well-dying, but say vnto GOD as followeth? Wee beseech thee O GOD, that all the falshoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our liues past, may be pleasing vnto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that haue had no leisure to doe any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to bee a iust GOD; that thou wilt loue iniuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charity foolishnesse. For I shall prauiſe my sonne (which I am resolved not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to haue bene vniust (which I am too proud to doe) if I deliuer the oppressed. Certainly, these worldlyngs haue either found out a new GOD, or haue made One: and in all likelihood such a Leaden One, as Lewis the eleuenth wore in his Cappe, which, when he had caused any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, bee would take it from his head and kisse it: beseeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it should be the last, which (as at other times) hee did; when by the practise of a Cardinall and a falsified Sacrament, he caused the Earle of Armagnack to bee stabbed to death mockeries indeed fit to be vsed towards a Leaden, but not towards the

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ever-living GOD. But of this composition are all the devout louers of the world, that they feare all that is drelesse and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practises of their opposites, and their very whisperings. they feare the opinions of men which beat but upon shadows: they flatter and for sake the prosperous and vnprosperous, bee they friends or Kings: yea they dine vnder water, like Ducks, at euery pebble stone, that is but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giant-like valour, against the terrible iudgements of the All-powerfull GOD: yea they shew themselves gods against GOD, and slaues towards men; towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If wee truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit of the rich and mighty, whome wee call fortunate; and of the poore and oppressed, whome wee account wretched: wee shall finde the happinesse of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by GOD to the very instant, and both so subiect to interchange (witness the suddaine downfall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy rising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast; nor the other so vncertaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that hee may be deprived of either or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid vespere vcham, incertum est, What the evening will bring with it, it is vncertaine. And yet wee cannot tell (saith Saint Iames) what shalbe to morrow. To day he is set vp, and to morrow hee shall not bee found: for hee is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the aire which compasseth aduersitie, be very obscure: yet therein wee better discern GOD, than in that shining light which environeth worldly glorie; through which, for the clearnesse thereof, there is no vnmie which escapeth our sight. And let aduersitie seeme what it will; to happie men, ridiculous, who make themselves marrie at other mens misfortunes; and to those vnder the crosse, greivous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For bee it that wee haue liued many yeares, and (according to Salomon) in them all wee haue reioyced; or bee it that wee haue measured the same length of daies, and therein haue euermore sorrowed: yet looking backe from our present being, we find both the one and the other, to wit, the ioy and the woe, layd out of sight; and death, which doth pursue vs and hold vs in chase, from our infancy, hath gathered it. Quicquid ætatis retro est, mors tenet: What-so-euere of our age is past, death holds it. So as who-so-euer hee bee, to whome Fortune hath bene a seruant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompt of his memory (for wee haue no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truely examine what it hath reuered, either of beauty and youth, or foregone delights; what it hath saved, that

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that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of what euer else the amorous Spring-time gaue his thoughts of contentment, then vnualueable; and hee shall finde that all the art which his elder yeares haue, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heauie, secret, and sad sighes. Hee shall finde nothing remaining, but those sorrowes, which grow up after our fast-springing youth; ouer-take it, when it is at a stand; and ouer-top it utterly, when it beginnes to wither: in so much as looking backe from the very instant time, and from our now being; the poore, diseased, and captiue creature, hath as little sence of all his former miseries and paines; as hee, that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasures and delights. For what-so-euer is cast behind vs, is iust nothing: and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it. *Omnia quæ euentura sunt, incerto iacent.* Onely those few black Swannes I must except: who hauing had the gracet to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retayning the comfortable memorie of a well acted life, behold death without dread, and the graue without feare; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glorie.

For my selfe, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrowes of this life, are but of two sorts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the first wee complaine to GOD against our selues, for our offences against him; and confesse, *Et tu iustus es in omnibus quæ uenerunt super nos, And thou O Lord art iust in all that hath befallen vs.* In the second wee complaine to our selues against GOD: as if hee had done vs wrong, either in not giuing vs worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs, hauing had them; forgetting that humble and iust acknowledgment of Iob, The Lord hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blessednesse; to the second, death. And out of doubt hee is either a foole or vngeneratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane so-euer his estate bee, that the same is yet farre greater, than that which GOD oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe so-euer his afflictions bee, that the same are yet farre lesse, than those which are due vnto him. And if an Heathen wise man call the aduersities of the world but tributa uiuendi; the tributes of liuing: a wise Christian man ought to know them, and beare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them man-like, and resolutely, as not as those whining souldiours doe, qui gementes sequuntur imperatorem.

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for vs, and appointed vs all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their distribution, beene partiall to the most mighty Princes of the world; That gaue vnto Darius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable begger, a begger begging water of an Enemy,

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to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Baiazet to play the Gran Signior of the Turkes in the morning, and in the same day the Foot-stoole of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had also playd, beeing taken by Sapores) that made Bellilarius play the most rictitious Captaine, and lastly the part of a blinde beggar; of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but of the least wormes, complaine of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the lesse. For when on the one and the other, every man weares but his owne skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man, out of weaknes, prise the passages of this world other wise (for saith Petrarch, Magni ingenij est reuocare mentem a sensibus) it is by reason of that unhappie mistake of ours, which sorteth in the braines of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereunto hee is subiect: Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adversitie worke all that they worke. For seeing Death in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoever Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madnes in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all sinkes but the Sorrow, to saue it. That were, as Seneca saith, Fortunae succumbere, quod tristis est omni fato, to fall vnder fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie,

But it is now time to sound a retreat; and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moued me, to draw the picture of time past (which we call Historie) in so large a table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of diuine providence, every where found (the first diuine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) haue perswaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implyeth the other: Creation, inferring Providence. (for what Father forsaketh the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation) Yet many of those that haue seemed to excell in worldly wisdom, haue gone about to disioyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation & Providence, but granting that the world had a beginning; the Aristotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation intimated for by Faith we vnderstand, that the world was made by the word of God; he too weighty a work for Aristotles rotten ground to beare vpon, vpon which he hath notwithstanding founded the Defences & Fortresses of all his Verball Doctrine: Yet that the necessitie of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary euen in the iudgement of Naturall reason, wherein hee beleueed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to bee

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maruailed at. And it is no lesse strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seing Aristotle hath sayled in this maine poynt, and taught little other than termes in the rest) have so retrenche their mindes from the following and overtaking of truth, and so absolutely subiected them-selues to the law of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the search of causes, they haue condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heathen Philosophers, are vndoubted grounds and principles indeed, because so called? Or that ipsi dixerunt, doth make them to bee such? certainly no. But this is true, That where naturall reason hath built any thing so strong against it selfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse batter it downe: the same in euery question of Nature, and finite power, may bee approued for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For saith Charron in his Booke of *Wisdoms*, Tout proposition humaine a autant d'autorité que l'autre, si la raison n'en fait la difference; Euery humane proposition hath equall authoritie, if reason make not the difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. But herof how shall the upright and vnpartiall iudgment of man give a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to giue in euidence? And to this purpose it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine vlllo iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their owne wisdom, who without any iudgment approue the inuention of those that fore-went them; and suffer them-selues, after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. By the advantage of which slough and dullnesse, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant: as it hath set true Philosophie, Phisick, and Diuinity, in a Pillory; and written over the first, Contra negantem Principia; ouer the second, Virtus specifica; and ouer the third, Ecclesia Romana.

But for my selfe, I shall neuer bee perswaded, that GOD hath but vnpur all light of Learning within the lanterne of Aristotles braines: or that it was euer said vnto him, as vnto Eldras, Accendam in Cordetuo Lucernam intellectus: that GOD hath giuen inuention but to the Heathen; and that they onely haue inuaded Nature, and found the strength and bottom thereof; the same nature hauing consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these bee the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught vs; and not reason: and so hath experience, without Art. The Cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that sowre Runnet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sowrenesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to bee found in vulgar Philosophie, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man, to couer his ignorance in the least things, who cannot giue a true reason for

Charron de
Sagesse.

Laſſ. de vijs
errurij, l. i. c. 3.

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for the Grasse vnder his feete, why it should bee greener then red,
or of any other colour; that could neuer yet discover the way and reason of
Natures working, in those which are farre lesse noble creatures than him-
selfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heauens them-selues: Man
(saith Salomon) that can hardly discern the things that are vpon the
Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before vs;
that hath so short a time in the world, as hee no sooner begins to learne,
than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his vnder-
standing nothing trulie; that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule,
and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle bee hee) could neuer
so much as define, but by the Action and effect, telling vs what it workes
(which all men know as well as hee) but not what it is, which neither hee,
nor any else, doth know, but GOD that created it; (for though I were
perfect, yet I know not my soule, saith Iob.) Man I say, that is but an
Idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all the actions
of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the art of GOD in creat-
ing the World; of GOD who (saith Iob) is so excellent as wee know
him not; and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before
Man-kind had a beginning of being. Hee will disable GODS power to
make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather giue the moethes
of the Aire for a cause; cast the worke on necessity or chance; below the ho-
nour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the
Matter, the other of the Forme; and lastly, for want of a worke-man,
haue it Eternall: which latter opinion Aristotle, to make himselfe the Au-
thor of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatours haue
maintained it; parati ac coniurati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum
animis inuictis opiniones tueri. For Hermes, who liued at once with,
or soone after, Moses, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaxi-
menes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cle-
anthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose opinions are exquisi-
tely gathered by Steuchius Eugubinus) found in the necessitie of inuincible
reason, One eternal and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the vniuersall.
Horum omnium sententia quamuis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat,
vt Providentiam vnam esse consentiant: siue enim Natura, siue Æ-
ther, siue Ratio, siue mens, siue fatalis necessitas, siue diuina Lex,
idem esse quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions (saith
Lactantius) though vncertaine, come to this; That they agree
vpon one Providence, whether the same bee Nature, or light, or
Reason, or vnderstanding, or destinie, or diuine ordinance; that it is
the same which we call G.O.D. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the world,
though they haue diuers risings, and diuers runnings; though they some times
bide them-selues for a while vnder ground, and seeme to be lost in Sea-like
Lakes;

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Lakes; doe at last finde, and fall into the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humane capacitie hath; and after all Philosophicall contemplation and curiositie; in the necessitie of this infinite power, all the reason of mans ends and dissolues it selfe.

*Euseb. de prep.
Evang. l. 7. c. 8.*

As for others; and first touching those, which conceive the matter of this World to have been eternall, and that God did not create the world ex nihilo, but ex materia præexistente: the Supposition is so weake, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith Eusebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annexere, They seeme vnto me, which ascribe this, to giue part of the work to God, and part to Fortune: inasmuch as if God had not found this first matter by chance, He had neither been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Vniuersall. For were the Matter or Chaos, eternall: it then followes, That either this supposed Matter did sit it selfe to God; or God, accommodate himselfe to the matter. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Workmans will. For the second; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applied himselfe, according to the proportion of Matter which he lighted vpon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter had been made by any Power; nor Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I would gladly learne how it came to passe, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent and infinitely wise; and no more, nor no lesse, than serued to receiue the forme of the Vniuersall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing, so much of new matter, as serued to finish the worke of the World: Or had there been a more of this matter, then sufficed; then did God dissolve & annihilate whatsoever remained and was superfluous. And this must every reasonable soule confesse, That it is the same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same art and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternall matter, bee againe changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this matter was the cause of it selfe; this, of all others, were the greatest idiosime. For, if it were the cause of it selfe at any time; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time, of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither produce it selfe, nor anything else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neq; seipsum componit corpus. There is nothing that doth precede it selfe, neither doe bodies compound themselves.

For the rest; Those that saine this matter to be eternall, must of necessitie confesse, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternitie. And then had infinite

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nite matter left no place for infinite forme, but that the first matter was finite, the forme which it received proues it. For conclusion of this part; who-so-euer will make choyce, rather to beleue in eternall deformitie, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madness of that kind, as wanteth rearmes to expresse it. For what reason of man (whome the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which wee can comprehend but a kind of shadow, quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) hath anything wanting in it selfe, either for matter or forme; yea for as many worlds (if such had bene GODS will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation; the worke hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reason it selfe findes it more easie for infinite power, to deliuer from it selfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a foole and dulle, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are Diuynus his words, Deus in vna existentia omnia præhabet: and againe Esse omnium est ipsa Diuinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; to wit, causalliter, or in better termes, non tamquam forma, sed tamquam causa vniuersalis. Neither hath the world vniuersall closed up all of GOD. For the most parts of his workes (saith Stracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wisdom be opened, by the glorious work of the world: which neuer brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we seldom e entitle GOD the all-shewing, or the all-willing; but the all-mighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, inferre the Worlds eternitie; and yet not so saluage therein, as those are, which giue an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word (nothing) bee taken in the affirmatiue; and the making, imposed vpon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctour Aristotle him selfe confesseth, quod omnes antiqui decreuerunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsum infinitum, That all the ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to bee infinite: and a little after, more largely and plainly, Principium eius est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia completi ac regere: it is strange that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of fallshood, to conclude falsly; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For if wee compare the world Priuerall, and all the vnmeasurable Orbes of Heauen, and those merueilous bodies of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, with ipsum infinitum: it may truly bee said of them all, which him selfe affirmeth of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum; and there-fore

cap. 16. v. 21.

Stren. Evg. 1. 2.
c. 9. ex. diu. 1.
Pof. 3. 10.

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fore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnem proportionem) is no wonder in GODS power. And therefore Anaximander, Melissus, and Empedocles, call the world vniuersall, but particulam Vniuersitatis and infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the vniuersalitie and the infinitie it selfe; and Plato, but a shadow of GOD. But the other, to proue the worlds eternitie, vtgerh this Maxime, That, A sufficient and effectuall cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted: inferring, that GOD being for euer a sufficient and effectuall cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also haue beene for euer; to wit, the world vniuersall. But what a strang mockerie is this in so great a Maister, to confesse a sufficient and effectuall cause of the world, (to wit an almighty GOD) in his Antecedent; and the same GOD to be a GOD restrained in his conclusion; to make GOD free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet vnable to make choyce of the time when? For this were impiously to resolue of GOD, as of naturall necessitie; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but work matter being present; as fire, to burne things combustible.

Againe he thus disputeth, That every Agent which can worke, and doth not worke: if it after-ward worke, it is either thereto moued by it selfe, or by some-what else; and so it passeth from power to Act. But GOD (saith he) is immouable, and is neither moued by him-selfe, nor by any other; but being alwaies the same, doth alwaies worke: Whence he concludeth, if the world were caused by GOD, that hee was for euer the cause thereof, and therefore eternall. The answer to this is very easie, For that GODS performing in due time that, which hee euer determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancie in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for euer, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it selfe sufficient, others adde further, that the patterne or Image of the World may be said to be eternall: which the Platonicks call, spiritualc mundum; and doe in this sort distinguish the Idea, and Creation in time. Spiritu. alis ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita aquali est Architecto; fuit semper cum illo, eritque sumper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, cecedit iam ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit semper; retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus. That representatiue, or the intentionall world (say they) the sampler of this visible world, the first worke of GOD, was aqualy ancient with the Architect; for it was for euer with him, and euer shalbe. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of GOD, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from euerlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for euer to come.

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Mar. Picin. de
immort. Ani.
med. i. 8. 62.

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The first point, That it was not for ever, all Christians confesse: The other they understand no other-wise, than that after the consummation of this World, there shall be a new Heaven and a new Earth; without any new creation of matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue: though such opinions be not unworthy the propounding; in this consideration, of an eternall and unchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth, That the compounded essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissoluble) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individuall and inseparable power, flowing from diuine unitie; and that the Worlds naturall appetite of GOD sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a goodness and understanding diuine; and that this veritie, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and euermore continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith hee) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the diuine infinite, according to the temporall Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; even as the whole Materiall World is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, doe by the same small degrees succeed; as the shadow of a tree in a River, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continuall ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to returne to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall denie that ever it shall have any end; and to this purpose affirme, That it was neuer heard, neuer read, neuer seene, no not by any reason perceived, that the Heavens haue ever suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the Elder by continuance; or in any sort other-wise than they were; which had they bene subiect to finall corruption, some change would have bene discerned in so long a time: To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather proue their newnesse, and that they haue not continued so long; than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if coniecturall arguments may receive answer by coniectures: it then seemeth, that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others, were grossely mistaken: or else those parts of the world, lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sunnes heat; neither were the Seas, under the Equinoctiall, navigable. But wee know by experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, over which wee Navigate, passable enough. Wee read also many Histories of deluges: and how that in the time of Phaeton, diuers places in the world were burnt up, by the Sunnes violent heat.



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But in a Word, this obseruation is exceeding feable. For we know it for certaine, That stone-walls, of matter molding and friable, haue stood two, or three thousand years: that many things haue beene digged up out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to haue beene buried by the generall flood; without any alteration either of substance or figure, yea it is beleined, and it is every probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mines, and Rocks, vnder ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementarie, and compounded, the eldest times haue not invaded and corrupted: what great alteration should wee looke for in Celestiall and quintessenciall bodies? And yet wee haue reason to thinke, that the Sunne, by whose helpe all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as here-to-fore. We haue neither Giants, such as the eldest world had: nor mighty men, such as the elder world had, but all things in generall are reputed of lesse vertue, which from the Heauens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger discourse, wee might easily fetch store of prooffe; as that this world shall at length haue end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good answer that can bee made to this obiection: If the World were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible wisdom, but that every Nature had beene a-like eternall; and Man more rationall than every other Nature: Why had not the eternall reason of Man, provided for his eternall beeing in the World? For if all were equal: why not equal conditions to all? why should heauenly bodies liue for euer; and the bodies of Men rotte and die?

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gave Order that it should hang in the Aire: that the Sunne should trauaile betwene the Tropicks, and neuer exceed those boundes, nor faile to performe that Progresse once in every year: the Moone to liue by borrowed light: the first stars (according to common opinion) to be fastned like Nails in a Card-wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or if none of these had power ouer other: was it out of Charity and Loue, that the Sunne by his perpetuall trauaile within those two Circles, hath visited, giuen light vnto, and releiued all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the Sunne haue of his owne accord kept this course in all eternitie; He may iustly be called eternall charity, and everlasting Loue. The same may be saide of all the Stars, who being all of them most large and cleare fountains
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of vertue and operation, may also bee called eternall vertues: the Earth may be called eternall patience, the Moone, an eternall borrower and begger; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleive againe in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than euer Hesiodus dreamt of. But in steed of this mad jollie, wee see it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason descerne it better; That the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrain'd: themselves they have not constrained, nor cou'd. Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinauerit, Every thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errors vnto vs, and sought also to reby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World: so if the best definition bee taken out of the second of Aristotles phisicks, or primo de Cælo, or out of the fifth of his Metaphisicks; I say that the best is but nominall, and serving onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion, from Artificiall: which yet the Academicks open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the World: who giue the first place to Providence, the second to Fate, and the third to Nature. Providentiall (by which they understand GOD) dux & apud; Fatum, medium ex providentia prodrens; Natura postremum. But bee it what bee will, or bee it any of these (GOD excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or understanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath allowed. For this is uncontrovertible of Lactantius: Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam; Hee onely can bee said to bee the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly exprest by Ficinus: Potest vbiq; Natura, vel per diuersa media, vel ex diuersis materijs, diuersa facere: sublatâ vero mediorum materialiumque diuersitate, vel vnicum vel similitum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diuersity of meanes, or of diuersity of matter, to produce diuers things: but taking away the diuersity of meanes, and the diuersity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter beeing present. Now if Nature made choyce of diuersity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heauen and Earth; it had then both understanding and will; it had counsaile to beginne; reason to dispose; vertue and knowledge to finish; and power to gouerne: without which, all things had bene but one and the same: all of the

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*1. 18. de ira
Dei 1. 1. c. 10.*
matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And if we grant Nature
this will, and this understanding, this counsaile, reason, and power: Cur
Natura potius, quā Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a cause
rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men haue notion, and giue the
*Ar. 1. 1. de
caus. 3. 7.
22.*
first and highest place to Diuine power: Omnes homines notionem deo-
rum habent, omnesq; summum locum diuino cuidam numini asig-
nant. And this I say in short; that it is a true effect of true reason in man
(were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and

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adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab
his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & sem-
per eadem: True Philosophy, is an ascending from the things which flow,
and rise, and fall, to the things that are for euer the same.

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For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous,
to confound God and Nature: be it but in termes. For it is God, that only
disposeth of all things according to his owne will; and maketh of one Earth,
Vessels of honor and dishonor. It is Nature that can dispose of nothing,
but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God, that
commandeth all: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good
vnto all, knowing and loving the good he doth: It is Nature, that seconda-
rily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loueth the good it doth. It is
God, that hath all things in himselfe: Nature, nothing in it selfe. It is
God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which
is begotten by all things; in which it liueth and laboureth; for by it selfe it
existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the earth, that bea-
uy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct euery
Riuer into the salt Sea? Shall we terme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to
consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in
these: by the same Affection, Reason, and knowledge it is, that Nature work-
eth. And therefore seeing all things work as they do, (call it by form, by Na-
ture, or by what you please) yet because they work by an impulsion, which they
cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the supremest power: we are neither
to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature
wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder. & to him is the worship due,
who hath created such a Nature in things, & such a faculty, as neither know-
ing it selfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which
it hath; doth yet work all things to their last and uttermost perfection. And
therefore euery reasonable man, taking to himselfe for a ground that which is
granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that euer the world had;
to wit; That there is a power infinit, and eternall, (which also necessity doth
proue vnto vs, without the helpe of Faith; and Reason, without the force
of Authoritie) all things doe as easily follow which haue bene deliuered by
diuine letters; as the waters of a running Riuer doe successiuely pursue each
other from the first fountaines.

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This much I say it is, that Reason it selfe hath taught vs: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio sequitur: quia prius est Deum scire, consequens colere; Sapientia goes before, Religion followes: because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapience Plato calleth, absoluti boni scientiam, The science of the absolute good: and another, scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. For Faith (saith Ildore) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples perswaded: fides nequaquam vi extorquetur; sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confesse it, That to inquire further, as of the essence of God, of his power, of his Art, and by what meane He created the world. Or of his secret iudgment, and the causes; is not an effect of Reason: Sed cum ratione insaniunt, but they grow mad with reason, that inquire after it. For as it is no shame nor dishonor (saith a French Author) de l'aise arrest au but qu'on na sceu surpasser, For a man to rest himselfe there, where he finds it impossible to passe on further: so what soever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, It acknowledge it to be so; as understanding it selfe not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knowes the end of his own Art. For seeing both Reason and Necessity teach vs (Reason, which is pars diuini spiritus in corpus humanū mersū) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach vs: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make vs know, that the same infinite power is every where in the world; and yet how every where, it cannot informe vs: our beleefe hereof is not weakened, but greatly strengthened, by our ignorance; because it is the same Reason that tels vs, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.

I haue beene already ouer long to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse: especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the most visible diuision of the bookes, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first part finished. All men know that there is no great Art in the diuiding euery of those things, which are subiect to number and measure. For the rest, it suites well enough with a great many Bookes of this age, which speake too much, and yet say little; Ipsi nobis tuto subducimur, We are stollen away from our selves, setting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I beleue as he doth; that who so thinks himselfe the wisest man, is but a poore and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best men of war, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, doe alwayes keepe the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from themselves, from selfe loue, selfe estimation, and selfe opinion.

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Generally concerning the order of the worke, I haue onely taken counsaile from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, which after the downefall of Babel take up the first part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of posterity: some few enterprises, greater in fame than faith, of Ninus and Semiramis excepted.

It was the story of the Hebrewes, of all before the Olympiads, that overcame the consuming disease of time; and preserved it selfe, from the very cradle and beginning to this day: and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here and there in the same time, I am driven to relate by way of digression: of which we may say with Virgil.

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto;
They appear here and there floating in the great gulf of time.

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us; though most of the Authors Names, have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Lawes; they had diuersity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobilitie, Pollicie in warre; Navigation; and all, or the most of needfull Trades. To speake therefore of these (seeing in a generall Historie we should haue left a great deale of Nakednesse, by their omission) it cannot properly bee called a digression. True it is that I haue also made many others: which if they shall be layd to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heape of humane error. For seeing wee digresse in all the wayes of our liues: yea seeing the life of man is nothing else but digression; I may the better bee excused, in writing their liues and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of Historie, vnd of the Kindes.

The same hath bene taught by many; but by no man better, and with greater breuitie, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Lawes are also taught vs by the Prophets and Apostles; and euery day preached vnto vs. But wee still make large digressions: yea the teachers themselves do not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the rest; after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldeans, and had raised a great Monarchie, producing Actions of more importance than were else-where to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire, whilst it so florished, that the affaires of the nations adioyning had reference thereunto. The like obseruance was to bee vsed towards the fortunes of Greece, when they againe began to get ground vpon the Persians, as also towards the affaires of Rome

in fact over our notable British

15. 757. 899 b

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Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty than the Greeks.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations, who resisted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was known of them from their severall beginnings, in such times and places, as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies; which in the end swallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best Geographers: who seldom give names to those small brookes, wherof many, ioyned together, make great Rivers; till such time as they become united, and runne in a maine streame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weakke, and the stile not cury, where like it selfe: the first, shewes their legitimatation and true Parent; the second, will excuse it selfe upon the Variety of Matter. For Virgill, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili aena, used stronger pipes when he sounded the warres of Aeneas. It may also be layd to my charge that I use diuers Hebrew words in my first booke, and else where: in which language others may thinke, and my selfe acknowledge, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that some of them I finde in Montanus; others in Iatrine Carester in S. Senensis, and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my learned friends. But say I had beene beholding to neither, yet were it not to bee wondered at having had a eleven yeares leasure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other; tongue, how-so-euer, I know that it will bee said by many, That I might haue beene more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times; having beene permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answer, that who-so euer in writing a moderne Historie, shall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may happily strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too farre off, loseth her sight, and loseth him selfe: and hee that walks after her at a middle distance; I know not whether I should call that kind of course Temper or Baseness. It is true, that I neuer trauailed after mens opinions, when I might haue made the best use of them: and I haue now too few daies remaining to imitate those, that either out of extreame ambition, or extreame cowardise, or both, doe yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, betweene the bed and the graue. It is enough for me being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and taxe the vices of those that are yet liuing, in their persons that are long since dead; and haue it laid to my charge. But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themselves sported like the Tigers of old time, shall finde fault with me for painting them ouer a new; they shall therein accuse themselves iustly, and me falsely.

For

4. 3h Pale

The Preface.

For I protest before the Maieſty of GOD, That I malice no man vnder the Sunne. Impossible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subiection to their private passions; but that they seeme diuerſe persons in one and the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so doe I: *Vnus mihi pro populo erat; and to the same effect Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis sed tibi; or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, Satis est vnus, Satis est nullus.* For it was for the seruice of that estimable Prince Henry, the successiue hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I vnderooke this Worke. It pleased him to perſe some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Maister: from which all that is presented, hath receiued both blows & thanks. *Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicij, in quo lis secundum plures datur.* But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will iudge charitably: so against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my present aduersitie hath disarmed mee. I am on the ground already; and therefore haue not farre to fall: and forrising againe, as in the Naturall priuation their is no recession to habit; so is it seldome seene in the priuation politique. I doe therefore for-beare to stile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receiue grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certaine, let vs claw the Reader with neuer so many courteous phrases; yet shall we euer more be thought fooles, that write foolishly. For conclusion; all the hope I haue lies in this, That I haue already found more congentle and concurteous Readers of my Loue towards them, and well-deseruing of them, than euer I shall doe againe. For had it bene other wise, I should hardly haue had this leisure, to haue made my selfe a foole in priue.



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of the fifth Booke.

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THE FIRST PART OF
THE HISTORIE OF THE
WORLD: INTREATING OF THE
Beginning, and first ages of the same,
from the Creation vnto
ABRAHAM.
THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

§. I.

That the inuisible God is seene in his Creatures.

Creation, in his mercifull prouifion for all that liue, his manifold goodneffe: and laftly, in creating and making exiftent the world vniuerfall by the absolute art of his owne word, his power and almightineffe, which power, light, vertue, wifedome, and goodneffe, being all but attributes of one fimple effence, and one God, wee in all admire, and in part difcerne *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the difpofition, order, and varietie of celeftiall and terreftriall bodies: terreftriall, in their ftrange and manifold diuerfities; celeftiall, in their beautie and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary



trarie motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent cause, and by these motions their Almighty mouer.

In these more then wonderfull works, God (saith *Hago*) speaketh vnto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects all that liue witness in themselves; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable soules: for according to *S. Gregorie*, *Omnis homo eo ipso quod rationalis conuersus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*: Eucry man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him is God. This God all men behold (saith *Iob*) which is according to the *Fathers*, *Dominationem illius conspiciere in creaturis*, to discern him in his providence by his creatures. That God hath bene otherwise scene, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my vnderstanding, grounded on these places of *S. Iohn*, and *S. Paul*. Yee haue not heard his voice at any time, neither haue yee scene his shape. And againe, Whom neuer man saw, nor can see.

And this I am sure agreeeth with the nature of Gods simplicitie, of which *S. Augustine*, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*. That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that bee, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were *Origen*, *Cyrill*, *Chrysostome*, *Gregorie Nazianzenus*, *Hierome*, *Augustine*, *Gregorie the Great*, *Euaristius*, *Alcinius*, *Dionysius Areopagita*, *Aquinas*, and all others of authority. But by his owne word, and by this visible world, is God perceived of men, which is also the vnderstood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his creatures, whose Hieroglyphical Characters, are the vnnumbered Starres, the Sunne, and Moone, written on these large volumes of the firmament: written also on the earth and the seas, by the letters of all those liuing creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned *Cosanus*, *Mundus vniuersus nihil aliud est, quam Deus explicatus*, The world vniuersall is nothing else but God exprest. And the invisible things of God (saith *St. Paul*) are scene by creation of the world, being considered in his creatures. Of all which there was no other cause preceding then his owne will, no other matter then his owne power, no other workman then his owne word, no other consideration then his owne infinite goodnesse. The example and patterne of these his creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternitie in the abundance of his owne loue, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his vnchanged will moued, by his high wisdom disposed, and by his almighty power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) wee ought to loue God *Ex fide*, & *ex effectibus*, (that is) both perswaded by his word, and by the effects of the worlds creation: *Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognoscique potest, sed vel ex rerum, que facta sunt, que sunt & gubernantur obseruatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verbo*: For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be knowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (saith *Montanus*) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and gouerne, or else by the word of God himselfe.

§. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authoritie is not to be despised, haue acknowledged the world to haue bene created by

G O D.



His work, and creation of the world, did most of the ancient and learned Philosophers acknowledge, though by diuers termes, and in a different maner exprest, I meane all those who are entituled by *S. Augustine*, *Sammis Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest iudgement and vnderstanding. *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium vniuersorum*, The originall of

Herm in Pa-
mandu & in
seruato facie.

Hago super Ec-
cles. item. v.
Greg. in Mor.
Etiim. ad Gl.
Tat. 5. v. vna
vero ingenuus,
& non apparet,
& inmani-
festo, omnia au-
tem mani-
festo, per omnia
apparet, & in
omnibus. Appa-
rentia solum ge-
neratorum est,
nihil apparitio
equim generatio.
Iohn 5. 3.
1 Tim. 2. 16.
Origen. lib. 2.
cap. 22. Cyri-
ll. & Chrysost. in
Iohn. item. 14.
Greg. Nazian-
zenus. Hieron.
Theod. Alex. in
Rom. Aug. 1. 2.
de Trin. 11. &
13. Greg. Magn.
18. item. Naz.
Epiph. 1. de Trini-
tate. Alcinus. 1. 2.
de Trin. 16. D. A.
resp. 4. C. Cel-
siter. ex. Thoma.
p. 4. 12. 11. 12.
& alibi.
Deus, qui natura
inuisibilis est, ut
a vultu pos-
sit sciri, qua fecit,
quod Opes-
cem sui visibili-
ter manifestat,
ut per crea-
tum inter haec
sciretur, & ille
Deus omnium
effector creator.
Amb. in epist. ad
Rom. 1. 1.
Cusan. de ges.
diaboli.
Rom. 1. 20.
A. Mont. Nat.
11. p. 167.

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Giles Thoma

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of the vniuer fall: to whom he giueth also the attributs: of *Mens, natura, actus, necessitas, finis, & reuolutio*. And wherein he truly, with *St. Paul*, calteth vpon God all power; confiding also, that the world was made by Gods almighty word, and not by hands: *verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus*. *ZOROASTER* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) tooke the word fire to expresse God by (asin *Deuteronomy* *Deut. 4. 24.* and in *St. Paul* it is vied) *Omnia ex vno igne genita sunt*, All things (saith he) are caused or produced out of one fire.

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the will of the most high God; whose remarkable wordes are thus conuerted. *Cum abscon-*
10 *disset omnia IVPITER fiamus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans*
cogitata & mirabilia: Of which I conceiue this knife. When great *IVPITER* had hidden all things in himselfe, working out of the loue of his sacred heart, he sent thence or brought forth into gratefull light, the admirable workes which he had forethought.

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most high, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Vnus Deus Pater Creator suussumus*. *Plato* calteth God the cause and originall, the nature and reason of the vniuerfall, *totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus*. But herofore at large hercafter.

Now although the curiolity of some men haue found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Diuinity: (it being true that the Scripture hath not want of any foraine testimony) yet as the *Fathers* with others excellently learned are my examples herein; so *St. Paul* himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawfull, and profitable, to remember whatsoeuer he found agreeable to the word of God, among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape by way of ignorance, God rendering vengeance to them, that know him not: as in his Epistle to *Titus* he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Alexander*, and in the seauenteenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus*, &c. for *Truth* (saith *St. Ambrose*) by whomsoever vttered, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas à quocunq; dicatur, à spiritu sancto est*: and lastly let those kinde of men learne this rule, *Quaeris seruauit, prophana non sunt*, Nothing is prophane that serueth to the vse of holy things.

30

§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio,
Genf. 1. 1.

His visible world of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (saith *Tertallian*) things beganne to bee. This word *beginning* (in which the *Hebrewes* keepe some hidden mystery, and which in the *Lower Targum* is conuerted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men haue conceiued, both which are subsequent, but only to creation then. For before that beginning, there was neither primary matter to be informed, nor forme to inform, nor any being, but the eternall. Nature was not, nor the next parent of time begotten, time properly and naturally taken; for if God had but disposed of matter already in being, then as the word *beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of matter proceeded from a greater power then that of God. And by what name shall we then call such a one (saith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to dispose of things made: whereupon it may be concluded, that matter could not be before this beginning: except we haue a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite, the impossibility whereof seemeth defenee. *Nam impossibile plura causas, de moue esse infinita: quoniam alter non esset in altero finitum*, There cannot be more infinites then one; for one of them would limit the other.

30

§. IIIL

Of the meaning of the words Heauen and Earth.

Genes. 1. 1.



He vniuerſall matter of the world (which *Mofes* comprehendeth vnder the names of *Heauen and Earth*) is by diuers diuerſly vnderſtood: for there are that conceiue, that by thoſe wordes, was meant the firſt matter, as the *Peripatetikes* vnderſtand it, to which *St. Auguſtine* and *Iſidore* ſeeme to adhere. *Feciſti mundum* (ſaith *St. Auguſtine*) *de materia informi, quam feciſti de nulla re, penè nullam rem*: (that is) *Thou haſt made the world of a matter without forme: which matter thou madeſt of nothing, and being made, it was little eſter then nothing.*

Beda. Her. Strabo ſuper Genes. Eng. Cal. & de naturaliſcop.

Plal. 104. 12. Claritas diuina vni uſque ſedile, ſed ſignatus Dei, non creata, ſed nata.

Apoc. 21. 23. Stercor in Gen. cap. 7. 20, 21.

But this potentiall and imaginary *materia prima* cannot exiſt without forme. *Peter Lombard*, the *Schoole-men*, *Beda*, *Tyrannus*, *Comestor*, *Toſtatus* and others, aſſume, that it pleaſed God firſt of all to create the *Empyrean Heauen*: which at the ſucceeding inſtant (ſaith *Beda* and *Strabo*) hee filled with *Angels*. This *Empyrean Heauen* *Steucrius Engubinus* calleth *Diuine claritie*, and *venerated*: an error, for which he is ſharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceiue) he rather filled in the ſubſequent, 20 when he made it to be a place and the ſeate of *Angels*, and iuſt Soules, then in the former aſſertion: for of the firſt, That God liueth in eternal light, it is written; *My ſoule praiſe thou the Lord, that covereth himſelfe with light*: and in the *Revelation*. *And the City hath no neede of Sunne, neither of the Moone to ſhine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein alſo *Iohn Mercer* vpon *Genes* diſſereth not in opinion from *Engubinus*: for as by heauen created in the beginning, was not meant the inuiſible or ſupercelſtiall, ſo in his iudgement, becauſe it was in all eternitie the glorious ſeate of God himſelfe, it was not neceſſary to be created; *Quem mundum ſupercelſeſtem meo iudicio creari* (ſaith *Mercer*) *non erat neceſſe.*

But as *Mofes* forbore to ſpeake of *Angels*, and of things inuiſible, and incorporate, 30 for the weakeneſſe of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of thoſe things, which were more maniſeſt, (to wit) that God did not only by a ſtrong hand deliuer them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promiſe made to their forefathers: but alſo that he created, and was the ſole cauſe of this aſpectable, and perceivable *Vniuerſal*, ſo on the other ſide I dare not thinke, that any ſupercelſtiall Heauen, or whatſoever elſe (not himſelfe) was increate and eternal: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wiſedome of mortall men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the ſeate of infinite power, no more then infinite power it ſelfe can be limited: for his place is in himſelfe, whom no magnitude elſe can containe: *How great is the houſe of God* (ſaith *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his poſſeſſions; it is 40 great, and hath no end, it is high and vnmeaſurable.*

Jer. 3. 24, 25.

Caluin in comment. ſul. 2. 24. Operis.

Caluin in Gen.

But leauing multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the wordes, *Heauen and Earth*, was meant the ſolid matter and ſubſtance, aſwell of all the Heavens, and Orbes ſupernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it ouer, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *materia*, *Chaos*, *poſſibilitas*, *ſine poſſe fieri*: Which matter (ſaith *Caluin*) was ſo called, *quod totius mundi ſemen fuerit*; *Beauſe it was the ſeede of the Vniuerſall*, an opinion of ancient *Philophers* long before.

p. V.

That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Moses understood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is described as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.

10 **M** OSES first nameth Heaven and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth, but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his spirit beganne to distinguish the confused Masse, and (as Basil saith) *preparare naturam aque ad secunditatem vitalem; so prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulness.*

For vnder the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures exprest: and by the name of *Earth and Waters*, all was meant, whatsoeuer is vnder the Moone, and subiect to alteration. Corrupt feedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heauens are not subiect, though subiect to perishing. *They shall per-*

120 *ish* (saith Dauid) and *the heauens shall vanish away like smoke* (saith Esay). Neither were the waters the matter of Earth: for it is written. *Let the waters vnder the hea-*

130 *uens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appeare:* which proueth that the dry land was mixt and couered with the waters, and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or seede of the Earth, much lesse of the Vniuersall. *Initio tu Domine terram fundasti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth:* and againe, *The Earth was couered with the Deepe* (meaning with waters) as with a garment, saith Dauid. And if by naturall arguments it may be proued, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth vs also, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire; aire, fire; and so on the contrary, *Deus ignis sub-*

140 *stantiam per aërem in aquam conuertit, God turneth the substance of fire, by aire, into wa-*

ter. For the Heauens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. *Cælum verò & terra in statu crea-*

150 *tionis remanserunt, quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est.* And the word which the Hebrewes call *Maim*, is not to be understood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specifically water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to Montanus) *Est autem*

160 *Maim liquor geminus. & huc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit.* For *Maim* (saith he) is a double liquor, (that is, of diuers natures) and this name or word the Latines wanting a voice to expresse it, call it in the Plurall, *Aguas, Waters.*

170 This Masse, or indigested matter, or Chaos created in the beginning was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the waters: *And the earth*

180 *was void:* that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moued upon the waters, and wrought this indigested matter into that forme, which it now retaineth, then did the earth budde forth the bea-
190 *the bea-*
200 *which seedeth seede, & the fruitfull tree according to his kinde, and God saw that it was good;* which attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused, nor to the Heauens, before they had motion, and adorning. *God saw that it was*
210 *good;* that is, made perfect: for perfection is that, to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera, The workes of the perfect God, are perfect.*
220 From this lump of imperfect matter had the ancient Poets their inuention of *Demogorgon*: *HESIODVS* and *ANAXAGORAS* the knowledge of that Chaos, of which *Onid*:

*Ovid. Metam.
lib. 1.*

*Ante mare, & terras, & (quod tegit omnia) caelum,
Vnus erat toto natura vultus in Orbe,
Quem dicere Chaoti, rudis indigestaq; moles.*

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide,
In all the world one only face of nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

§. VI.

10

*How it is to be understood that the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and that
this is not to be searched curiously.*



Basil. Hieron.

Junius.

After the creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without forme,
the Spirit of God moved upon the waters. The Seventy Interpreters vie
the word *super-ferebatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat*, or *fovebat*
(saith Hierome) out of Basil, and Basil out of a Syrian Doctor; *Egredimur*
non meam tibi, sed viri cuiusdam Syri sententiam recepi (saith Basil)
which wordes *incubare* or *fovere* importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a
special liking. *Verbum transitum est ab auius pullitiei sue incubantibus, quamvis spiri-*
tuali, & plane inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo; The word is taken of birds hatching
their yong, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner.

Some of the Hebrewes convert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat*, The Spirit of
God did flutter: the Chaldean Paraphrast in this sense, *ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat*,
or as other understand the Chaldean, *sufflavit, pellevit, remouebat*: the winde from the face
of God did blow vnder, drive, or remove, or did blow upon, according to the 147. Psalm. *17. 18.*
He caused his winde to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no winde nor cause.
He caused his winde to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no winde nor cause.
lation: *Atlas Montanus* in these wordes, *Et spiritus Elohim Merachbet, id est, effica-*
citer motians, conseruat, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris; The Spirit of God effe-
ctually and often moving, keeping warme, and chershing, quickning and stirring upon
the face of this double liquor. For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents,
and the last passive and materiall, to wit, *causa*, which is the diuine goodnesse, *lebi*,
which is, *fiat, sine erit*, let it be, or it shall be. *Que vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit:*
which voice (saith he) was the first that was uttered by the word of God. The third *Spi-*
ritus Elohim, the Spirit of God, id est, vii quidam diuina, agilis ac presens per omnia per-
tingens, omnia complectens, that is, a certaine diuine power, or strength euery where, active
and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things. The fourth he
callet *Maim, id est, materies ad omnem rem conficiendum habilis*, matter apt to become
euery thing. For my selfe I am resolu'd (*Cum Deus sit superrationale omni ratione, See-*
ing God in all reason above reason) that although the effects which follow his won-
derfull wayes of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans vnderstanding, yet
the manner and first operation of his diuine power cannot be conceiued by any
minde, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body. *Animals homo que Dei sunt non*
percipit: For my thoughts (saith the Lord in Esay) are not your thoughts, neither are your
wayes my wayes. And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: so are his wayes
(according to St. Paul) *past finding out.* O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne
thee, saith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality and operation, were
by incubation, or how else, the manner is only knowne to God, *quomodo in omnibus sit*
rebus, vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit; For how God (saith
St. Augustine, speaking of his Vbiquitie) is in all things, either by essence, presence, or
power, our vnderstanding cannot comprehend. Nil inter Deum hominemq; distaret, si
confilia, & dispositiones illius manifestis aeterna, agitata affigeretur humana: There
would be no difference betweene God and Man; if mans vnderstanding could conceive the
counscils

Psalm. 147. 18.

*Ar. Mont. et sup.
Eugen. in Cuf.
fol. 13.*

*Ar. Mont. de na-
tura, pag. 149.*

2. 14. 25

Esay 55. 8.

*Aug. Tract. 20.
in Iohann. 17. 25.*

1. 1. in Praefat.

counsel and disposing of that eternall Majesty; and therefore to be out-curious in searching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the creation of the world, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gave forme to the matter of the Vniuersall, is a labour and search like vnto his, who not contented with a knowne and safe food, will presume to passe ouer the greatest Riuer in all parts, where hee is ignorant of their depths; for so doth theone loose his life, and the other his vnderstanding. We behold the Sunne, and enioy his sight, as long as we looke towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selues safely, while wee stand nere the fire; but if we seeke to outface the one, or enter into the other, we forthwith become blinde or burnt.

But to eschew curiosity: this is true, that the English word (moued) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeede bee truly called *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula, vis causa efficiens*, The force of the efficient cause, St. Augustine sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a winde or breath, *sub nomine spiritus, vnder the name of a spirit*, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, for a created virtuality: Tertallian and Theodoret call it also a breath or winde: *Mercurius nomen est Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem, a pure or thinnie intelligible spirit*: ANAXAGORAS, *mentem*: TOSTATVS, *voluntatem & mentem Dei*, The will and minde of Gods; which *Mens*, Plato in *Timoe*, maketh *animam mundi*, The soule of the world; and in his sixt Booke de *Republica* he calleth it the law of Heauen; in his Epitiles, the leader of things to come, and the presence of things past. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Sauour, *Mens deficit, vox silet, & non mea tantum, sed etiam Angelorum*: My minde faileth, my voice is silent, and not mine only, but even the voice of Angels: so may all men else lay in the vnderstanding and vnderance of the wayes and workes of the Creation; for to him (saith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est quicquid eius est, & quicquid est, what/soeuer attribute of him there is, and what/soeuer he is, it is the very same substance that himselfe is.*

But the Spirit of God which moued vpon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or winde, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite actiue power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaine, and giue continuance to the Vniuersall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it, which maintayneth all things, saith SALOMON. If thou send forth thy Spirit (saith DAVID) they are created: And GREGORIE, *Deus suo praesentia esse, dat omnibus robur esse, ita quid, si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent vniuersa*. God giuech being to all things, by being present with all things, so as, if he should withdraw himselfe from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away, and vanishe into nothing. And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, Virgil hath exprest excellently.

*Principio caelum ac terras, camposq; liquentes,
Lucentemq; globum Lunae, Titaniasq; astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; insufla per artem,
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet,*

*Virg. Aeneid.
lib. 2. 744.*

The heauen, the earth, and all the liquid mayne,
The Moones bright Globe, and Starres Titanian,
A Spirit within maintaines: and their whole Masse,
A Minde, which through each part insufl'd doth passe
Fashions, and workes, and wholly doth transpire
All this great body of the Vniuerse.

And this was the same Spirit, which moued in the Vniuersall, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. His Spirit hath garnished the heauens; saith Job. So 146. 26. v. 13. then

then the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters, and created in them their spirituallity, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rarification, and subtilty of parts. By this Spirit, (which gaue heat and motion, and thereby, operation to euery nature, while it moued vpon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all formes alike) was begotten airc: an element, superior, as lighter then the waters, through whose vast, open, subtle, diaphanicke, or transparent body, the light afterwards created might easily transpire: light, for the excellency thereof, being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysolome* calleth a vitall Operation, *aquis à Deo insitam, ex qua aqua non solum motionem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint.* He calleth it a vitall Operation given by God vnto the waters, whereby the waters had not only motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth liuing creatures.

§. VII.

Of the Light created, as the material substance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and vse of it: and of motion, and heat annexed vnto it.

THese waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and vnited, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceiue) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes creation, and the uniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proued by these wordes, *Let there be lights in the firmament, to separate the day from the night:* which lights in the firmament of heauen were also made for signes, and for seasons, and for dayes, and for yeares, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which dayes and yeares are distinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three dayes which preceded the Sunnes creation, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the day named in the fifth verse, was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a ciuill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of airc, of the firmament, and of the lower and vpper waters, and of the seas, and creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beasts, plants, minerals, and mans body: so may light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or material substance of the Sunne, and other lights of heauen. Howbeit neither the Sunne, nor any thing sensible, is that light it selfe, *que causa est lucidorum, which is the cause that things are lightsome* (though it make it selfe and all things else visible) but a body most illightened, which illuminateth the Moone, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the Greekes call *Aether*, the place of the supposed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies liuing in this our airc. For this light *Auicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium celestium virtutum, & impresorium: the conductor, and preseruer, or nourisher of all celestiall vertues and impressions*, nothing descending of heauenly influences, but by the medium, or means of light. *Aristotle* calleth light, a quality, inherent, or cleauing to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen est quidam inherens Diaphano*; but this may be better touched of the heat, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heat (say the Platonicks) *abunde lumine residet in subiecto, the light being departed doth reside in the subiect*, as warmth in the airc, though the same be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academicks* make incorporeall, and so doth *MON- TANY*, *Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium: which neither hardnesse resisteth, nor space leaueth.*

Aristotle findeth corporalltie in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, saith *Picolominus, Democritus, Lucippus, and Epicurus*, *guc*

Gen. 1.4.

Gen. 1.14.

*Lux dicitur, que fit, & omnia visibilia facit, Cuius in corpore, caput, & exte-
rior lib. 3.*

*Picin. lib. de Lu-
mine. cap. 11.*

Pic. de diffi.

gine materiality to light, it selfe, but improperly: for it passeth at an instant, from the
heaven to the earth, nor is it refitted by any hardnesse, because it pierceth through
the solid body of glasse, or other Crystalline matter; and whereas it is withstood by
vncleane and vnpure earthy fubstances, lesse hard and more eadie to invade then the
former, the same, *Quod obsaculum naturæ terræ atq; forædum, non capit candidum* Plin.
luminis puritate: Because an obsacle, by nature, earthy and soule, doth not receive the pure
clearenesse of light: alluding to that most diuine light, which onely shineth on those
minde, which are purged from all worldly drolle, and humane vncleaneesse.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion: neither do I maruaile
 10 at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philophosors, or Schoole-men, or
 other ancient or latter Writers, that any of them vnderstood either it or themselves
 therein: all men (to cast off ignorance) haue disputed herof, but there is no man
 that hath bene taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferior to any in wit) as *h*
hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lo-*
bard, *Thyranus*, and others: so is his owne iudgement herein, as weak as any mans;
 and most of the Schoole-men were rather curious in the nature of termes; and more
 subtil in distinguishing upon the parts of doctrine already laid downe, then discou-
 20 rers of any thing hidden, either in Philophic or Diuinity: of whome it may be tru-
 ly said, *Nil sapientis adfusus acuminis nimio: Non est maior odore tu true my flos,*
tu too acute hisse pite. Neither hath the length of time, and the search of many lea-
 rned men, (which the same time hath brought forth and deuoured) refolued vs, whe-
 ther this light be substantiall, corporall, or incorporall: Corporall they say it cannot
 be, because then it could neither pierce the aire, nor those hard, solid, and Diapha-
 nous bodies, which it doth, and yet euery day we see the aire lightened: incorporall
 it cannot be, because it is sensible: sensible it is, because it sometime affecteth the sight
 of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so ellected: others say
 30 (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no forme so excellent as it selfe to in-
 forme it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruc-
 tion of the subject: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the
 40 Sunne in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then
 either, or both must be one of these, Lucide or bright, darke or opaque, Diaphanous
 or transparent; but darkenesse cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous
 (being neither light, nor darkenesse, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of ei-
 ther, and therefore must the matter, or forme, or both, be Lucide and shining. Lucide
 and shining obtayne their so being of the light, and therefore, if we driue this being
 of light from a former, then would the progresse goe on infinitely, and against na-
 50 ture; and therefore he concludeth that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily,
 and immediately of it selfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme, and the forme of all
 Lucide and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others iudge.

40 But in my vnderstanding, *lumen*, (which may be Englished by the word Shine) is *Scal, fubst. ex. p.*
an intentionall Species of that, which may be Englished by Light, and fo, this shi-
ning which proceedeth from the Sunne, or other lights of heauen, or from any other
light is an image, or intentionall Species thereof; and an intentionall Species may be
vnderstood by the example of a redde, or Greene colour, occasioned by the shining
of the Sunne through redde or Greene glasse: for then we perceiue the same colour
call vpon any thing opposit; which rednesse or other colour we call the *intentionall*
Species of the colour in that glasse. And againe, as this light, touching his simple na-
ture, is no way yet vnderstood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created be the
same, when the Sunne inhollandeth and calteth forth, or whether it had continuance
50 any longer, then till the Sunnes creation.

But by the most wise and vnchanged order, which God obserued in the worke of *Genes.* 1. the world, I gather, that the light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sunne: for *Moses* repeateth twife the maine parts of the vniuersall; first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with forme: first, naming the Heauens,

Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused, and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry land, and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was vncouered, and before it was called, *Arida*, or dry land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their vertuall formes: so the Sunne, although it had not his formall perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (vnder the name of Light) created; and this light formerly disperfed, was in the same fourth day vnited and set in the firmament of Heauen: for to Light created in the first day God gaue no proper place or fixation, and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation*, (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdom of God finde cause why it should moue (by which motion dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any creature produced, to which, by mouing, the Sunne might giue light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from waters) beganne to budde forth the budde of the hearbe, &c. God caused the Sunne to moue, and (by interchange oft time) to visite euery part of the inferior world; by his heate to stirre vp the fire of generation, and to giue actiuitie to the seedes of all natures: For as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to bee erected, doth accommodate the same to that vse and end, to which it was ordaind; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the light to be, which by his all-powerfull word he approued, and approving it disposed thereof, to the vse and comfort of his future creatures.

But in that it pleased God to aske of *I o n*, by what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth; we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not vnder mans vnderstanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enioy the effects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (saith *ESDRAS*). And those which inhabite the heauens, doe only know the essence thereof. *Nihil ignotum in celo, nihil notum in terra*, Nothing unknowne in heauen, nothing perfectly knowne on earth. *Res vera sunt in mundo inuisibili, in mundo visibili vmbra rerum*: Things themselves are in the inuisible world, in the world visible but their shadowes; Surely it this light be not spirituall, yet it approacheth near vnto spirituality; and if it haue any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for howsoeuer, it is of all things seen, the most beautifull, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it ministreth to men and other creatures all celestiaall influences; it dissipath those sadde thoughts and sorrowes, which the darknesse both begetteth and maintaineth; it discouereth vnto vs the glorious workes of God, and carrieth vp with an Angellical swiftnesse our eyes vnto heauen, that by the light thereof, our mindes being informed of his visible meruailes, may continually trauaile to surmount these percelud heauens, and to finde out their omnipotent cause and Creatour. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis*: Our knowledge doth not quiet it selfe in things created. *Et ipsa lux facit, ut cetera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet*. It is the light, (saith *St. AMBROSE*) that maketh the other part of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it selfe communicateth its goodness and beauty vnto all: of which *Ouid* out of *Orpheus*:

Quid, Met. l. 1.

*Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus;
Amandi oculus.*

The world discernes it selfe, while I the world behold,
By me the longest yeares, and other times are told,
I the worlds eye,

Lastly,

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any faire-off-dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beauty, motion, and vertue of this light may be perceived. Therefore was God called *lux ipsa*, and the light by *Hermes* named *lux sancta*, and *Christ* our Saviour said to bee *that light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world*. Yet in respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimitie, and puritie, this is also true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits, nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profecto non mens est, at verò ut sit mens causa spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit.* God (saith *HERMES* in *PŒMANDRO*) certainly is not a minde, but the cause, that the minde hath ha being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

So then the *Masse* and *Chaos* being first created, void, darke, and informed, was by the operative Spirit of God pierced and quickened, and the Waters having now received Spirit and motion, resolved their thinner parts into aire, which God illuminated, the Earth also by being contigant, and mixt with waters (participating the same diuine vertue) brought forth the budde of the hearbe that seedeth fide, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operative vertue might be continued, God appointed the light to be vnted, and gaue it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those feuerall *species*, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time, and times succeeding.

§. VIII.

Of the firmament, and of the waters above the firmament: and whether there be any cristalline heauen, or any primum mobile.

30 **A**fter that the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters*: that is, those waters which by rarification and euaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these waters separate about this extension, which the Latine translation calleth *firmamentum*, for *expansum* (for *Isotabulus*, *Yagninus*, and *Iunius* turne it) are not the cristalline Heauen, created in the imaginations of men, which opinion *Rassilius Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against this fancie. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the aire aboue vs, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the wordes *Raquia*, which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*, and *Shamaym*, being indifferently taken for the Heauen and for aire, and more properly for the aire and ether then for the Heauens, as the best Hebricians vnderstand them, *quo suprema ac tenuia ab infimis crassius diducta intersecta*, different, for that whereby the supreme and thinnest bodies were placed in distance being severed and cut off from low and grosse matters: and the waters above the firmament exprest in the word *Maym*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters about the aire, or in the vppermost Region of the same.

And that the word Heauen is vsed for the aire, the Scriptures eury where witness, as in the blessings of *Ioseph*, and in the 104. Psalm. * *By these Springs shall the fowle of the heauen dwell; and upon Sodom and Gomorrah it rained brimstone and fire out of the heauen*; and in *Isaacs* blessing to *IACOB*, *God giue thee therefore of the dew of the heauen*; and in *Deuteronomy* the 11. *But the land, whither you goe to possess it, is a land, that drinketh water of the raine of heauen*; and in *ION*, *who hath ingendered the frowls of the heauen*; and in *St. MATTHEW*, *Behold the fowles of heauen*, for they sow not.

Gen. II. 1.

So as in all the Scriptures of the old Testament throughout, is the word Heauen very often vsed for aire, and taken also hyperbolically for any great height, as, *Let vs build vs a Tower, whose toppes may reach to heauen, &c.* and in this very place Basil auoucheth that this appellation of heauen for the firmament, is but by way of similitude: his owne wordes be these, *Et vocauit Deus firmamentum celum. Hec appellatio alij quidem proprie accommodatur, hinc autem vix ad similitudinem; And God called the firmament heauen: This appellation (saith Basil) is properly applied to another (that is, to the Starry Heauen) but to this (that is, to the Firmament deuiding the waters) it is imposed by similitude:* and if there were no other proofe, that by the firmament was meant the aire, and not the Heauen, the wordes of *MOSES* 10 in the eighth Verse conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth Verse makes it manifest: for in the eight Verse it is writtten, that God called the firmament, which deuided waters from waters, Heauen; and in the 20. Verse hee calleth the firmament of Heauen, aire, in these wordes: *And let the fowle flie vpon the earth in the open firmament of heauen:* and what vsf there should be of this icie, or cristalline, or waterie heauen, I conceiue not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *Primum mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, in stead of this helpe, it would adde an vnmeasurable greatnesse of circle, whereby the swiftnesse of that first Moueable would exceede all possibilitie of beleefe. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia, but no man ought to be held to impossibilities;* and faith 20 it selfe (which surmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible conducter the word of truth, which also may be called *lumen omnis rationis, & intellectus, the light of all reason and understanding.* Now that this supposed first Moueable turneth it selfe so many hundreth thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can belecue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I can not: but of these many heauens, let the Reader, that desireth satisfaction, search *Orontius*, and of this waterie Heauen, *Basilus Magnus* in his *Hexam. fol. 40. 41. &c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus* his second Booke and sixt Chapter. For my selfe I am perswaded, that the waters called the waters about the heauens, are but the clowdes and waters ingendred in the vppermost aire. 30

§. I X.

A conclusion repeating the summe of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise GOD in the beginning, and 40 when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehensible eternitie. First, he created the matter of all things: and in the first three daies he distinguished and gaue to euery nature his proper forme; the forme of leuitie to that which ascended, to that which descended, the forme of grauitie: for he separated light from darkenesse, deuided waters from waters, and gathered the waters vnder the firmament into one place. In the last three daies, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the world: he set in the firmament of Heauen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fish, giuing to all, that haue life, a power generatiue, thereby to continue their Species and kinds; to creatures vegetatiue and growing, their feedes 50 in themselves; for he created all things, that they might haue their being: and the generations of the world are preferred.

§. X.

p. X.

*That nature is no Principium per se; nor forme the giuer of being; and of our
ignorance, how second causes should haue any proportion with
their effects.*

And for this working pow, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*, the same is nothing else, but the strength and faculty, which God hath infused into every creature, having no other selfe ability, then a Clocke, after it is wound up by a mans hand, hath. These therefore that attribute vnto this facultie, any first or sole power, haue therein no other vnderstanding, then such a one hath, who looking into the sterne of a shippe, and finding it guided by the helme and rudder, doth ascribe some absolute vertue to the peece of wood, without all consideration of the hand, that guides it, or of the iudgement, which also directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and in all else, that by the vertue of the first act, all Agents worke whatsoever they worke: *Virtute primo actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt*: for as the minde of man heeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choise by the will: and therefore we attribute light to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yett is the minde only, that giueth ability, life, and motion to all these instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infused properties, and by men, as by seuerall organs, seuerall effects, all second causes whatsoeuer being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they haue receeued from the head and fountaine of the Vniuersall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and euery-where-presence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giueth to the Sunne power to draw up vapours, to vapours to be made cloudes, cloudes to containe raine, and raine to fall: so all second and instrumentall causes, together with Nature it selfe, without that operative facultie which God gaue them, would become altogether silent, vertuelesse, and dead; of which excellently *ORAPHEVS*: *Per se videntur omnia, Ad aliquid by the spring forth in ioyfull Greene*. I enforce not these things, thereby to annihilate those variable vertues, which God hath giuen to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, &c. For all his workes in their vertues praise him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, haue taken on them to teach: I say there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could euer yet connecte it, or expresse it, euer enrich his owne vnderstanding with any certaine truth, or euer edifie others (not foolishly by selfe-flattering) therein. For (saith *Lactantius*, speaking of the wisdome of the Philosophers) *si facultas inuenienda veritatis hinc suauo iubis arcu, aliquando efficit inuentus cum uero* 40 *not temporibus, tot ingenij in eius inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam. In ista iustia* (saith he) *wee meanes to finde out the truth, it had ere this beene found out: but seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits haue bene worne out in the inquirie of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisdome can be had.* *Nam si de uina re praefata sententia habetur, omnium rerum scientia necessario habetur.* If the precise knowledge of any one thing were to be had, it would necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had. And as the Philosophers were ignorant in nature, and the wayes other working: so were they more curious, then knowing, in their first matter and Physicall forme. For if their first matter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as is the first matter, it hath 50 only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth libbit. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take conseruence, it hath not bene taught neither are these formes (saith a learned Author) any thing, *se ex ea exprimuntur* 60 *potentia*.

potentia, que nihil est. Again, how this first matter should be *subiectum formarum*, and passive, which is understood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceiue: for to make forme which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, diuine and humane: only it may be said, that originally there is no other difference between matter and forme, then between heat and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kind of rational consideration. Leaving therefore these riddles to their louers, who by certain scholasticall distinctions writ and peruert the truth of all things, and by which Aristotle hath laboured to proue a false eternitie of the world, I thinke it faine safer to asseme with St. AUGUSTINE, That all species and kinds are from God, from whom, whatsoever is naturall proceedeth, of what kinde or estimation soeuer, from whence are the seeds of all formes, and the formes of all seeds and their motions: *A quo est omnis species, à quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cuiuscunque generis est, cuiuscunque estimationis est, à quo sunt semina formarum, forme seminum, motus seminum atq. formarum.* And thus much *Auerrois* is forced to confesse. For all formes (saith he) are in primo motore; which is also the opinion of Aristotle in the twelfth of his Metaph. and of Albertus vpon Dionysius.

21. Metaph.

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starrs haue great influence: and that their operations may diuersly be prevented or furthered.



ND, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that haue written thereof, may be safely receiued, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an ineuitable necessity, and made it more generall, and vniuersally powerfull then it is, by giuing it dominion ouer the minde of man, and ouer his will; of which *Ouid* and *Lucretius*.

Lucret. sat. 7. 101

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.

Seruus regna dabunt, captiuis Fata triumphos,

Gainst Fate no counsell can preuaile.

Kingdomes to slaues, by Destinie,

To Captiues triumphs giuen be.

Ref. R. 6. 4.
Aug. de be. res.
70. c. 15.
The cont. Gent.
3. c. 83.
Ficin. in 12. de
lig.
Cic. de fat.

An error of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscilianists, the Bardianists, and others, as *Basil*, *Augustine*, and *Thomas* haue obscured: that, that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceiued of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platonist. *Ptolemy* our of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestiaall Orbes, vntchangeably working in inferior bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things, which a rational minde doth not order nor direct. *Ptolemy*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and ineuitable necessity, and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de vniuerso, nostrum fatum est Deus*) and the definite lot of all liuing. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starrs are instruments of farre greater vse, then to giue an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sinne set: it being manifest, that the diuersity of seasons, the Winters, and Summers, more hot and cold, are not so vntcertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keep one and the same course, but that the Starrs haue also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath giuen vertues to springs, and fountaines,

taines, to cold earth, to plants and stones, Minerals, and to the excremental parts of the basest living creatures, why should wee robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not thinke, that in the treasury of his wisdome who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every starre) a peculiar vertue and operation, as every herbe, plant, fruit, and flower, adorning the face of the Earth hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to couer and shadow her duty face, but otherwise for the vse of man and beast, to feede them and cure them: so were not those vncountable glorious bodies set in the firmament, to no other end

10 then to adorne it, but for instruments and organs of his diuine providence, so furre as it hath pleased his iust will to determine. *Origen* vpon this place of *Genesis*, Let there be light in the firmament, &c. affirmeth that the Starres are not causes (meaning per chance binding causes) but are as open bookes, wherein are contained and set downe all things whatsoeuer to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisdome; which latter part I beleue well, and this saying of *Syracides* withall. That there are

hidde yet greater things then these be, and we haue seene but a few of his workes. And though, for the capacite of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and uttermost vertues of herbes and plants, which our selues sow and set, and which grow vnder our feete, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of cele-

20stiall bodies: for hardly (saith *Salomon*) can we discern the things that are vpon the earth, and with great labour finde we out those things that are before vs: who can then inuigilate the things that are in heauen? *Multum est de rebus celestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to know a little of heavenly things.* But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we doe not binde God to his crea-

tures, in this supposed necessity of define, so on the contrary we doe not robbe those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes depouled God of his prerogative, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celestiall enforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were iustificable; of whom *St. Augustine*. *Impia peruersitate in malis suis rectissime reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctorem siderum, quam commissorem scelerum.* where we reprehend them of euill deeds, they againe with wicked peruerseesse urge, that rather the Author and Creatour of the Starres, then the doer of the euill is to be accused.

30 But that the Starres and other celestiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion: it cannot be doubted. *Corpora celestia* (saith *Damascene*) *constituunt in nobis habitus, complexionis, & dispositionis.* The heavenly bodies (saith he) make in vs habits, complexionis, and dispositionis: for the body (though *Galen* enforce it further) hath vndoubtedly a

kind of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in humour, and mindes weak in vertues: for those of cholerike complexion are subiect to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the minde hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her vassalles, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse minde I am

40 resolved: For all those which were created mortall, as birds, beasts, and the like are left to their naturall appetites, ouer all which, celestiall bodies (as instruments and executioners of Gods providence) haue absolute dominion. What we should iudge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell: for as he that contendeth against those enforcements, may easily master or resist them: so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by vertue and pietie prepared, putteth himselfe altogether vnder the power

50 of his sensuall appetite, *Vincitur satum si resistit, vincit si contempsit: Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it, if thou neglect, it conquers.*

But that either the Starres or the Sunne haue any power ouer the mindes of men immediately, it is absurd to thinke, other then as afore said, as the flame by the bodies temper may be effected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilibus corporum confert, & Aug. de ciuit. Dei, li. 5.*

ad vitam ipsam mouet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sunne (saith Saint AUGVSTINE) helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moueth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them: yet full as a Minister, not as a Master: *Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio; The Sunne is good to serue, not to sway* (saith St. Ambrose.) And St. AUGVSTINE: *Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora; God ruleth the bodies below by those above, but he auoucheth not that superiour bodies haue rule ouer mens minds, which are incorporeall.*

But howsoeuer we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in nature and art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation: and Aristotle himselfe confesseth, that the heauens doe not alwaies worke their effects in inferiour bodies, no more then the signes of raine and wind doe alwaies come to passe. And it diuers times seene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. *Est in laeuentia patrum virtus; In the young offspring the fathers vertue is,* and so the contrary, *patrum vitia:* and herein also there is often found an entercchange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men, to vertue.

Egregia est soboles, scelerato nata parente.

A worthy some is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reserved power) that so much letteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the world so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing vp may fashion anew, and reforme them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the raines being let loose) the continuall fellowship and familiarie, and the examples of dissolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Vessels will euer retain a fauour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult either to cleanse the minde once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet fauour of vertue first receiued, when the minde was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a fauourable constellation (allowing that the Starres incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arrive, or the contrarie in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding vertuous or vicious, heauen and earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the seedes of vertue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, then the strength of selfe nature and kinde could haue yeilded them; so the plants apt to grow wild, and to change themselves into weedes, by being set in a soile suitable, and like themselves, are made more vnusuoury and filled with poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapientis adiuuabit opus astrorum, quemadmodum agricola terra naturam;* A wise man assisteth the worke of the Starres, as the husbandman helpeth the nature of the soile. And Ptolomie himselfe confesseth thus much, *Sapientis, & omnia sapientia medici dominabuntur astris;* A wise man, and the ominous art of a wise Physician shall preuaile against the starres. Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the starres, as he did the rest of the vniuersall, whose influences may be called his reserved and vnwritten lawes. But lets consider how they binde: euen as the lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the world haue by their lawes decreed, that a theefe and a murderer shall suffer death; and though their ordinances be daylie by Iudges and Magistrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly; yet these lawes doe not depriv Kings of their naturall or religious compassion, or binde them without prerogative, to such a seuer execution, as that there should be nothing left of libertie to iudgement, power, or conscience: the Law in his owne nature being no other then a deafe Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe sometimes for causes to themselves knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves, it were then impious to take that power and libertie from God himselfe,

which

which his Substitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodnesse, and charitie it selfe. Otherwise that example of prayer by our Saviour taught. *And let vs not be leade vnto temptation, but deliuer vs from euill,* had beene no other but an expence of wordes and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truly) hath assured vs, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble prayers and desires may not make frustrate, and breake asunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceiue) that Fate or Destinie, though depending vpon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependencie, that God himselfe should in a kinde haue shut vp himselfe therein.

10 *How miserable then were the condition of men (saith St. AUGUSTINE) left altogether without hope.*

And if this strength of the Starres were so transfer'd, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion ouer his creatures; be he Pagan or Christian that so belceueth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginarie Gods of the other would thereby be depouled of all worship, reuerence, or respect.

And certainly, God which hath promised vs the reward of well-doing, which Christ himselfe claimed at the hands of the Father (*I haue finished the works which thou gauest me to doe.*) And the same God, who hath threatned vnto vs the sorrow and torment of offences, could not contrary to his mercifull nature be so vnjust, as to bind

20 vs inuitably to the destinies, or influences of the Starres, or subiect our soules to any imposed necessitie. But it was well said of *Platimus*, that the starres were significant, but not efficient, giuing them yet something lesse then their due: and therefore as I doe not consent with those, who would make those glorious creatures of God vertuelfe: so I thinke that we derogate from his eternall and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to them the same dominion ouer our immortal soules, which they haue ouer all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the soules of men, louing and fearing God, receiue influence from that diuine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie, and that of the Starres is by Plato called but a shadow. *Lumen est* Pl. pol. 6.
umbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis. *Light is the shadow of Gods brightnesse, who is the* Eccl. i. 1. 7. pol.
30 *light of light.* But to end this question, because this Destinie, together with Providence, Prescience, and Predestination are often confounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two, for euery man hath not obserued it, though all learned men haue.

§. XII.

Of Prescience.

40 **P**rescience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prognosis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *presentia*) considered in order and nature (if we may speake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatfoeuer our selues fore-know, except the same be to succcede accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God (as it is Prescience only) is not the cause of anything futerly succceding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will rise, and set; that all men borne in the world shall die againe; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring Sommer and Harvest, and that according to the seuerall feedes that we sow, we shall reape seuerall sorts of graine, yet is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in vs binde or contraine the Sunne to rise and set, or men to die; for the causes (as men perswade themselves) are otherwise manifest and knowne to all. *The eye of man* (saith *BOETIUS*) *beholdeth those things subiect to*
C 3 *sense,*

senſe, as they are; the eye ſeeth that ſuch a beaſt is a horſe, it ſeeth men, trees, and houſes, &c. but our ſeeing of them (as they are) is not the cauſe of their ſo being, for ſuch they be in their owne natures. And againe out of the ſame Authour. *Diuina prouidentia rebus generalis non imponit neceſſitatem, quia ſi omnia euenirent ex neceſſitate, premia bonorum, & pœna malorum periret.* Diuine prouidence (ſaith he) impoſeth no neceſſity vpon things that are to exiſt, for if all came to paſſe of neceſſity, there ſhould neither be reward of good, nor puniſhment of euill.

§. XIII.

Of Prouidence. *It ſeemeth that it ſhould be ſo*

NOW Prouidence (which the Greekes call *Pronoia*) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-ſeeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not only behold all paſt, all preſent, and all to come, but is the cauſe of their ſo being, which Preſcience (ſimply taken) is not: and therefore Prouidence by the Philoſophers (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) is deuſed into Memorie, Knowledge, and Care: Memorie of the paſt, Knowledge of the preſent, and Care of the future; and we our ſelues account ſuch a man for prouident, as, remembering things paſt, and obſeruing things preſent, can by iudgement, and comparing the one with the other, prouide for the future, and times ſucceeding. That ſuch a thing there is as Prouidence, the Scriptures euerywhere teach vs, *Mofes* in many places, the Prophets in their predictions: Chriſt himſelfe and his Apoſtles aſſure vs hereof; and, beſides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus,* and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Prouidence of God: yea the Turks themſelves are ſo confident therein, as they reſuſe not to accompanie and viſit each other, in the moſt peſtilent diſeaſes, nor ſhunne any perill whatſoeuer, though death therein doe manifeſtly preſent it ſelfe.

The places of Scripture prouing Prouidence, are ſo many, both in generall and particular, as I ſhall neede to reſeate but a few of them in this place. *Sing vnto God* (ſaith *DAVID*) *which couereth the heauens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth, and maketh the graſſe to grow vpon the mountaines, which giueth to beaſts their food, and feedeth the young Ravens that crie: all theſe waite vpon thee, that thou maiſt giue them food in due ſeaſon.* And thou ſhalt drinke of the riner Cheareſh (ſaith God to *ELIAH*) and I haue commanded the Ravens to feede thee there. Behold the Fowles of the aire, they ſow not, nor reape, and yet your heauenly Father feedeth them: againe, are not two ſparrowes ſold for a farthing? and one of them ſhall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea all the haire of your head are numbred. And St. *PETER*, Caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you; And his iudgements are written (ſaith *DAVID*.)

God therefore, who is euery where preſent, who filleth the heauens and the earth, whoſe eyes are vpon the righteous, and his countenance againſt them that doe euill, was therefore by *Orpheus* called *oculus infinitus, an infinite eye*, beholding all things, and cannot therefore be eſteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne word. *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not giue my glorie to another.* No man commandeth in the Kings preſence, but by the Kings direction; but God is euery where preſent, and King of Kings. The example of Gods vniuerſall prouidence is ſene in his creatures. The Father prouideth for his children: beaſts and birds and all liuing for their young ones. If prouidence be found in ſecond Fathers, much more in the firſt and Vniuerſall: and if there be a natural louting care in men, and beaſts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whoſe diuine loue was the beginning, and is the bond of the Vniuerſall. *Amor diuini rerum omnium eſt principium, & vinculum vniuerſi* (ſaith *PLATO*). *Amor Dei eſt modus perpetuus, mundi copula, partimque eius immobilitate ſuſtentaculum, ac vniuerſe*

Psal. 147. 8.

9.

Psal. 104. 27.

1. Ro. 17. 4.

Mat. 6. 26.

Luke 12. 6.

7.

1. Pet. 5. 7.

Psal. 36. 6.

Jerem. 23. 24.

Psal. 48. 8.

universe machine fundamentum, The love of God is the perpetuall knot, and linke or chaine of the world, and the immoueable pillar of every part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the vniuersall. God therefore who could onely be the cause of all, can onely provide for all, and sustaine all; so as to abolute power; to euery-where presence, to perfect goodnesse; to pure and diuine loue; this attribute and transcendent habilitie of Providence is only proper and belonging.

164. p. 1. c. 4. 4. 8.
God a loue.

¶ XIII.

Of Predesination.



Ow for Predesination; we can difference it no otherwise, from Providence and Prefcience, then in this, that Prefcience only fore-seeth: Providence fore-seeth and carch for, and hath respect to all creatures, euen from the brightest Angels of heauen, to the vnworthiest wormes of the earth, and Predesination (as it is vsed specially by Diuines) is only of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their saluation properly, in the common vse of Diuines, or perdition, as some haue vsed it. Yet Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologus, and others, take the word Predesination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicitie: diuers of the Fathers take it more largely somtimes; among whom St. Augustine speaking of two Cities, and two societies, vseth these wordes, *Quarum est vna, que predesinata est in eternum regnare cum Deo, altera eternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo, Where of one is it, which is predesinated to raigne for euer with God, but the other is to vndergoe euerslasting torment with the Deuill:* for according to Nonius Marcellus, *destinare est preparare*, and of the same opinion are many Protestant writers, as Calvin, Beza, Buchanan, Dananus, and such like; and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leaue them to the Diuines; and why it hath pleased God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will answer with Gregorie, who saith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt:* He that seeth no reason in the actions of God, by consideration of his owne infirmitie perceiue the reason of his blindness. And againe with St. Augustine, *Occulta esse causa potest, iniusta esse non potest:* Hidden the cause of his Predesination may be, vniust it cannot be.

Rom. 8. & 9.

164. p. 1. c. 4. 4. 8.

Thom. part. 1.

dist. 23.

Bernardus Proble. 1. d.

Aug. 1. 5. c. 4. de

Ciuit. Dei.

Cal. in cap. 9. ad

Rom. c. 11.

Eccl. in magn. ex-

pos. in cap. 9. ad

Rom.

Danauis, l. 3. de

Salut.

Greg. Magn.

lib. 9.

Aug. ad Pelag.

ep. 59.

¶ XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seeme to be by fortune, and against reason and Providence.



Asfly, seeing Destinie or Necessitie is subsequnt to Gods prouidence, and seeing that the Starrs haue no other dominion, then is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as Plato calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificiosum Dei Organum*, The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and *Cyranus, Diuini precepti instrumentum*, The instrument of the diuine precept, we may then with better reason reiect that kinde of Idolatrie, or God of fooles, called Fortune or Chance: a Goddesse, the most reuerenced, and the most consulted of all other, but not ancient; for Homer maketh her the Daughter of Oceanus, as Pausanias witnesseth in his *Messenians*. The Greekes call her *tyche* signifying a relative being, or betiding, so as before Homers time this great Ladie was scarce heard off; and Hesiodus, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit Gods, hath not a word of Fortune: yet afterward she grew so great and omnipotent, as from

Sen. ep. 9.

Kings

Kings and Kingdomes, to beggers and cottages, these ordered all things, resisting the wisdom of the wisest, by making the possessor thereof miserable: valuing the folly of the most foolish by making their successe prosperous, inasmuch as the actions of men were said to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens liues, but her pastimes: of which PALLADIVS, *Vita hominum ludus fortune est*, The life of man is the play of Fortune; and because it often falleth out, that enterprises guided by ill counsels haue equall successe to those by the best iudgement conducted, therefore had Fortune the same external figure with Sapience: whereof

As vill. de per-
tinax. Sm. ep. 74
Dimitraus Pali-
metris in the
epigram and from
the changes of his
Fortune, is said
to haue viad, to
cite out vpon
Fortune, applying
to her a Verse of
ÆSCHYLVS. *Te me extulisti, eadem me in (scilicet) 10*
perditura.

86. 48. 01.
76. 809.

*Longissime d Sapientia Fors distat,
Sed multa periculis tamen simillima.*

From wisdom Fortune differs farre,
And yet in workes most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly vnderstood) is nothing else but a power imaginarie, to which the successe of humane actions and endeuours were for their vantage ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not bee giuen, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant, contrary to this true ground of PLATO: *Nihil est erum sub Sole, cuius causa legitima non præcessit*, Nothing euer came to passe vnder the Sunne, of which there was not a iust preceeding cause. But AGUINAS hath herein answered in one distinction, what fouer may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen besides the intention of the inferior, but not besides the intention of the superiour: *Præter intentionem inferioris, sed non præter intentionem superioris*, (to wit) the ordinance of God; and therefore (saith MELANCHTON) *Quod Poete fortunam, nos Deum appellamus, Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God*, and that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth vs, as in the law of murder. He that offered him into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. Now where the Scripture hath these wordes, God hath offered him into his hand; we say, if he hurt him by Chance, and in Deuteronomie the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby an other is slaine, was the worke of God himselfe, we in our phrase attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune: and in the Proverbs the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord*: So as that which seemeth most casual, and subiect to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hercot the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as Cicero witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of Aristotle and his sectators, with those of Plato, and the Academics to this effect, That the same power which they called *animus mundi*, the soule of the world, was no other then that incomprehensible wisdom; which we expresse by the name of God, governing euery being afield in heauen as in earth; to which wisdom and power they sometime gaue the title of necessitie or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: sometime, the title of Fortune, because of many effects there appeare vnto vs no certaine causes. To this effect speaketh St. Augustine in his questions vpon Genesis the first Booke: the same hath Seneca in his fourth of Benefits; which was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which sect hee was: *For what fouer (saith hee) thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, distinguished by diuers termes, according as we use them, and exercise his power diuersly*. 50

But it may be objected, that if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the causes of good and euill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expresse successe, how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend vpon so many unworthy and

Te facimus Fortu-
tate Deum, cu-
bit, locum, a.
Sci. to. 166.
Exord. 2. 13.

Gen. 19. Vers. 5.

Gen. 16. Vers. 33.

Gen. 1. 1. 1.

Senec. l. 4. c. 7.

and empie-headed fooles; that riches and honour are giuen to externall men, and without kernell: and so many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their lines in poore and dejected estates. In a word there is no other inferiour, or apparent cause, beside the partialitie of mans affeccion, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selues according to the nature of the time wherein we liue, for whosoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withall an honest and open heart and louing truth, if Princes, or those that gouerne, endure no other discourse then their owne flatteries, then I say such an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall euermore hang vnder the wheele, which kinde
 10 of deseruing well and receiuing ill, wee alwaies fallily charge Fortune withall. For whosoever shall tell any great man or Magistrate, that he is not iust, the Generall of an Armie, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire, shall neuer be made a Counsellor, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and iust with him that is iust, for such an one hath no estate in his prosperitie; but he must also change with the successour, if he be of contrary qualities, faile with the tide of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master cangeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches, but by such an obseruant flauish course? These men ha-
 20 uing nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kinde of wondering at other men, and by making them beleue that all their vices are vertues, and all their dulle actions crystalline, haue yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, *Omnis insipiens arrogantia & plusibus capitur*, Every foole is wonne with his owne pride and others flattering applause: so as whosoever will liue altogether out of himselfe, and studie other mens humours, and obserue them, shall neuer be vnfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the season wherein he liueth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall neuer prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to wane or contend
 30 in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liueth: for such a one is often the authour of his owne miserie, but best it were to follow the aduise, which the Pope gaue the Bishops of that age, out of *Quid*, while the Arian Heretic raged:

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori;

*Quid rem am,
Obi.*

While furie gallops on the way,
Lct no man furies gallop stay.

And if *Cicero* (then counsell that world begat not aman of more reputed iudgement) had followed the counsaile of his brother *QUINTVS*, *Potiusse* (saith *Petrarch*) in *lectulo suo mori*, *potiusse integro caduere sepeliri*, He might then haue died the death of nature, and bene with an vntorne and undiscurved body buried; for as *Petrarch* in the same place noteth: *Quid saltius quam desperantem* (presertim de *esset*) *littibus perpetuis implicari*, What more foolish then for him that desperes, especially of the effect, to be entangled with endless contentions? Whosoever therefore will set before him *Machiavels* two markes to shooe at (to wit) riches, and glorie, must set on and take off a backe of yron to a weake wooden bow, that it may hit both the strong and the feeble: for as he, that first deuised to adde sailes to rowing vessels, did either fo proportion them, as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne invention: so that man which prizeth vertue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoise and strike his sailes, as the diuers natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his sailes, and his cloth, of meane length and breadth, and content himselfe with a slow and sure navigation, (to wit) a meane and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the

*Machiavel
2 marks 5 bow
100 100*

Machiavel firm

1 Cor. 2. 8, v. 6.
Cap. 12. 20, 21, 6.

thereof, or of what fouer Lords or Gods, imaginarie powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishnesse) of man hath found out: let vs resolute with *St. Paul*, who hath taught vs, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord, Iesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diuersities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

CHAP. II.

Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

Gen. 1. 26.

Trifm. A. 1. 1. 2. 6.
de volut. Dei.
Plat. leg. 1. 1.



He creation of all other creatures being finished, the heauens adorned, and the earth replenished, *God* said, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, according to our likenesse.*

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods workes to vs knowne, *ingens miraculum homo, man is the greatest wonder* (saith *Plato* out of *MERCURIUS*;) *Natura ardensissime artificium, the artificial worke of the most ardent or fire-like nature* (as saith *Zoroaster*) though the same be meant, not for any excellencie externall, but in respect of his internall forme, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence immortall, and spirituall; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Sanctior, quia
pari potius im-
mortalis, ani-
mal, quia in
mortalis.
In locum Ouid.
Met. 1. 1. 76.

Sanctius his animal mentisq, capaxius alia
Deerat adhuc: Et quod dominari in cetera posset,
Natus homo est.

More holy then the rest, and vnderstanding more
A liuing creature woules, to rule all made before,
So man beganne to be.

Of this Image and similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceiue, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and dominion, as *St. Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, and some others: which *St. Ambrose* denyeth to the woman in these wordes, *Et sicut Deus vnus, ab eo fieret homo vnus, Et quomodo ex Deo vno omnia, ita ex vno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terre: Vnus igitur vnus fecit, qui unitatis eius haberet imaginem*, That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one made one, that should haue the Image of his vnitie. But whereas it is gathered out of the following wordes of the

same

same Verse, that man was after the image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written *Dominimini* in the plural number, and let them rule over the fish of the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that man is said to be after the image of God in respect of his immortall soule only, because as God is inuincible, so the soule of man is inuincible, as God is immortall and incorpall, so is the soule of man immortall and incorpall; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, so but one soule which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, so is the soule of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*, The soule is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof, according to *Aristotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men denie that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the *Aristotelians* in the world shall neuer proue. These and the like arguments doe the *Iewes* make (saith *Tostatus*) and these resemblances, betwene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) *Memorie*, *Vnderstanding*, and *Will*, and yet all these, being of reall differences, are but one minde: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude diuers, and againe, they distinguish betwene *imaginem Dei*, and *ad imaginem Dei*, and spinne into small threds, with subtle distinctions, many times the plainnesse, and incertie of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth through and dissolueth the purest gold. *Victorinus* also maketh the image of God to be substantiall, but not the similitude: *sed in substantia nomen qualitas declaratum*, A word declaring qualitie in the substance. Out of which wordes, and that which followeth, it is inferd, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ: so the sinfull soule doth not therefore leaue to be the image of God; but it hath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. *St. Augustine* also against *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by sinne, the perfection of this image is lost in man, and in his Retractions maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howsoever the Schoole-men and others distinguish, or whatsoever the Fathers conceiue, sure I am that *St. Paul* maketh the same sense of the image, which *Florinus* doth of the similitude, who saith: *As we haue borne the image of the earthly, so shall we beare the image of the heauenly*; and it cannot bee gathered out of the Scriptures, that the word's image and similitude were vsed but in one sense, and in this place the better to expresse each other; whatsoever *Lambard* hath said to the contrary. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himselfe in the Scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the *Prophets*, or *Apostles*, euer conceiued. Now as *St. Paul* vseth the word (image) for both: so *St. James* vseth the word (similitude) for both in these wordes. *Therewith blessed wee God euen the Father, and therewith curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God*: Howsoever therefore *St. Augustine* seemeth, out of a kinde of elegancie in writing, to make some difference, as where he writeth, *Consecramur imaginem in eternitate*, similitudo enim in moribus inuenitur, We confesse that this image is found in eternitie, but his similitude in manners, that is, in the spirituall dispositions and qualities of the minde, yet thus he elideth where speaketh plainly. *Quasi uero possit esse imago aliqua in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omni no similis non est, procul dubio nec imago est*, As if (saith he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no image. The very wordes of the Text make this most manifest, as *Let vs make man in our image, according to our likeness*: which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may bee like vs; and in the next Verse following God himselfe maketh it plaine, for there he vseth the word (image) only, as thus. *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him*. And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the

first

first Verse of the fift Chapter, the word (similitude) is vsed againe by it selfe, as, *in the day that God created ADAM, in the likeness of God made he him.* And this similitude S. Paul Colof. the third, calleth the image. *Put on (saith he) the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him, that created him.* And in *Siracides* it is written, *he made them according to his image.* Now if we may belecue S. Paul before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoole-men, then it is as manifest as wordes can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same, for S. Paul vseth both the words directly in one sence. *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

Zanchius laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both in body and minde: *Nulla pars in homine que non fuerit huiusce imaginis participes, No part in a man (saith he) which was not participating Gods image: for God said, Let vs make man according to our owne image.* But the soule alone is not man, but the *Hypostasis* or whole man compounded of body and soule. The body of man (saith he) is the *Image of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus;* but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne obiection seemeth to me sufficient, where he allegeth, that it may be said that *Moses* spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortal man, yet is not the whole man mortal, but the body only: so when God said, Let vs make man after our image, hee meant the soule of man, and not the bodie of earth and dust: *Maledictus qui deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (saith S. AUGUSTINE,) *Cursed is he that referreth the Deitie of God to the lineaments of mans body.* *Deus enim non est humana forme participes, neque corpus humanum diuine* (saith *PHILO*.) *God is not partaker of humane forme, nor human: body of the forme diuine:* The Hebrew word for image is *Tselem*, which signifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine pertransit homo, Man passeth away in a shadow:* Let vs then know and consider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition, for it is both against his nature and his word, an error of the *Anthropomorphite*, against the very essence and Maiestie of God.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a Heathen, had yet a more diuine vnderstanding then these grosse Heretikes: *ad similitudinem Dei propius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura, The vertue which is in man (saith he) came nearer the similitude of God, then the figure.* For God is a spirituall substance, inuisible, and most simple; God is a iust God: God is mercifull: God is charitie it selfe, and (in a word) goodnesse it selfe, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himselfe to teach vs, and to make vs know of himselfe. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherein can man be said to resemble his vnexogitable power and perfectnesse? certainly, not in dominion alone: for the Deuill is said to be the Prince of this world, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither, because man hath an immortal soule, and therein the faculties of *Memorie*, *Vnderstanding*, and *Will*, for the Deuils are also immortal, and participate those faculties, being called *Demonies*, because *scientes* of Knowledge, and subtilty; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: for who haue rebelled against God? who haue made Gods of the vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea euen of shamefull parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet doe I not condemne the opinion of *St. Chrysostome* and *Ambrose*, as touching dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take *Dominion*, such as it ought to bee, that is, accompanied with iustice and pietie: for God did not only make man a ruler and Governour ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen (or of the aire) and ouer the Beasts of the field; but God gaue vnto man a dominion ouer men, he appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Iudges, to iudge them in equitie. Neither doe I exclude reason, as it is the abilitie of vnderstanding. For I doe not conceiue, that *Trenau* did therefore call man, the image of God, because hee was

animal

animal ratione only; but that he understood it better, with SYBILLA: *Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens, Man, that is endued with right reason, is said to resemble God, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creatour, and the same God to serue, loue, and obey; and therefore said St. Augustine (who herein came nearer the truth) fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente, God made man, in respect of the intellectu, after his owne image and similitude; and REYNERIVS; Homo, quid habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei, Man was made after the image of God, in minde, or in that he had a minde.*

10

§. II.

Of the intellectuall minde of man, in which there is much of the image of God: and that this image is much deformed by sinne.



Ve Mens is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to Aristotle, which is *forma, vel natura hominis*, The forme or nature of man; but this facultie or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi*, the principall strength of the minde, or soule, *cuius alius est perpetua veritatis contemplatio*; whose act, exercise, or office, is the perpetuall contemplation of truth; and therefore it is also called *intellectus diuinus, intellectus contemplatus, & anima contemplatus, A diuine vnderstanding, and an intellectuall minde contemplatus.*

Est autem mens nostra (saith CYSANVS) vis comprehendendi, & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectuall minde (saith he) is a power of comprehending, euen the whole; that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: vnto which Mercurius attributeth so much (if his meaning accompanie his wordes) that he esteemeth it to be the very essence of God (which was also the error of the Manichees and others) and no otherwise separate from God (saith he) then the light from the Sunne: for this *Mens* or vnderstanding (saith

Mercurius) est Deus in hominibus, Is God in men, or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the same essence or nature with the diuine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this *Mens* or vnderstanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite vnderstanding, but a power and facultie of our soules the purest; or the *lumen animae rationalis*, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this *Mens* others call *animam animae*, The soule of the soule, or with St. Augustine, the eye of the soule, or receptacle of Sapience and diuine knowledge, *que amore sapientiae tanquam ducem sequitur*, which followeth after the love of sapience as her guide (saith Philo) between which and reason, between which and the minde, called *anima*, betwene which and that power which the Latines call *animas*, there is this difference. Reason is that facultie by which we iudge and discourse; *Anima*, by which we liue. Hereof it is said, *Anima corpus animat, id est, viuificat, anima, or the soule is that which doth animate the body, that is, giueth it life*: for death is the separation of body and soule; and the same strength (saith Philo) which God the great directour hath in the world, the same hath this *Anima*, or mind, or soule in man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this Basil agreeth, which calleth this *Mens* or diuine vnderstanding, *perfectam animae partem, the perfecting part of the minde, or the light*, by which the Soule discerneth: *discernit mens, non anima, opitatur, & in suis iudiciis mens extinguitur, anima manet, in men that sleepe it is this (mens) or vnderstanding, and not the minde or soule, which relecth, during which time it is but habituell in wise men, and in madde men this (mens) is extinguished, and not the Soule; for madde men doe liue, though distract.*

Therefore this word being often vsed for the Soule giuing life, is attributed abusively to madde men, when we say that they are of a distract minde, in stead of a broken vnderstanding, which word (mind) we vse also for opinion, as, I am of this mind,

or that minde: and sometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, he is of an honest minde, or, a man of a iust minde: sometimes for affection, as I doe this for my mindes sake; and Aristotle sometimes vseth this word (*mens*) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we haue without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is vsed in the proper signification, including both the vnderstanding agent and possible, it is described to be a pure, simple, substantiall act, not depending vpon matter, but hauing relation to that, which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large thus; a part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth vnderstand, not depending vpon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion comming from without, and apt to be disfigured, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently Mercurius, *Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti preest, mens anima, anima corpori*, The Soule (meaning that which giueth life) is the image of this vnderstanding, or Mens, and this (*Mens*) or vnderstanding is the image of God. Gods Present or ruler over this vnderstanding, this vnderstanding ouer the Soule, and this Soule ouer the body. This diuision and distinction out of the Platonikes and Peripatetikes, I leaue to the Reader to iudge of. That *Mens humana* hath no neede of any organ, Marsilius Ficinus in his ninth booke of the Soules immortallitie laboureth to proue.

Lib. 9. cap. 5.

Zanch. de oper.
Dei. part. 3. lib.
1. cap. 2.

Zanchius doth not differ from Ficinus in wordes, for (saith he) *ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo, tanquam medio, per quod intelligat, quanquam eget obiecto in quod intueatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat: hoc autem obiectum sunt phantasmata, seu rerum a sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasiam prolata*, To exercise the facultie of vnderstanding, the minde of man (saith he) needeth no instrument, as a meane, by which it may vnderstand: but it needeth an object, whereon to looke, and whence to conceive the act of vnderstanding. This object are the phantasies, or the resemblances of things receiued from the sense, and carried to the phantasie: But in effect his conclusion seemeth to carry a contrarie sense, when he maketh the Phantasie, in representing the object to the vnderstanding, to be a corporall *Organum*; neither can it be vnderstood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the vnderstanding. And hee addeth that the resemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his vnderstanding and minde, as colours are to the sight: whence it fo followeth, that the imagination or phantasie it selfe is to the facultie of vnderstanding, as the eye is to the facultie of seeing, and as this is an *Organum*: so that. Of this question, How the Minde in all her actions maketh vse of the body, and hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to a most graue and learned discourse in the last Replie of Mr. Dr. BILSON, now Bishop of Winchester, vnto Henrie Iacob. Howsoeuer the truth bee determined, wee must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which wee discourse, nor in respect of the minde it selfe, by which we liue, nor in respect of our soules simply, by which we are immortall, that we are made after the image of God. But most safely may wee resemble our selues to God in mente, and in respect of that pure facultie which is neuer separate from the contemplation and loue of God. Yet this is not all.

Pag. 185. & sequens.

Ad imaginem
Dei creatus il-
lum, id est, spi-
rituale, virtutis,
ad bonitatem
potentem, qui se-
cundum Creato-
rem agnoscere
suum, atque imi-
tari, per in-
uentionem, au-
ditum, huius con-
fessionem rati-
onem flue-
re.

LXXX.

For St. Bernard maketh a true difference betweene the nature and faculties of the minde or Soule, and betweene the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the image of God, whose words are these: *Non propterea imago Dei est, quia sui meminit Mens, sed, intelligit & diligit* (which was also the opinion of S. AUGUSTINE) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere ac diligere eum a quo facta est*, (that is) The minde (or Mens) was not therefore the image of God, because it remembereth, vnderstandeth, and loneth it selfe, but because it can remember, vnderstand, and loue God, who created it. And, that this image may be deformed and made vnpromitable, heare BASIL: *Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum vero imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformauit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentiis afflictiōibus immergit*, Man was made after the image and similitude of God, but Sinne hath deformed the beautie of this image, and made it

it unprofitable by drawing our mindes into corrupt conuiscence.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortalitie, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it selfe, nor in all these ioyned, by any of which, or by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and vnderstanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Originall righteousnesse, most perfectly infused by God into the minde and Soule of man in his first creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberalitie, that wee were printed with the seale of Gods image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which ioyned to the Soule is a part of the essentiall constitution of our proper *Spiritus*) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into earth, and contriued within the trunkes of dust and clay, the inimitable habitie of his owne iustice, pietie, and righteousnesse.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that are powerful retain the image of God, as according to his Commandements they exercise the Office or Magistracie to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the waies of God, which in the Scriptures is called *walking with God*; and all other men so long retain this image, as they feare, loue, and serue God, truly, (that is) for the loue of God alone, and doe not bruite and deface his seale by the waight of manifold and voluntarie offences, and obnoxious finnes. For the vniust minde cannot bee after the image of God, seeing God is iustice it selfe; The bloud-thirstie hath it not; for God is charitie, and mercie it selfe: Falshood, cunning practise, and ambition, are properties of Satban; and therefore cannot dwell in one soule, together with God; and to be short, there is no likelihood betwene pure light and blacke darkenesse, betwene beautie and deformitie, or betwene righteousnesse and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common vnderstanding, haue made vs capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this image of Gods goodnesse, which the sensuall soules of beasts cannot perceiue; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and embrace the false and durtlesse pleasures of this stage-play world, then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of Gods wisdome, and the liberalitie of his mercy, formed eyes to our soules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impuritie of our flesh, behold the highest heavens, and thence bring knowledge and Object to the minde and Soule, to contemplate the ever-during glorie, and termelesse ioy, prepared for those, which retain the image and similitude of their Creatour, preserving vndefiled and vrent the garment of the new man, which, after the image of God, is created in righteousnesse, and true holinesse, as saith *St. Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by *St. Augustine* with whom *S. Ambrose* ioyneth, that, by finne, the perfection of the image is lost, and not the image it selfe; both opinions by 40 this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the image of God, in man, may betaken two waies; for either it is considered, according to naturall gifts, and consisteth therein: namely, to haue a reasonable and vnderstanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the image of God is no more lost by finne, then the very reasonable or vnderstanding nature, &c. is lost: (for finne doth not abolish and take away these naturall gifts); or, the image of God is considered, according to supernaturall gifts, namely, of diuine grace, and heavenly glorie, which is indeede the perfection and accomplishment of the naturall image; and this manner of similitude and image of God, is wholly blotted out and destroyed by finne.

Gen. 5. 22.

2 Cor. 6. 14

2 Cor. 3. 9.

S. Ambros.

Of our base and fraile bodies : and that the care thereof should
yeeld to the immortall Soule.

Alas! Mont. de
nat. f. 156.

THe external man God formed out of the dust of the earth, or according to the signification of the word, *Adam*, of redde earth, or, *ex limo terre*, out of the slime of the earth, or a mixed matter of earth and water. *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghashpar adamath* (1dst) *ex pinguisima & molissima*, Not that God made an Image or Statue of clay, but out of clay, earth or dust God formed and made flesh, blood, and bone, with all parts of men.

Gen. 2. 7.

Iob 4. v. 27.

That Man was formed of earth and dust, did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in humble feare he called vnto God, to saue *Sodom*. Let not my *Lorā* now be angry, if I speake, for that am but dust and ashes: And in these houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, doe our soules inhabite, according to *Iob*; and though our owne eyes doe euer where behold the sudden and resistible assaults of death, and Nature assureth vs by neuer-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times vpon the earth haue neither certaintie nor durabilitie, that our bodies are but the Anduiles of paine and diseases, and our Mindes the Huiues of vnumbred cares, sorrowes, and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which Enuie and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappinesse of our condition, and the darke ignorance, which couereth the eyes of our vnderstanding, that we only prize, pumper, and exalt this vassall and slaue of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortall Soule, which can neither die with the reprobate, nor perish with the mortall parts of vertuous men: seeing Gods iustice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is exercised for euermore, as the euer-living subiects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great accompt? neuer while we haue one vanitie left vs to spend: we please for titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for riches, while our strength enableth vs; exercise malice, while we can reuenge; and then, when Time hath beaten from vs both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature it selfe hateth the house of old age, we remember with *Iob*, that we must goe the way, from whence we shall not returne, and that our bedde is made ready for vs in the darke: And then I say, looking ouer late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked vp from vs all our liues, we behold therein the fearefull images of our actions past, and withall, this terrible inscription: That God will bring euery worke into iudgement, that man hath done vnder the Sunne.

Iob 10. 21. 27.
13.

Ecc. 13. 14.

But what examples haue euer moued vs? what perswasions reformed vs? or what threatnings made vs affraide? we beheld other mens Tragedies plaied before vs, we heare what is promised and threatned: but the worlds bright glorie hath put out the eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights, (with which we only see) doe neither looke vp towards termelisse ioyes, nor downe towards endlesse sorrowes, till we neither know, nor can looke for any thing else, at the worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*:

*Nihil hostes, nil dira fames, nil deniq; morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus, & periculis
Tentati, nihilo meliores redamur unquam,
Sub vitijis nullo culpatum sine manentes.*

Diseases, famine, enemies, in vs no change haue wrought,
What erst we were, we are; still in the same snare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend,
In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

But

But let vs not flatter our immortall Soules herein: for to neglect God all our liues, and know that we neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) euen a contemptuous laughing to scorn, and deriding of God, his lawes and precepts. *Ensisera sperant, qui se de misericordia Dei sibi blandiantur, They hope in vaine, saith BERNARD,* *Ensisera sperant, qui se de misericordia Dei sibi blandiantur, They hope in vaine, saith BERNARD,* which in this sort flatter themselves with Gods mercy.

§. IIIL.

Of the Spirit of life, which God breathed into man, in his Creation.

IN this frame and carcase God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a liuing soule: (that is) God gaue to a Bodie of earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule spirituall and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodilie instruments as men vse, but God breathed the Spirit of life and immortallitie into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into such as loue and feare him. *The Spirit of God (saith ELIY in Ios) hath made me, and* 103 33.
20 *the breath of the Almighty hath giuen me life: In qua sententia (saith RABANVS) vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo for massic corpus hominis, vel sanctibus aut labijs suis inspirasse in faciem formati, et viuere possit, & spiraculum vite habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tua fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (id est) iuxta consuetudinem, qua solent homines operari, loquutus est. In which sentence (saith he) the begetter himselfe of carnall sense is to be avoided, lest perhaps we should thinke, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with iawes or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might liue, and haue the spirit of life: for the Prophet also when he saith, Thy handes haue made me, spake this tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the custome which men vse in working. Quantum est periculi hijs, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo legunt: In what danger are they that reade the Scriptures in a carnall sense. By this breath was infused into man both life and soule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call *Animam*, que 30 *uiuificat corpus, & animat, which doth animate, and giue life to the body. The inspiration of the Almighty giueth vnderstanding, saith Iob; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soule of man, returneth againe to God that gaue it, as the body returneth vnto the earth, out of which it was taken, according to Ecclesiastes: And dust shall returne to the earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall* Ecclesiastes 12. 7.
32 *returne to God that gaue it. Neither is this word (spirit) vsually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, then for the soule; as when Stephen cryed vnto God: Domine suscipe* Act. 7.
40 *spiritum meum, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit: and in St. Iohn, And Iesus bowed his head, and gaue up the Ghost, or spirit, (which was) that his life and soule left his body dead. And that the immortall soule of man differeth from the soules of beastes, the manner of the creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the earth bring forth the liuing thing, according to his kinde, the best of the earth, &c. But of Man it is written, Let vs make man in our owne image, &c. and further, that the Lord breathed in his face breath of life. Wherefore, as from the water and earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence receiued life: so shall they againe be dissolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath euertasting, which God breathed into man, shall, according to Ecclesiastes, returne againe to God that gaue it.* Ecclesiastes 12. 7.*

p. V.

That Man is (as it were) a little world: with a digression touching
our mortalitie.

MAN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstrait or modell, or bricfe Storie of the Vniuersall: in whom God concluded the crea-
tion, and worke of the world, and whom he madeth the last and most ex-
cellent of his creatures, being internally endued with a diuine vnder-
standing, by which he might contemplate and serue his Creatour, after
whose image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of reason and
other abilities, that thereby also he might gouerne and rule the world, and all other
Gods creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of liuing natures, (to
wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giuing to Angels an intellectuall, and to
Beasts a sensuall nature, he vouchsafed vnto man, both the intellectuall of Angels,
the sensitiue of Beasts, and the proportionall belonging vnto man; and therefore
(saith GREGORIE NAZIANZEN:) *Homo est vtriusq; natura vinculum, Man is the
bond and chaine which tieth together both natures*: and because in the little frame of
mans body there is a representation of the Vniuersall, and (by allusion) a kind of par-
ticipation of all the parts thereof, therefore was man called *Microcosmos*, or the little
world. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum, in breui magnum,*
atque exiguo totum, in terris statuit, God therefore placed in the earth the man whom he
had made, as it were another world, the great and large world in the small and little world:
for out of earth and dust was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heauie and lump-
ish; the bones of his body we may compare to the hard rockes and stones, and there-
fore strong and durable: of which *Ouid*:

*Arist. Phys. lib.
8. cap. 2.
1. 17. f.
Greg. Nazianzen.
Epist.
Omnia in homine
creatura, et cir-
cum et terra.
Aug. l. 9. §. 4.
et retr. l. 1. §. 2.*

Ouid. Met. l. 1.

*Inde genus durum sumus, experientij, laborum,
Et documenta damus, quæ semus origine nati.*

From thence our kinde hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care,
Approuing, that our bodies of a stonic nature are.

bloud

breath

harmfulle nature

face

eyes

young

men

poore

34 240 4. 18.

His bloud, which disperseth it self by the branches of veines through all the bo-
die, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by brookes and riuers ouer
all the earth; his breath to the aire; his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth, which
the Earth hath in it self; which stirred vp by the heate of the Sunne, assisteth Nature
in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth: Our
radicall moisture, oile, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heat feedeth and is main-
tained) is resembled to the fat and fertile of the earth; the haire of mans body,
which adorns or ouershadowes it, to the grasse, which couereth the vpper face and
skin of the earth; our generatiue power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our
determinations, to the light, wandering, and vnsable cloud; carried euery where with
vncertaine winds; our eyes, to the light of the Sunne and Moone, and the beauty of our
youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the
Sunnes heat drie vp, & wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the
stalks; the thoughts of our minde, to the motion of Angels, and our pure vnder-
standing (formerly called *Mens*, and that which alwaies looketh vpwards) to those intel-
lectuall natures, which are alwayes present with God; and lastly our immortal soules
(while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the tide of his own
image and similitude: And although, in respect of God, there is no man iust, or good,
or righteous: (for in *Angelis deprehensa est stultitia, Behold, he found folly in his Angels,*
(saith *Iob*) yet with such a kind of difference, as there is betwene the substance, and
the shadow, there may be found a goodnesse in man: which God being pleased to
accept, hath therefore called man, the image and similitude of his owne righteousness.
In

In this also is the little world of man compared, and made more like the Vnuerfall (man being the measure of all things; *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith *Aristotle* dist. 10 Metaphysic.) and *Pythagoras*) that the foure complexiones resemble the foure Elements, and the fouen Ages of man the fouen Planets: Whereof our Infancie is compared to the Moone, in which we seeme onely to lue and growe, as Plants; the second age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third age to *Venus*, the dayes of loue, desire, and vanitie; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seeke honour and victorie; and in which our thoughts trauaile to ambitious ends; the sixth age is ascribed to *Iupiter*, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, iudge of our felues, and grow to the perfection of our vnderstanding; the last and sixenth to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are sad and ouer-cast, and in which wee finde by deere and lamentable experience, and by the losse which can neuer be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the sorrow onely abideth: Our attendants are sicknes, and variable infirmities; and by how much the more we are accompanied with plentie, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whome when Time hath made vniovable to others, we become a burthen to our felues: being of no other vse, then to hold the riches we haue, from our succellours. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we passe on vnto, with many sighes, groanes, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which we alwayes trauaile both sleeping and waking: neither haue those beloued companions of honour and riches any power at all, to hold vs any one day, by the promises of glorious entertainments; but by what crooked path so euer wee walke, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death: whose doores lie open at all houres, and to all persons. For this tide of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, euer runneth with a perpetuall ebbe and falling streame, but neuer floweth againe: our lease once fallen, springeth no more, neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne vs againe, with the garments of new leaues and flowers.

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*Redditur arboribus flores vniuentibus etas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, redit.*

To which I giue this sense,

The Plants and trees made poore and old
By Winter enuious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Couers againe, from shame and cold:
But neuer Man repair'd againe
His youth and beautie lost,
Though art, and care, and cost,
Doe promise Natures helpe in vaine,

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And of which

*CATVLLVS, EPIGRAM. 53.
Sole occidere & redire possunt:
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.*

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The Sunne may set and rise:
But we contrariwise
Sleepe after our short light
One euermlasting night.

For if there were any bairing place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life; then, according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the same might also perpetually be maine.

maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall living things, and as the ebbe and iuyce, wherein the life of Plants is preferred, doth euermore ascend or descend: so is it with the life of man, which is alwaies either encreasing towards ripenesse and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottenesse and dissolution.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first creation, to dispose of himselfe.

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Luci. 1. 1. 1.

Here be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all mankind, vnto whom God in his creation gaue a free and vnconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberal choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to trie his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortall and immortall life, a nature celestiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gaue man to himselfe, to be his owne guide, his owne workeman, and his owne painter, that he might frame or describe vnto himselfe what hee pleased, and make election of his owne forme. *God made man in the beginning* (saith S. IERACIDES) *and left him in the hands of his own counsaile.* Such was the liberalltie of God, and mans felicitie; whereas beasts, and all other creatures reasonlesse brought with them into the world (saith *Lucilius*) and that euen when they first fell from the bodies of their Dammes, the nature, which they could not change, and the supernall spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforesaid) God gaue vnto man all kinde of seedes and grafts of life, (to wit) the vegetatiue life of Plants, the sensuall of beastes, the rationall of man, and the intellectuall of Angels, whereof which soeuer he rooke pleasure to plant and cultiue, the same should surely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choyce and plantation. This freedome of the first man *Adam*, and our first Father, was enigmatically described by *Aclepius Atheniensis* (saith *Mirandula*) in the person and fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as hee pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was faigned, that men were transformed into diuers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from reason to brutallie, from vertue to vice, from meekenesse to crueltie, and from iustice to oppression. For by the liuely image of other creatures did those *Ancients* represent the variable passions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were signified deccleuers; by Lions, oppressours, and cruell men; by swine, men giuen ouer to lust and sensuality; by wolues, rauening and greedy men; which also S. Matthew resemblance to false Prophets, *which come to you in sheepe clothing, but inwardly they are rauening wolues*, by the images of stones and rockes, foolish and ignorant men, by Vipers, ingratefull men: of which Saint Iohn Baptist, *O ye generation of vipers, &c.*

Math. 7. 15.

Math. 3. 7.

§. VII.

Of Gods ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Vniuersall created was exceeding good.



Ioh. 1. 17.

IN this worke of man God finished the creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse, with whom, to will is to make*, saith *Beda*. Neither did God lo rest, that hee left the world made, and the creatures therein to themselves, for *my father worketh to this day* (saith *Christ*) *and I worke*, but God

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God rested, (that is) he created no new *species* or kinds of creatures, but (as afore-
said) gave vnto man a power generatiue, and so to the rest of liuing creatures, and
to Plants and flowers their seedes in themselves; and commanded man to multiply
and fill the earth, and the earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their
seuerall kinds: all which being finished, God saw that his workes were good; nor
that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they
were; for God made euery Plant of the field before it was in the earth, but he gave
to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that
from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and
from whole simple puritie and from so excellent a cause, there could proceede no
impure or imperfect effect. For man hauing a free will and liberall choyce, pur-
chased by disobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltie of mans
heart, was the earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the first age destroyed: but
the righteous man *Nosh*, and his familie, with those creatures which the Arke con-
tained, referred by God to replenish the earth.

Gen. 1, 28.
22, 24.

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CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradise.

§. I.

*That the seate of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no
marnais that men should erre.*



ONCERNING the first habitation of man wereade,
that the Lord God planted a garden, Eastward, in Eden,
and there he put the man whom he made, GEN. 2. 6.
Of this seate and place of Paradise, all ages haue held
dispute; and the opinions and iudgements haue been
in effect, as diuers, among those that haue written vpon
this part of Genesis, as vpon any one place therein,
seeming most obscure: some there are, that haue con-
ceined the being of the terrestriall Paradise, without
all regard of the worlds Geographic, and without any
respect of East and West, or any consideration of the

place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the hea-
uens) the way how to finde out and iudge, in what region of the world this garden
was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respectiue and precise. Others, by
being themselves ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the first interpretation, or trust-
ing to their owne iudgements, vnderstood one place for another; and one error is
so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand children, if the licentiousness thereof be not
timely restrained. And thirdly, those writers which gaue themselves to follow and
imitate others, were in all things so obsequant sectarours of those Masters, whom
they admired and belieued in, as they thought it safer to condemn: their owne vnder-
standing, then to examine theirs. For (saith *Radamus* in his Epistle of Paradise)
*magnos errores (magnum virorum auctoritate persuasi) transmissimus, we passe our
many grosse errors, by the authoritie of great men ledde and perswaded.* And it is true,
that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the vnderstanding of this place. I
speake it not, that I my selfe dare presume to censure them, for I reuerence both their
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learning and their pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth; for they were men; *Et humanum est errare*. And to the end that no man should be proude of himselfe, God hath distributed vnto men such a proportion of knowledge, as the wisdome may behold in themselves their owne weakness. *Nulli vnguan dedit omnia Deum*, God neuer gave the knowledge of althings to any one. St. Paul confesse that he knew not, whether he were taken vp into the third heauen in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himselfe acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to St. Iude) who is only wise. *Sapientia vbi innuitur?* (saith I 08) but where is wisdome found? and where is the place of vnderstanding? 10
man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the land of the liuing. And therefore seeing God cannot follie in his Angels, mens iudgements (which inhabite in houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our saluation dependeth not.

p. II.

A recitall of strange opinions, touching Paradise.

NOW as touching Paradise, first it is to be enquired, whether there were a Paradise or no? or whether Moses description were altogether mytical, and allegoricall? as Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius with others haue affirmed, and that vnder the names of those foure Riuers, Pison, Gebon, Hiddekel, and Perath, The tree of life, and the tree of knowledge, there were deliuered vnto vs other mysteries and significations; as, that by the foure Riuers were meant the foure Cardinall vertues, Iustice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence, or (by other) Oile, Wine, Milke, and Honnie. This Allegoricall vnderstanding of Paradise by Origen diuulged, was againe by Francisus Georgius receiued (saith Sixtus Senensis) whose frivulous imaginations Sixtus himselfe doth fully and learnedly answer in the 34. Annotation of his first Booke, fol. 338. the last Edition.

Amb. de Parad.

St. Ambrose also leaned wholly to the Allegoricall construction, and set Paradise in the third heauen, and in the vertues of the minde, & in nostro principali, which is, as I conceiue it, *innente*, or in our soules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or garden of Paradise, was meant the soule or minde; by Adam, Mens, or vnderstanding; by Eue, the sense; by the Serpent, delectation; by the Tree of good and euill, Sapience; and by the rest of the trees, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, vpon the first of the *Corinthians*, c. 6. he in direct wordes alloweth both of a celestiall and terrestriall Paradise; the one, into which St. Paul was rapt; the other, into which Adam was put by God. Aug. Chrysostomus, was of opinion, that a Paradise had bene, but that there was now any marke thereof on the earth: the same being not only defaced, but withall the places now not so much as existing. To which Luther seemeth to adhere.

The Manichees also vnderstood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion Vadius inclineth, as I conceiue his wordes in two seuerall places. First, vpon this: *Fill the earth*, Gen. 10. Of which he giueth this iudgement. *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini vniuersis animantibus, subijcite terram, clarissime docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (ut iam erat) fructibus constare, sedem & hortum illud Ade & posteritatis future fuisse, These wordes (saith he) in which God said, Bring forth fruit and multiplie, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule over every creature, doe clearly shew, that the Vniuersall earth set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and seat of Adam, and of his future posteritie. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the Acts the 17. *Apostolus ex vno sanguine**

2. Cor. 12. 3.

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Matt. 24. 36.

Iude Ep. c. 27.

105. 28. 12.

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Berol. sem. 2.
Li. 143.

Nep. 26.

guine omne genus humanum adeo factum docet, et habuerunt super uniuersam faciem terra-
e totaigitur terra Paradisi ille erat. The Apostle (saith he) teacheth, that God hath made
of one blood all mankind, to dwell ouer all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth
(saith he) was that Paradise. Which coniectures I will answer in order. *Geopius*
Reamus differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam*
was first planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place
Geopius findeth neare the Riuer of *Acesines*, in the confines of *India*.

Tertulian, *Bonsuature*, and *Duranus*, make *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall*, and *Postellus*, quite contrarie vnder the North pole: the *Chaldeans* also for the most part,
and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who
would either make *Paradise* a figure, or Sacrament only, or else would haue it seated
out of this sensible world, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Aire.
Strabus, and *Eubanus*, were both sick of this vanitie, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: so was
our venerable *Beda*, and *Pet. Comestor*, and *Moses Barcephas* the Syrian, translated by
Masius. But as *Hopkins* saies of *Philo Judeus*, that he wonderd, quæ maius ingenio afflatus,
By what cull Angel he was blowne up into this error: so can I not but greatly meruaile
at these learnd men, who so grossly and blindly wandred, seeing *Moses*, and after
him the Prophets, doe so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was
planted, by the Kingdomes and Prouinces bordering it, by the Riuers which wa-
tered it, and by the points of the compass vpon which it lay, in respect of *Iudæa*, or
Canaan.

Neuimagus also, vpon *Beda*, De natura rerum, beleueeth that all the Earth was ta-
ken for *Paradise*, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (saith he) hath the
same beautie ascribed to *Paradise*. He addeth, that the Ocean was that fountaine,
from whence the foure Riuers, *Pison*, *Gehen*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their begin-
ning: for he could not thinke it possible, that these Riuers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*,
and *Euphrates*, (where of the one ranne through *India*, the other through *Ægypt*,
and the other two through *Ægyptotania* and *Armenia*) could rise out of one foun-
taine, were it not out of the fountaine of the Ocean.

§. III.

That there was a true locall Paradise Eastward, in the Countrie of Eden.



O the first therefore, that such a place there was vpon the earth, the
words of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written. And the Lord God
planted a garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had
made. And howeouer the vulgar translation, called *Hieromes* trans-
lation, hath conuerted this place thus, Plantauit Dominus Deus Para-
disum voluptatis à principio; The Lord God planted a *Paradise* of pleasure from the begin-
ning; putting the word (pleasure) for Eden, and (from the beginning) for Eastward:
It is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For what sense
hath this translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatise of *Paradise*) that he planted a
garden in pleasure, or that a Riuer went out of pleasure to water the garden? But the
frequent Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, the *Paradise* of Eden, and so doth the
Chaldean Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a *Nowne*
appellative; which Region, in respect of the fertilitie of the soile, of the many beau-
tiful Riuers, and goodly woods, and that the trees (as in the *Indies*) doe alwaies keep
their leues, was called Eden, which signifieth in the Hebrew, pleasantnesse or delica-
cie. And the *Spaniards* call the Countrie, opposite to the Isle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is
the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word,
that as *Florida* was a Countrie, so called for the flourishing beautie thereof, so was
Eden a Region, called pleasure, or delicacie, for the pleasure or delicacie: and as *Flori-
da* signifieth flourishing: so Eden signifieth pleasure, and yet both are the proper
names

names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the Hebrew) and *Paradise* being the choice seat of all that Region, *Paradise* was truly the Garden of *Eden*, and truly the Garden of pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrarie to the translation of the Seuentie; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as *Basil. Chrysostome, Theodoret, Gregorie*; and to the *Rabbines*, as *Ramban, Rabbi Salomon, R. Abraham, and Chimechi*; and of the *Latines*, *Senecius, Damasceus*, &c. who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (*Eastward*) for *ab initio*: for *Damasceus* owne words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter confusus*; *Paradise is a place, maruailously planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the East.*

And after all these Fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of latter times, doe both vnderstand these words of *Eden*, and of the East, contrarie to the vulgar translation; *Parisienſis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne words. *After this I will beginne to speake of Paradiso terreftri, which that God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Posthac incipiam loqui de Paradiso terreftri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, &c.* And then *Senensis*; *Moses enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum à Deo constitum in regione terra Orientali, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus CHAM habitasse ad Orientalem plagam Eden; For Moses* (saith he) *doth shew moſt clearly, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrie, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we reade, that CHAM dwelt on the East border of Heden. PETERIVS endeouoreth to qualifie this translation: for this particule* (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alleging this place of *Christ*, that although the Deuill was said to be a man-slaier from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I thinke (referring my selfe to better judgement) the Deuill was from the instant of his fall a man-slaier in disposition, though he had not wherewith to practise till mans creation. And for conclusion, *S. Eterome* (if that be his translation) aduiseſeth himſelfe better in the end of the third Chapter of *Genesis*, conuerting the word (*Eden*) by (*ante*) and not (*a principio*) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden, Collocauit Deus ante Paradisum volupatus Cherubin*; and *Peterius* himſelfe acknowledgeſeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. *Posuit à parte Orientali ibi Heden, Cherubin; lies set on the East side of the Garden of Heden, Cherubin. BECANY* affirmeth that the Hebrew word (*Be*) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, only to the end, to finde *Paradise* vpon the riuer of *Accines*: for there he hath heard of the *Indian* Fig-tree in great abundance, which he suppoſeth to bee thetree of knowledge, of good, and euill, and would therefore draw *Paradise* to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Now, because *Paradise* was seated by *Moses* toward the East, thence came the custome of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*; and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the sunne riseth in March, which is directly ouer *Paradise* (saith *Damasceus*): affirming, that we alwaies pray towards the East, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of *Salomon* had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their seruice and diuine ceremonies, alwaies toward the West, thereby to auoid the superstition of the *Aegyptian* and *Chaldeans*.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although *Paradise* were East from *Iudea*, yet it was West from *Persia*) and the seruing of God is euery where in the world, the matter is not great which way we turne our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from *Paradise*, and pray turning

turning our selves towards the East, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by *Adams* fall we have lost the *Paradise* on earth: so by *Christs* death and passion we may be made partakers of the *Paradise* celestiall, and the Kingdome of heaven. To conclude, I conceiue, that there was no other myserie in adding the word (*East*) to *Eden* by *Moses*, then to shew, that the Region of *Eden*, in which *Paradise* was, lay Eastward from *Judea* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures alwaies called the people of those Nations, the Sonnes of the *East*, which inhabited *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldaea*, and *Persia*: of which *Ouid*:

*Eurus ad Auroram, Nabateasq, regna recessit,
Persidisq, & radsjz tuga subdita matutinis.*

The East winde with *Aurora* hath abiding
Among th' Arabian, and the Persian hills,
Whom *Phoebeus* first salutes at his vp-rising.

And if it be objected, that *Hieremie* the Prophet threatning the destruction of *Hierusalem*, doth often make mention of Northern Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those Nations that followed *Nabuchodonosor*, and of whom the greatest part of his Armie was compounded; not that *Babylon* it selfe stode North from *Hierusalem*, though inclining from the East toward the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, *Peter Comestor* giueth best satisfaction: for he vseth the word, *From the beginning*, that is, *from the first part of the world*, (*à principio*) *id est* (saith he) *à prima ortu parte*, and afterward he affirmeth, that (*à principio* and *ad Orientem*) haue the same signification; *From the beginning and Eastward* is all one, *à principio idem est quoad Orientem*.

But to returne to the proofe of this place, and that this *Storie* of mankind was not allegorically, it followeth in the Text of the second Chapter and ninth Verse, in these wordes. *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow euery tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meate, &c.* so as first it appeared that God created *Adam* elsewhere, as in the world at large, and then, put him into the garden: and the end why, is exprest: that he might dresse it and keepe it; *Paradise* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kindes, pleasant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proueth that *Paradise* was a terrestriall garden, garnished with fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegorically construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a Riuer; expresse also the Region, out of which this Riuer sprang, which he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is also a Countrey nere vnto *Charan* in *Mesopotamia*, *Ezechiel* witnesseth.

But to all these *Caballists*, which draw the truth and *Storie* of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these wordes: *Si Paradisus non est sensibilibus, non est etiam fons, si non est fons, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principes, non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est scus, non folia, non comedat Eua de arbore, non est Adam, non sunt homines, sed verit ut iam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegoria: reuocantur.* If *Paradise* be not sensible, then there was no fountain, and then no riuer, if no riuer, then no such foure heads or branches, and then not any such riuer, as *Pison*, or *Gehon*, *Tigris*, or *Euphrates*, no such figtree or fruit or leaues, *Eue* then did not eate of the fruit, neither was there any *Adam*, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things seemed are called backe into Allegories. Words to the same effect hath *S. Hierome* vpon *Daniel*. *Contestant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate sequentes, ipsam consuntur euertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores potent Allegorie legibus se debere subnecare, Let the dotages of them be silent, who following shadowes and images in the truth, endeavour to subvert the truth it selfe, and thinke that they ought*

to bring *Paradise*, and the rivers and the trees vnder the rules of *Allegorie*.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the *Storie* is the place made more manifest. For God gaue *Adam* free libertie to eat of euery tree of the Garden, (the tree of knowledge excepted) which trees *Moses* in the ninth verse saith that they were good to eat, meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beastes to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beastes were neither in the third heauen, nor nere the circle of the Moone, nor beastes in imagination: for if all these things were enigmaticall or mytlicall, the same might also bee said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel* speaking of the glory of the *Assyrian* Kings veth this speech. All the trees of *Eden*, which were in the garden of God, enuied him, which 10 proueth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therein seated to bee terrestriall: for the Prophets made no imaginarie comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, then in any other place of Scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inventions, and that if hee had not described both the region and the rivers, and how it stood from *Canaan*, many of the vnbeleeuing *Israelites*, and others after them, would haue misconstrued this storie of mankind. And is it likely, there would haue bene so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had been an *Utopia*? For we finde that the valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* stood, (sometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the five principall Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their vnnatural sinne purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the land of *Egypt* toward *Zoar*: In like manner was *Israel* resembled to the *Paradise* of God, before the *Babylonians* waited it: which proueth plainly; that *Paradise* it selfe exceeded in beautie and fertilitie, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a feat and soyle of farre exceeding excellencie.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his inuention of *Alcinous* gardens, as *Iustin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise*? *Gene. 2.* and whence are their praises of the *Elisian* fieldes, but out of the *Storie* of *Paradise*: to which also appertaine 30 those verses of the golden age in *Onid*.

Ouid. Metam. 1.

*Vix erat aeternum, placidus, tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.*

The ioyfull Spring did euer last,
And Zephyrus did breede
Without the helpe of seede
Sweete flowers by his gentle blast,

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pyndarus*, *Hesiodus* and *Homer*, and after him, *Ouid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their sectatours, did greatly enrich their inuentions, by venting the stollen treasures of diuine letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetickall conuerfions, as if they had bene conceined out of their owne speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we finde what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if we proue the riuer that ranne out of it, and that the same afterwards was diuided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of *Hauila* and *Cash*, and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the desarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote, I then conceiue, that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I doe not exclude the allegoricall sense of the Scripture, for aswell in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the *Storie* being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith St. *Augustine*) 50

Trer

Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententia: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt, (that is) There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporall: a second of those which conceive it altogether spiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those, which take it in both senses; which third opinion St. Augustine approveth, and of which Suidas giueth this allowable judgement. Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & huius sanctissimum membris, sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est præditum, (that is) As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: so was his holie groue or garden to be taken both waies, and endued with a double forme.

August. de civi-
tate. 13. c. 21.
Suidas in verbo
Paradisi.

§. IIII.

Why is should be needfull to intreate diligent'y of the place of Paradise.

20 **B**Y it may be objected, that it is needlesse, and a kinde of curiositie to enquire so diligently after this place of Paradise, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no vse. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scriptures, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the storie be necessarie, then by the place proued, the same is also made more apparent. For if we should conceive that Paradise were not on the earth, but lifted vp as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and in no part of the knowne world, from whence Adam was said to wade through the Sea, and thence to haue come into India, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the world, that would giue any credit vnto it. For what could seeme more ridiculous then the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this seat of Paradise so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pishon* should be *Ganges*, which watereth the East India, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*, and these two
30 Riuers so farr distant, as (except all the world were Paradise) these streames can no way be comprised therein?

Secondly, if the birth, and workes, and death of our Sauour, were said to haue beene in some such Countrey, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his miracles had beene performed in the aire, or no place certainly knowne, I assure my selfe, that the Christian religion would haue taken but a slender roote in the minds of men: for times and places are approoued witness of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should relie, or giue place to the iudgements of some writers vpon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwise for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reuerence) I say that there is no fable among the *Græci* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would beleue that there were a peece of the world so set by it selfe and separated, as to hang in the aire vnder the circle of the Moone? or who so foolish to conceive, that from thence the foure riuers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, should fall downe, and runne vnder all the Ocean, and rise vp againe in this our habitable world, and in those places where they are now found. Which lest any man thinke, that I enforce or frame to the world, these are *Peter Comestors* owne wordes. Est autem locus amoenissimus longo terra & maris tractu à nostra habitabili zona secretus, addo eleuatus, ut vsque ad Lunarem globum attingat, &c. (that is) It is a most pleasant place, seuered from our habitable zone by a long tract of land and Sea, eleuated, so that it reacheth to the globe of the Moone.

50 And *Moses Barcephas* vpon this place writeth in this manner: Deinde hoc quoque responsum volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esse regione, atque hac nostra exte-
tera, cogi fieri, ut illinc per precipitium delabantur flumini tanto cum impetu, quantum ver-
bis exprimere non possumus; eoque impetu impulsus pressus, sub Oceanum ad rapiuntur, unde eurus-
sus profugiant ebulliant, in hoc à nobis culto orbe: which haue this sense: Furthermore
(saith

Here commented
by Masius.

(saith he) we giue this for an answer, that *Paradise* is set in a Region farre raised above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to passe, that from thence these riuers fall downe with such a headlong violence, as words cannot expresse; and with that force so impulsed and prest, they are carried vnder the deepe Ocean, and doe againe arise and boile vp in this our habitable world: and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this *Ephram dicit Paradisum ambire terram, atq. ultra Oceanum ita possum esse, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non alter atq. Luna orbis Lunam cingit*, (which is) This *Paradise* doth compass the whole earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuironeth the whole Orbe of the earth on euery side, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone. To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and opinions doe not bring question vnto truth it selfe, or make the same subiect to doubts or disputes, it is necessarie to discouer the true place of *Paradise*, which *God* and his wisdom appointed in the very Nauell of this our world, and (as *Melancthon* saies) in *partem terre meliore*, in the best part thereof, that from thence, as from a Center, the *Vniuersall* might be filled with people, and planted; and by knowing this place, wee shall the better iudge of the beginning of Nations, and of the worlds inhabitation: for neare vnto this did the Sonnes of *Noah* also disperse themselves after the flood, into all other remote Regions and Countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers haue come, and out of what Regions and Nations, it cannot be displeasing to vnderstand the place of our first Auncelster, from whence all the streames and branches of mankind haue followed and beene deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that such a place there was as *Paradise*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be vnprofitable, it followeth in order to examine the seuerall opinions before remembered, by the Truth it selfe, and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to proue directly, and to delineate the Region in which *God* first planted this delightful Garden.

§. V.

That the flood hath not utterly defaced the markes of *Paradise*, nor caused hills in the earth.



And first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Chrysostomus*, that the flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can finde any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the flood the cause of those high mountains, which are found on all the earth ouer, with many other strange effects) for my owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradise* was after the flood withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no signe of any such place, or if the soile and seat had not remained, then would not *Moses*, who wrote of *Paradise* about 850. yeares after the flood, haue described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moses* would not haue made so often mention thereof. And though the very garden it selfe were not then to be found, but that the flood, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the riuers still remaine the same riuers. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, we are sure to finde in what longitude *Paradise* lay; and learning out one of these riuers, which afterward doth diuide it selfe into foure branches, we are sure that the partition is at the very border of the garden it selfe. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a riuier to water the garden, and from thence it was diuided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine translation (*Inde*) from thence, be referred to *Eden* it selfe,

selfe, or to *Paradyse*, yet the diuision and branching of those riuers must be in the
 North or South side of the very garden (if the riuers runne as they doe, North and
 South) and therefore these riuers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifestly knowne, there
 could be no such defacing by the flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no
 likelihood, that the place could be so altered as future ages know it not, so is there no
 probability, that either these riuers were turned out of their courses, or new riuers
 created by the flood which were not, or that the flood (as aforesaid) by a violent
 motion, when it beganne to decrease, was the cause of high hills, or deepe vallies. For
 what descent of waters could there bee in a Spharicall and round bodie, wherein
 10 there is nor high nor low? seeing that all violent force of waters is either by the
 strength of winde, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebbe or flood of
 the Sea. But that there was any winde (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it ap-
 peareth not, rather the contrarie is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a*
winde to passe vpon the earth, and the waters ceased. So as it appeareth not, that, vntill
 the waters sinke, there was any winde at all, but that God afterward, out of his
 goodnesse, caused the winde to blow, to drie vp the abundant slime and muddie of
 the earth, and make the land more firme, and to cleanse the aire of thicke vapours
 and vnholosome mists; and this we know by experience, that all downe-right raines
 doe euermore disscure the violence of outrageous winds, and beate downe, and leuell
 20 the swelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any ebbs and flowes there
 could be none, when the waters were equal and of one height ouer all the face of
 the Earth, and when there were no Indraghts, Bayes, or Gulfes to receiue a flood,
 or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the earth and wa-
 ters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters
 rather stood in a quiet calme, then that they moued with any raging or ouerbearing
 violence. And for a more direct proofe that the flood made no such destroying al-
 teration, *Ioseph*. auoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from
Adam, was to be seene in his dayes, which pillars were set vp about 1426. yeares be-
 fore the flood, counting *Seth* to be an hundred yeares old at the erection of them; and
 30 *Ioseph*. himselfe, to haue liued some 40. or 50. yeares after Christ: of whom although
 there be no cause to beleuee all that he wrote, yet that, which he auouched of his
 owne time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore
 it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seene: Now
 that such pillars were raised by *Seth*, all Antiquitie hath auowed. It is also writ-
 ten in *Berosus* (to whom although I giue little credit, yet I cannot condemne him in
 all) that the Cittie of *Enoch* built by *Cain*, about the mountaines of *Libanus*, was not
 defaced by length of time: yea the ruines thereof *Annius* (who commented vpon
 that inuented fragment) faith, were to be seene in his daies, who liued in the raigne
 of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Castile*; and if these his wordes be not true, then was he
 40 exceeding impudent. For, speaking of this Cittie of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this fort.
*Cuius maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta videntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Ci-
 uitas Cain, et nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt, The foundation of which huge
 Masse is now to be seene, and the place is called by the people of that region the Cittie of Cain,
 in both our strangers and merchants report.* It is also auowed by *Pomponius Mela*, (to
 whom I giue more credit in these things) that the Cittie of *Ioppa* was built before
 the flood, ouer which *Cepha* was King: whose name with his brother *Phineus*, to-
 gether with the grounds and principles of their religion, was found grauen vpon cer-
 taine Altars of stone; and it is not vnpossible, that the ruines of this other Cittie,
 called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be seene, though founded in the first age: but it could
 50 not be of the first Cittie of the world, built by *Cain*, the place, rather then the time,
 denying it.

And to proue directly, that the flood was not the cause of mountaines, but that
 there were mountaines from the creation, it is written, that *the waters of the flood ouer-
 flowed by fiftene cubits the highest mountaines.* And *Masius Damasenus* speaking of the

the flood, writeth in this manner. *Et supra Minyadam excelsum mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo congregantes multos sermo est delugis tempore liberatos. And vpon Minyada there is an high mountaine, in Armenia (called Baris) vnto which (as it is said) that many fledde in the time of the deluge, and that they saued themselves thereon.* Now although it is contrarie to Gods word, that any more were saued then eight persons (which *Mofes* doth not auow, but by report) yet it is a testimonie, that such mountaines were before the flood, which were afterwards, and euer since, knowne by the same names; and on which mountaines it is generally receiued that the *Arke* rested: but vntuly, as I shall proue hereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount *Syon* (though by another name) was knowne before the flood: on which the *Thalmudists* report, that many *Giants* saued themselves also; but (as *Annius* saith) without all authoritie, either diuine or humane.

Lastly, it appeareth that the flood did not so turne vpside-downe the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this that when *Noah* sent out the *Doue* the second time, *hee returned with an Olive leafe in her mouth*, which hee had pluckt, and which (vntill the trees were discouered) hee found not: for otherwise these might haue found them floating on the water; a manifest proofe, that the trees were not torne vp by the rootes, nor swamme vpon the waters, for it is written, *folium Olive, raptum or decerptum, a leafe pluckt*, (which is) to take from a tree, or to teare off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of *Paradise* might be scene to succeeding ages, especially vnto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the worlds creation, and vnto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this discourse.

§. VI.

That *Paradise* was not the whole earth, as some haue thought: making the Ocean to be the fountaine of those saue Riuers.

THis conceit of *Aug. Chrysostom* being answered, who only giueth his opinion for reason, I will in a few wordes examine that of the *Manichies*, of *Neonimaeus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all those that vnderstand, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many wordes, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembered, this *Vniuersalitie* will appeare altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alleageth, bring forth fruit and multiplye, fill the earth and subdue it, rule ouer euery creature, &c. with this of the *Acts*, and hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell on all the face of the earth, doe no way proue such a generalitie: for the world was made for man, of which he was Lord and Gouernour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his vse: Now although all men were of one and the same fountaine of blood originally; and *Adams* posteritie inhabited in process of time ouer all the face of the earth; yet it disproueth in nothing the particular garden, assigned to *Adam* to dreffe and cultiue, in which he liued in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had bene no other choise, that *Adam* had bene left to the *Vniuersall*; *Moses* would not then haue said *Eden* was in *Eden*, seeing the world hath nor East nor West, but respectiue. And to what end had the Angell of God bene set to keep the East-side, and entrance into *Paradise* after *Adams* expulsion, if the *Vniuersall* had bene *Paradise*? for then must *Adam* haue bene chased also out of the world. For if All the earth were *Paradise*, that place can receiue no better construction then this, That *Adam* was driven out of the world into the world, and out of *Paradise* into *Paradise*, except we should beleue with *Metastrophus*, that there were infinite worlds. Which to denie; he thinks all one, as to as-
sume,

Gen. 1. 28.
Ad. 17. 26.

Gen. 2. 8.

3. 24.

firmes, that in so large a field, as the vniuersall, there should grow but one thistle. NOVIOMACVS vpon Beda, seemeth to be led by this, that it was vnpossible for those three Riuers, *Ganges, Nilus, and Euphrates*, (which water three portions of the world so farre dilant) to rise out of one fountaine, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the world for the Garden.

And it is true, that those four riuers, being so vnderstood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appeare, that *Pison* was falsly taken for *Ganges*, and *Gebon* falsly for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a riuer by *Hauilah* in *India*, and *Nilus* runne through *Ethiopia*. The *Senecian* write *Chius* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the *Muniches*, and the mistakings of *Nonimus*, *Geropius*, and *Vasidius*, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture farre more probable, then that of *Ephraim*, *Cyrius*, and *Athanasius*: That *Paradise* was seated farre beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Countrey, in which hee was created, and was buried at *Mount Caluarie*, in *Iherusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first age were of great stature, and so continued many yeares after the flood, yet *Adams* shinne-bones must haue contained a thousand fadome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disproue it.

§. VII.

Of their opinion, which make *Paradise* as high as the *Moone*: and of others, which make it together than the midale Region of the air.



Hardly, where as *Beda* saith, and as the Schoole-men affirme, *Paradise* to be a place, altogether remoued from the knowledge of men (*locus a cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Borephas* conceived, that *Paradise* was faire in the East, but mounted about the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the *Moone* (which opinion, though the Schoole-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Peterius* laies it off from *Beda* vpon *Strabus*, and his *M. Rabanus*: and whereas *Rupertus* in his *Geographie* of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or nearest heauen; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*; but neither of them (as I conceive) well vnderstood: who (vndoubtedly) tooke this place for heauen it selfe, into which the soules of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the *Aceopagites*, (in this *Diag. Lat. in* and many other diuine apprehensions) set downe what they beleued in plaine termes, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death, for acknowledging one only powerfull God; and therefore did the Deuill him selfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Iustine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and *St. Augustine* gaue this judgement of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place afore said, meant the celestiall *Paradise*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, vpon the top of *Mount Atho* (called *Acrothous*) which being about all clouds of raine, or other inconuenience, the people (by reason of their many yeares) are called *Macroboi* (that is) *Long-lived*. A further argument is vsed, for prooffe of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preferred from the violence of the flood: approved by *Isidore*, and *Peter Lombard*; in which place also *Tertullian* conceived, that the blessed soules were preferred till the last judgement; which *Irenaeus*, and *Iustine Martyr* also beleue. But this opinion was of all Catholike Diuines reproued, and in the *Florentine Councell* damned; of which *St. Augustine* more modestly gaue this judgement.

judgement. *Sicut certum est ENOCH & ELIAS nunc vivere: ita vobis nunc sunt, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est.* (that is) As it is certaine that ENOCH & ELIAS doe now live: so where they now live, in *Paradise* or elsewhere, it is uncertaine. But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessarie that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the foure Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves vnder the great Ocean, and afterwards have forced their passage through the earth, and have risen againe in the farre distant Regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreames have beene answered by diuers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins* and *Peregrinus* writing vpon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: for to vse long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanitie in the Answerer, not much inferiour to that of the Inuentour.

It is first therefore alleged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so neare the Moone, it had bene too neare the Sunne, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have bene too joynt a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the aire in that Region is so violently moued, and carried about with such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or haue abiding. Fourthly, because the place betweene the Earth and the Moone (according to *Ptolomie* and *Alfraganus*) is seuentene times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes by a grosse account about one hundred and twentie thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must haue the compasse of the whole earth for a Basis & foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: seeing, it would deprime vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell neare those fells of waters, are deafe from their infancie, like those which dwell neare the *Catadupa*, or over-falls of *Nilus*. But this I hold as fained. For I haue seene in the *Indies*, farre greater water-falls, than those of *Nilus*, and yett the people dwelling neare them, are not deafe at all. *Tostatus* (the better to strengthen himselfe) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *PEREGRINVS*, *Sed ego hac apud Basilium & Ambrosium in eorum scriptis quae nunc exstant, nusquam me legere memini*; But I doe not remember (saith he) that I ever read those things, either in *Basil* or *Ambrose*.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdom. Their taking vp might be into the celestiall *Paradise* for ought we know. For although flesh and bloud, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of Heauen, and the seede must rot in the ground before it grow, yett we shall not all die (saith *St. PAUL*) but all shall be changed: which change, in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest that by the flood all perished on the earth, saving eight persons, and therefore in the terrestriall *Paradise* they could not be.

For *Tostatus* in his own opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but believed that *Paradise* was raised aboue the middle Region of the aire, and twentie cubits aboue all mountains, that the flood did not therefore reach it: (which *Scotus* and other later Schoole-men also believed; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to ouerwhelme it:) this is also contrarie to the expresse letter of the Scripture: which directly, & without admitting of any distinction teacheth vs, that the waters ouerflowed all the mountains vnder heauen. And were it otherwise, then might we aswell giue credit to *Masius Damascenus*, and the *Thalmudists*, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that saued themselves on the mountaine *Baris*, and on *Syon*. But to helpe this, *Scotus*, being (as the rest of the Schoole-men are) full of distinctions, saith; that the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at *Iordan*; and as the flood was not naturall, so was *Paradise* saued by

Cicero Saen.
Sijp.

1. Cor. 15. 51.
1. Pet. 3. 10.

Gen. 7. 19.

Exod. 14. 31.

by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* as qualifyeth this high conceit with this supposition; That it was not belceued, that *Paradise* was so seated as *Beda* and others seeme to as-
 10 firme in wordes, but by *Hyperbole* and compatiuely for the delicacie and beautie so
 resembled. But this I dare auow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were
 exceeding wittie, yet they better teach all their followers to list, then to resolute,
 by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tegla-*
tus, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountaines of *Olympus*, *Atlas*, and *Atlas*, o-
 uer-reach and surmount all windes and cloudes, and that (notwithstanding) there is
 found on the heads of the hilles both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacri-
 15 ficing on these mountaine tops, doe not finde the althes (remaining of their sacrifices)
 blowne thence, northence waith off by raines, when they retume: yet experience
 hath resolved vs, that these reports are fabulous, and *Plinie* himselfe (who was not
 sparing in the report of wonders) auoweth the contrarie. But were it granted, yet
 on the height of these mountaints is faire vnder the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on
 the selfe hilles the aire is so thinne (saith *St. Augustine* whom herein I misruitt)
 that it is not sufficient to beare vp the body of a bird, hauing therein no feeling of her
 wings, or any sensible resistance of aire to mount her selfe by.

VIII.

Of their opinion that seate *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall*; and of the pleasant
 habitation vnder those Climates.

THose which come neare vnto reason finde *Paradise* vnder the *Aequino-*
ctiall line, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaenture*, and *Durandus*; judging, that there-
 vnder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertilitye of soile;
 but against *Thomas Aquinas* obiecteth the distemperate heate, which
 he supposeth to be in all places so directly vnder the Sunne; but this is
 30 (*non causa pro causa*) for although *Paradise* could not be vnder the line, because *Eden* is
 faine from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*,
 or *Ganges* vnder it, (*Ganges* being one of the foure riuers, as they suppose) yet this
 conceit of distemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntrue, though
 for the coniecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers
 wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Countrey, as it
 lay by degrees nearer the Tropick, and so toward the *Aequinoctiall*, did so much the
 more exceede in heate, it was therefore a reasonable coniecture, that those Coun-
 40 tries which were situated directly vnder it, were of a distemper vninhabitable: but it
 seemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better, and so did *Auicenne*, for they both thought
 them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those dayes it might be thought
 a fantasticall opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now finde, that
 if there be any place vpon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight, that *Paradise*
 had, the same must be found within that supposed vninhabitable burnt Zone, or
 within the Tropicks, and nearest to the line it selfe. For hereof experience hath in-
 formed reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden, and
 could not by any contemplation be discouered. Indeece it hath so pleased God to
 provide for all liuing creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such incon-
 50 ueniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by triall and the witnesse of
 mens traualles, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or
 as a fruitlesse lump to fishion out the rest. For God himselfe (saith *Isa*) that formed
 the earth and made it, he first prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be in-
 habited. Now we finde that these hottest regions of the world, seated vnder the *A-*
equinoctiall line, or neare it, are so refreshed with a daylie gale of Eastemly winde
 (which the Spaniards call the *Brize*, that doth euer more blow strongest in the heate
 of



of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sunne can not so much master it, that there is any inconuenience or distemperate heate found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh and equall, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe haue seene, neere the Line and vnder it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper. Onely there are some tracts, which by accident of high mountaines are barr'd from this ayre and fresh wind, and some few landie parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest, and such difference of soyles wee finde also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those regions haue so many goodly riuers, fountaines and little brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, so many sorts of delicate fruites, cuer bearing, and at all times beautified with blossome and fruit, both Greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts bee best compared to the *Paradise of Eden*: the boughes and branches are neuer vnclouched and left naked, their sappe creepeth not vnder ground into the roote, fearing the iniurie of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any times despise her withered husband *Vernumnus*, in his Winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called *Terra vitifera*, *Vitibus* Countries: for nature being liberall to all without labour, necessitie imposing no industrie or trauell, Idlenessse bringeth forth no other fruites then vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures: So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of this opinion were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the Schoole-men were grosse in this particular.

IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that *Eden* in *Calephria*, there is a Country in *Babylon*, once of this name as is proued out of *Ezech. 37.* and *Ezech. 27.*

THese opinions answered, and the Region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginarie worlds, nor vnder *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we discouer and finde out the seate thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficultie of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations haue often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembered, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers as well ancient as moderne.

Besides, we finde that the *Affrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, (*Cyrus* onely and few other excepted) sought to extinguish the Hebrewes. The Grecians hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romans* despised once to remember them in any of their stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transforme the names of all those principall places and Cities in the East: and after them, the *Turke* hath sought (what hee could) to extinguish all things, the ancient memorie of those people; which he hath subiected and intralled.

Now besides those notable markes, *Euphrates* & *Tigris*, the better to find the way, which leadeth to the Countrey of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* and *Judea*; and that it was of all other the most beautiful and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Countrey to *Judea* Eastward was *Arabia Petrea*; but in this Region was *Moses* himselfe when hee wrote: and the next vnto it Eastward also was *Arabia the Desert*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*, neither haue any of the *Arabians* any such riuers, as are exprest to runne out of it: So as it followeth of necessitie, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petrea*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it selfe, and by the fertility, and the riuers onely described, we must seeke

seeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better described. In the Prophet *Isai* I finde it coupled and accompanied with other adiacent Countries, in these wordes spoken in the person of *Sennacherib* by *Rabshakeh*. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivred them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as GOSAN, and HARAN, and RESEPH, and the children of EDEN, which were at Telsassar: and in Ezechiel, where he prophesieth against the Tyrians: They of HARAN and CANNEH, COPAR, and MESOPOTAMIA, and EDEN, the Merchants of SHEBA, ASHYR, and CHILMAD, were thy Merchants, &c.*

- But to avoide confusion, we must vnderstand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he diuideth *Syria* into three Prouinces, whereof, the first he maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Decapolis*: the second part is that Valley called *Aemim*, otherwise *Canatha*, or the Tract of *Chamath*, where *Affria* is ioyned to *Arabia* the *Desart*, and where *Ptolomie* placeth the Citty of *Aneria*: and the third is knowne by the name of *Donus Edenis*, or *Calestria*, or otherwise *Pallis caua*, or the hollow Valley, because the Mountaines of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Coele* in Greeke is *Cana* in Latine. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seeke: neither doth this Prouince lie East from *Canaan*, but North, and so ioyneth vnto it, as it could not be vnknowne to the Hebrewes. Yet, because there is a little Citty therein called *Paradise*, the *Iewes* beleued this *Calestria* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Tientile of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradise*: though to giue *Beroaldus* his right, I conceiue that he ledde the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other latter writers, saying, that he failed in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that hee altogether misvnderstood two of the foure Rivers (to wit) *Pisón* and *Gehon*, as shall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out *Eden*, which (as *Moses* teacheth vs) lay Eastward from the *Desarts*, where hee wrote after hee had passed the redde Sea; we must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Isai* and *Ezechiel* ioyneth with it. For (saith *ESAIAS*) *Gofan*, *Harar*, and *Reseph*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Telsassar*. Also *Ezechiel* ioyneth *Harar* with *Eden*, who, together with those of *Sheba*, *Abour*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the Citty of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *EZECHIEL*) the Mart of the people for many *Iles*. And it hath euer bene the custome, that the *Persians* conueyed their merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those CITIES vpon *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterranean* Sea: as in ancient times to the Citty of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripolis*, and now to *Alleppe*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the Bay of *Isficus*, now *Laiazzo*. *Ezechiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the only Mart-towne of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities euery Countre yielded: and hauing counted the severall people and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised. They were *Ver. 24.* *thy Merchants* (saith the Prophet) *in all sorts of things, in rayments of blew silke, and of broidered workes, fine linnen, corall and pearle: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of Sheba and Raamah, and what kindes they traded, he hath these wordes. The Merchants of Sheba and Raamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Fairre, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all pretious stones and gold. Now these be the riches which Persia and Arabia Felix yeeld: and because Sheba and Raama are those parts of Arabia, which border the Sea, called the Persian Gulfe, therefore did those Nations both vent such spice, sweet gummes, and pearles, as their owne Countries yeelded, and (withall) hauing trade with their neighbours of India, had from them also all sorts of spices, and plentie of gold. The better to conuey these commodities to that great Mart of Tyre, the *Shebans* or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tigris*, and from the Citty of *Teredon* (built or enlarged by *Nabuchodonosor*, now called *Balsara*) thence*

thence sent vp all these rich merchandises by boate to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as farre as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three daies journey of *Aleppo*, and then ouer land they pait to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripolie* (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth with *Eden*, inhabited farre vpon the riuer, and receiued this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, besides those proper commodities which the meltes had, and which they receiued of *Persia*, which bordered them. *St. Hierome* vnderstandeth by *Canneh* *Seleucia*, which is seated vpon *Euphrates*, where it breaketh into foure heads, and which tooke that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent Citie. *Hierosolymitanus* thinks it to be *Ctesiphon*, but *Ctesiphon* is seated downe low vpon *Tigris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that side, I meane on the East-side of *Tigris*, for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Plinie* placeth the *Sehenite* vpon *Euphrates*, where the same beginneth to be fourdable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaueth to be the bound of *Arabia* the *Desart*, and where the riuer of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the *Desart* of *Palmirena*: for these people of *Canneh* (afterward *Sehenite*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves from their owne Citie of *Canneh* in *Shinar* Westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as farre as the Citie of *Thapsacus*, where *Ptolomie* appointed the Foords of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Sehenite* by *Strabo*, whose wordes are these, *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam cunctis iter est per Sehenitas*, The Merchants which trauaile from *Syria* to *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, take their way by the *Sehenites*. Therefore those which take *Canneh* for *Charran* doe much mistake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*, not vpon *Euphrates* it selfe, but vpon the riuer of *Chaboras*, which filleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezechiel* (as) they of *Harar*, and *Canneh*, and *Eden*, the Merchants of *Sheba*, *Albur*, and *Chilmad* were by Merchants. Wherefore *Charran* which is sometime called *Charris*, and *Harar*, and *Aran*, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*; then it is taken for the region of *Mesopotamia*: or *Aran fluminum*, the Greeke word (*Mesopotamia*) importing, a Countie betwene Riuer: for *Mesos* in Greeke, is *Medius* in Latine, and *Potamos*, *flumen*; and when it is written *Harar* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the Citie it selfe, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforesaid.) For *Strabo* in the description of *Arabia*, giueth that Tract of land from the borders of *Calesyria*, to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Sehenite*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*; and were in after-ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabite *Natanea*, and the North part of the *Desarts*, stretching themselves toward the vnhabited Solitude of *Palmirena*, which lyeth betwene *Syria*, and *Arabia* the *Desart*. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran* and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, they of *Harar*, and *Canneh*, and *Eden*, &c. But *St. Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia*: for *Seleucia* was anciently called *Chalanne* (witnesseth *Aprian*;) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries vpon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from *Chalae* or *Canneh*, to *Chalanne*: of which name there are two other Citties, standing in Triangle with *Seleucia*, and almost the next vnto it, (as) *Thelbe-canne*, and *Mann-canne*; the one a little to the West of *Seleucia*, and the other opposit vnto it, where the riuers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are ready to ioine. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canne* was, (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is vncertaine: but it is a notable proofe of the importance of the place, as of the certaine seat thereof, that so many other Citties did retaine a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it vnlikely, that these additions of *Thelbe* and *Mann* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference betwene the East and the West, or the greater and the lesse *Canne*, or betwene *Canne* the old, and the new: which additions to distinguish Citties by, are ordinarie in all the Regions of the world.

Now

Plin. l. 6. c. 6.

Strabo. l. 16.

Gros. l. 31.

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Now of the other Cittie joyned with *Eden*, as *Haran* or *Charran*, *St. Hierome* on the *Iudges* speaketh thereof in these words: *Cumq; reuerterentur, perueniunt ad Iud. 1. Charran, quæ est in medio itinere contra Ninuen, undecimo die, When they returned, they came to Charran, (which is the mid-way against Ninue) the eleventh day.*

This Cittie is by the Martyr *Stephen* named *Charran* (speaking to the high Priest: *Ye men, brethren, and fathers hearken: The God of glorie appeared to our father AD. 7. v. 1. HAM, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* But the seat of this Cittie is not doubted of: for it is not only remembred in many Scriptures, but, with-
all, exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Cassius* the Roman, who for his insatiable greediness was called *Gargæ avarities*, the gulf of avarities. Whereof *Lucan:*

Affryas Latio maculant sanguine Carras,

Lucan. l. 1. 105.

With Roman blood th' Assyrian Carre he defild,

But this Cittie *Canne* or *Chalne* is made manifest by *Moses* himselfe, where it is written of *NIMROD*. *And the beginning of his Kingdome was Babel, and Erech, and Gen. 10. 10.*

20 *Acad, and Chalne, in the land of Sinar, or Shinar: where Moses* leweth the first composition of the *Babylonian Empire*, and what Citties and people were subiect vnto *Nimrod*, all which lay in the said Valley of *Shinar* or near it; and this Valley of *Shinar* is that Tract, afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldeæ*; into which also *Eden* stretcheth it selfe. *Chaldeæ, Babylonia, Sinar, idem sunt* (saith *COMESTOR*.) *Three names of one Countrey: which Region of Babylonia tookename of the Tower Babel; and the Tower, of the confusion of tongues.* And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proued in the eleventh Chapter of *Genesis*, in these words: *And as they went from the Vof. 2. Exit, they found a Plaine in the land of Shinar, and there they abode:* in which *Plaine Babylon* was built (as aforesaid.)

30 Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia*, and *Canneb*, in the first beginning of *Nimrod's* greatness, and before he had subdued any strange, or farre-off nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in *Shinar*, it proueth, that *Canneb* ioyneth to *Babylonia*; which also *Ezechiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth, that those of *Eden* were also the Merchants, which traded with the *Tyrians*: and *Esaï* in the threats of *Senacharib* against *Hierusalem* (with other Nations that *Senacharib* vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of *Eden* which were at *Telaasar*. But before I conclude where *Eden* it selfe lyeth; it is necessarie to describe those other Countries, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth therewith in the places before remembred, as, those of *Sheba* and *Rasnah*. It is written in *Genesis* the tenth. *Moreover*
40 *the sonnes of HAM were Cush, &c. And the sonnes of CUSH were Seba; and Hauilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, &c. And the sonnes of RAAMAH were Sheba, &c. and anon after CUSH begot NIMROD: so as Sheba was the grand-child of Cush, and Nimrod the sonne of CUSH, whose elder brother was Sebah: though some there are that conceive to the contrary, that Nimrod was the elder in valour and vnderstanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother Rasnah or Regna took that part adjoining to Shinar, toward the Sea-side and Persian Gulfe (called afterward Raana and Sheba, by the Father and his Sonnes, which possessed it.) For (saith EZECHIEL) the Merchants of Rasnah and Sheba were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Cities with the chief*

50 *of all spices, and all pretious stones, and gold.* So as *Sheba* was that Tract of Countrey, which parteth *Arabia deserta* from *Arabia Felix*, and which ioyneth to the Sea where *Tigris* and *Euphrates* fall out, and render them selves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrey *Strabo* calleth *Cattharia*, where the best Myrrhe and Frankincense is gathered; which people haue an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the



the East side of the Persian Gulfe. By this it appeareth who were the *Shebas*, spoken of by *Ezechiel*, and said to haue bene the Merchants of *Tyre*, for gold, spices, and precious stones: of which they had not only plentie of their owne, but were also furnished from that part of *India* (called *Elana* according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromaticques and other proper commodities. For as *Strabo* reporteth out of *ERATOSTHENES*. *In Persia ora initio Insula est, in qua multi & pretiosi unioes gignantur: in alijs vero, clari & perlucidi lapilli.* *ERATOSTHENES* (saith *STRABO*) affirmeth, that in the beginning of the Persian Gulfe there is an Island, in which there are many precious pearles bred: and in other, very cleare and shining stones. Now the difference betwene *Sheba*, the sonne of *Raamab*, and *Seba*, the sonne of *Cush*, is in this, 10 That *Seba* is writteth with the Hebrew (*Samech*), and *Sheba* with (*Sehin*;) but whatsoever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthographic, their Countries and habitations are diuers. For *Sheba* is that part which bordreth the Persian Sea; and *Saba* (whence the Queene of *Saba*) neighboureth the redde Sea; and so that place of the 72. *Psalm*, expounded. *Reges Arabum & Saba*, hath in the Hebrew this sense: *Reges Sheba & Saba*.

The *Shebas* *Ezechiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, because they inhabited vpon the Out-let of the same riuier, vpon which the *Edenites* were seated: and so those of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-coast and vpon it, pass vpon the Countrey, by *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, being ioyned in one maine streame, and so through the Region of *Eden* which 20 *Tigris* boundeth, thereby the better to conuey their merchandise toward *Tyre*. And as the Cities of *Charan*, and *Cannach*, border *Eden* on the West and North-west: so doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilmad* on the North-east. *Chilmad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldean Paraphraist*, which Countrey by the Geographers is called *Coromitiens*, (*L*) placed by exchange for (*R*) which change the Hebrews also often vse.

Thus much of those Countreys which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chiefe were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telasar*: for these *Senacharib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of *Telasar* lay most conuenient, both to receiue the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and also 30 conuey it ouer into *Syria*, and to *Tyru*. Now to make these things the more plaine, we must remember, that before the death of *Senacharib*, many parts of the *Babylonian Empire* fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were vtterly disioyned.

For it appeareth both in *Esaie* the 37. and in the second of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabsake*, the while the Armie of *Affryria* lay before *Hierusalem*, that the Cities of *Gosan*, *Haran*, *Reseph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telasar*, had resisted the *Affryrians*, though by them (in a fort) manured and recovered. *Haue the Gods of the Nations deliuered them, whom my Fathers haue destroyed, as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of* 40 *Eden, which were at Telassar.* But it appeared manifestly after the *Senacharib*'s death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subiection: for *Ejar-Haddon* held *Affryria*, and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Armie of *Senacharib*, commanded by *Rabsake*, which lay before *Hierusalem* (*Ezechias* then reigning) while *Senacharib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angell of God destroyed: the King of *Babel* sent to *Ezechias*, both to congratulate the recouerie of his health, and his victorie obtained ouer the *Affryrians*. After which ouerthrow *Senacharib* himselfe was slaine by his owne sonnes in the Temple of his Idols, *Ejar-Haddon* succeeding him in *Affryria*. To the *Babylonian Embassadors* sent by *Merodach*, *Ezechias* shewed all his treasures, as well proper as consecrate, which inuited the Kings of 50 *Babylon* afterward to vndertake their conquest and subuerlion. So as, the suspition of warre encreasing betwene *Babylon* and *Affryria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Affryria*, were employed to beare off the incursions of the *Affryrians*; and their Garrison-place was at *Telasar*: and the very word (*Telasar*) saith *Iunius*, signifying as much, as a Bulwarke against the *Affryrians*.

Esa. 7. v. 13.

2. King. 19. 35.

20. 12.

Esa. 39. 1.


Esa. 47. 13.

Esa. 39. 2.

rians. This place Hierosolymitanus takes for *Resem*, others for *Scdenara*: but this *Telasar* is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the Historie of *Julian* (whom he followeth in the enterprise of *Persia*) calleth *Thilatha* in stead of *Telasar*, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Booke: It is seated in an Island of *Emphrates* vpon a steep and vnsailable Rocke, in so much as the Emperour *Julian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a conuenient place for a Garrison against the *Assyrians*, being also a passage out of *Mesopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Countrey adioyning were lodged to defend the same. This place *Præmie* calleth *Teridata*, hauing *Reseph* (which he calleth *Resepha*) on the left hand, and *Canneh*, *Asie Tab. 4.* (which he calleth *Thelhe-canne*) on the right hand, not far from whence is also found the Cittie of *Mann-canne* vpon *Tigris*; and all these seated together, as *Esay* and *Ezechiel* haue sorted them. But the vnderstanding of these places is the more difficult, because *Assyria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Aturia*) and *Mesopotamia*, were so often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. *Assyria & Mesopotamia in Babylonie nomen transferunt* (saith *Nicorus*) *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia* tooke the name of *Babylonia*. Lastly, it appeareth by those adiacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the world *Eden* is seated, as, by *Charran* or *Harran* in *Mesopotamia*: also by *Canneh* and *Reseph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these wordes translateth this place. *Plantauit autem Iehoua Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente, The Lord God planted a garden in Eden, Eastward:* that is (saith he in his Annotations) *Iussit autem arboris in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabia & Mesopotamie, He commanded trees to grow in Eden, an Easterne Region in the borders of Arabia and Mesopotamia.*

§. X.

Of diuers other testimonies of the land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradise.

- 30  Nd for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it seemes by the two Epistles of the *Nestorian Christians*, that inhabit *Mesopotamia*, which Epistles in the ycare 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and *Andreas Masius* hath published them, translated out of *Syriac* into Latine: By these Epistles (I say) it seemes we may haue some farther light for the prooue of that, which we haue said about the Region of *Eden* in those parts. For in them both there is mention of the Island of *Eden* in the River *Tigris*, or at least, *Tigris* in both these Epistles is called the River of *Eden*. This *Island* as *Masius* in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, the Island, by an eminence) It hath (saith he) tenne miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island *Eden* may (doubtlesse) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called this name be swallowed vp, with the fame of those flourishing Kingdomes of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This Island of *Eden* hath vp the River, and not farre beyond it, the Cittie of *Hasan-Cepha*, otherwife *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Mosol* or *Mosel*, from which (asin that which followeth it shall appeare out of *Masius*) it is not about twelue miles distant. Neither is it to trouble vs, that *Mosol* or *Mosel* by *Martin Niger* is remembred among the Citties higher vp *Tigris*, in these wordes. *Iuxta autem Tigrim, Ciuitates sunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, que nunc Mosel dicitur, usque ad Sam, &c.* (that is), By *Tigris* are these Citties, *Dorbeta* neare vnto mount *Taurus* (which is now called *Mosel*), which is a great one, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, displacing *Mosel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I say) needes not here to trouble vs: seeing for this matter, the testimonie of *Masius* informed by the *Christians* that dwell there (the Seat of whose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, auowing that this *Mosol* (or *Mosel*) is in the confines of *Mesopotamia* and *Assyria*, seated vpon *Tigris*, and in the neighbourhood

hood of *Ninive*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The *Nestorian Christians* in their former epistle call it *Assur* in these words: *Ex omnibus Civitatibus & pagis quæ sunt circum Civitatem Mosal (hoc est) Assur in vicinia Ninives*; Of all the Cities and townes which are about the Citie of *Mosal* (that is) *Assur* in the neighbourhood of *Ninive*. As also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Ctesiphon*, a Citie thereabout to be called *Assur* (which is the same as *Assur*, alter the *Dialect* of those Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*). Neither is it much that he should mistake *Ctesiphon* (which is not farre off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Assur*. By this then we may come somewhat neere the end of our purpose. For the Ile of *Eden*, which lyeth in the brest of *Tigris*, is but twelue miles from *Mosal*, and that ancient Citie, which *Ptolomie* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, 10 and the Scriptures *Ninive*, *Philostratus*, and *Simcon Sethi*, *Mosala*, and *Iohn Leon Mosal*, others *Mosse*, (though it be not the same with *Mosal*) is set but a little higher vpon the same ruer of *Tigris*, neere *Mosal*: so that we are like to finde this Ile of *Eden* heere-about. For the same *Andreas Masius* which placeth it above *Mosal*, makes it to be belowe *Hafan-chepha*, which is vpon the same ruer of *Tigris*.

The onely difficultie is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the *Religionaries* in both their epistles speake not of any Ile in *Tigris*, called the Ile of *Eden*, but of an Ile in *Tigris*, a ruer of *Eden*. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more vnprobable. And yet if this were the meaning heere, we haue a testimony from the learned of those parts, that not onely *Euphrates*, but also *Tigris* was 20 a ruer of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in those parts is not yet quite worn out, though the Region hath beene subiect to the same change, that all other kingdomes of the world haue bene, and hath by conquest, and corruption of other languages, receiued new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which stretcheth ouer *Euphrates*, was after the flood called *Shinar*, and then of the tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tigris*, betwene Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient *AETHICVS* maketh mention, (not that latter *AETHICVS* discipule of *CALLINICVS*, otherwise by *PLUTARCH* and *ATHENAEVS* called *ISTRIS*, who liued in *Egypt* in the raigne of *PHILADELPHVS*, but another of a farre higher and remote time) the same being made Latine 30 of Greeke by *S. HIERONE*. And though by corruption of the ancient copie it be written in *AETHICVS* *Adonu*, for *Edenu*, yet *Adonis* being a ruer of *Phoenicia*, cannot be vnderstood to be the region named by *AETHICVS*. For *AETHICVS* makes it a Countie, and not a ruer, and ioyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Ethiopia*, calling the land of *CHVS* *Ethiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And lastly, the ruer which watereth the Regions (sayth *AETHICVS*) filleth into the Gulfe of *Persia*: which ruer he calleth *Armodius*, for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name imposed for the swiftnesse thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* haue their originall: for out of *Eden* came a ruer, or riuers, to water the garden, both which riuers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates* come out of *Armenia*, and 40 both of them trauesse *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all knowne by the name of *Eden* for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*, and the excellent fertilitie thereof in diuers places is not without the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (sayth *STRABO*) the leaues are alwayes greene, and therefore therein a perpetuall Spring. Also *STEPHANVS de urbibus* mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* vpon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in vse in *Amos* time, though he speake not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden* in *Calesyria*. But to the end I may not burden the readers patience with too long a discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once ioyned together, and 50 afterward separate) are two of those foure heads, into which these riuers which are sayd to water the garden of *Paradise*, were diuided: whose courses being knowne, *Eden*, (out of which they are sayd to come) cannot be vnknewne. Now that *Hiddelkel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates* it is agreed by all: for the Seentic and all others

others convert Perath by Euphrates, & Hiddekel Tigris omnes exponunt: and all men understand Hiddekel by Tigris (sayth Vatable). And because that which I have sayd of the Ile of Eden, shall not be subject to the censure of misinvention, I have here vnder it downe the words out of the two generall epistles of the Nestorians, as *Majus* (ad verbum) hath converted them into Latine. The occasion of those letters and supplications to the Pope were, that the Nestorian Christians which inhabit Mesopotamia, Assyria, Persia, and Babylonia, and have to this day (at least in *Quene Maries* time they had) fiftene Churches in one Citie, called *Selenia Parthorum*, or *Mosel* vpon the river of *Tigris*, having no sufficient authoritie to choosethemselues a Patriarch (which cannot be done without fower or three Metropolitan Bishops at least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome* in the year of Christ 1552 (as aforesaid) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto such an election as themselues had made: having three hundred year before that vpon the like defect, sent one *Maras* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they make knowne to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for vpon the death of their Patriarch (who of a cunctous desire to enrich himself had forborne to institute *Metropolitane Bishops*, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselues together to consult of the Church-government. And because all the Patriarchs for 100 years had been of one house and familie to the preiudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same stock and kindred, who aspired to the same dignitie, which his Predecessours had held, therest of the Protestours refused to allow him. Vpon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselues. The words of the generall epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the sayd epistle. *Verum nos non acceptimus neque proclamavimus ipsum, sed subito convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis que sunt circum Civitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attar, in vicinia Ninive, ex Babylonia, ex Charrha, ex Arbela, ex Insula que est in medio Tigris, fluminis, Eden, ex Tauris Persie, ex Nisibi, &c.* which is, But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selues out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about *Mosel* (or *Attar*) neighbouring *Ninine*, and out of *Babylon*, *Carrha*, *Arbela*, and out of the Iland which lyeth in the middle of *Tigris*, a river of *Eden*, or rather, out of the Ile of *Eden*, which lyeth in the river *Tigris*. And in a second epistle at the same time sent, they vse these words: *Neque superius apud nos Metropolitae, quorum est ordinare Catholicum, sed soli pauci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, Episcopus Salmasi, Episcopus Adarbeigan; et vicitigio convenimus in Insulam, que est intra Tigris flumen, Eden, scilicet, compellamur inter nos &c.* (which is) Neither are there remaining among vs any Metropolitan Bishops to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Bishops, as, the Bishop of *Arbela*, the Bishop of *Salmasi*, and the Bishop of *Adarbeigan*: but loe we assembled speedily in the Iland *Eden*, which is in *Tigris*, and agreed betwene our selues &c.

Now this Iland of *Eden* *Majus* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the Nestorian epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (sayth he) the better vnderstood. And after he hath distinguished the fower sorts of Christians in those parts of the world, and in the South part of *Africa*, which hee calleth *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Maronites*, and *Cophiti*, he goeth on in these words: *Mox, audit illius morte, concurrisse alicant tumultuario in illam quum modo dixi Tigris insulam, que duodecem circiter passuum millibus supra Mosel posita, decem seu millia passuum suo ambitu continet, maris undiq. cincta, & a paucis alijs quam Christianis hominibus habitata: which is, Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch (as those that came to *Rome* reported) they ran tumultuously together into that Iland of *Tigris* or *Eden* before spoken of, which Iland is situated about 12 miles above *Mosel*, containing very nere ten miles in compass, and every where inuironed with a wall, inhabited by a few other men than Christians. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Ile of *Eden* by the name of *Gesfortis*, *Insula Tigris: sine Gesfortis*.*

Furthermore, describing the Citie of *Hog-an-cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra predictam Tigris Insulam rupi aspera impositam*, above the foresaid land of *Tigris*, being seated on a sleepe rock. Of this land of *Geserta* *Andrew Thelnet* maketh mention in his tenth booke of his generall Cosmographie in these words: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la riuere du Tigre, & pense que cest une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie.* *Geserta* or *Gesire* is in the middle of *Tigris*, the soile the most fertile of all *Asia*.

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* lieth, and of that *Eden*, which lieth Eastward from *Arabia Petras*, and the Desert where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the assercion of the said Prophet, and ioyned with those Nations of *Reseph*, *Canech*, and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Affrya* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garnisoned to resist the *Affryans*, whose diplantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as aboue written) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tigris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the knowne riuers of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

p. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure riuers to rise from one streame.

20

BUt it may be obiected, that it is written in the Text, *That a Riuier went out of Eden*, and not *Riuers*, in the Plurall, which scruple *Matthew Berouldus* hath thus answered in his *Chronologie*: The Latine Translation (sayth he) hath these words: *Et fluius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde diuidebatur in quatuor capita: Quae verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & eiusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur. Et fluius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) fluius procedebat ex Edene regione ad irrigandum pomarium, & inde diuidebatur, & erat in quatuor capita: which is, And a Riuier went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was diuided into foure heads: which words (sayth *Berouldus*) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: And a riuier was going forth of Eden (that is) Riuers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard, and from thence it was diuided, and they became foure heads. The *Tigurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine, for it conuerteth it thus: *Et fluius egrediebatur de delicijs. And a Riuier went out of pleasure in stead of Eden*; and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis: And a Riuier went out of the place of pleasure*, and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word (*inde*) and thence was diuided, hath reference to the Countrie of *Eden*, and not to the garden it selfe.*

40

And for the word (*riuier*) for riuers, it is vsuall among the Hebrewes: for it is written. *Let the earth bud forth the bud of the hearbe, that seedeth seeds, the fruitfull tree, &c.* Heere the Hebrew vseth the Singular for the Plurall, *heerbe* and *tree* for *heerbs* and *trees*; and againe, we eat of the fruit of the tree, in stead of (trees:) And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God. In medio ligni Paradisi, in the middle of the tree of the garden, for (trees).* And of this opinion is *David Kimhi*, and *Varatius*, who vpon this place of *Genesis* say, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *illud*, for *unumquodq. illorum*, and he giueth an instance in this question it selfe, as *A riuier* (for *riuers*) went out of *Eden*.

50

And this answer out of diuers of the learned, may, not without good reason, be giuen to the obiection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one riuier, from which the heads should diuide themselves. Howbeit I denie not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason we may expound the foure heads, to be foure notable passages into famous

mous Countries. And so we may take the word (riuier) verse the tenth for one riuier (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this Riuier, after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to haue bene, diuides it selfe, and ere long yeeldeth fower notable passages into fucrall Countries, though not all the way downe streame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the riuier downward, there is conueyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to *Assyria*, were vp *Tigris*.

- To this end the Text speaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riseth from the Riuier of *Eden*, doth not say it compasseth or waltheth the whole Region of *Assyria*, (as it had vsed this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth toward *Assyria*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nahar-malech*, (by interpretation) *Basilus*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tigris* vnder *Apamia*, whence ariseth the name of *Pasitigris*, (as it were) *Piso-tigris*. This leadeth to the land of *Hauila* or *Susiana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in Historians is *Nahar-sares*, or *Narag-is*; for *Nahar-rag-is*: both which names signifie *flumen deriuatum* (a riuier deriued) also *Acracarus*, *quasi Ranosus*, by reason of the froggie fennes which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the first seate of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldaea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldaea*. The third branch, *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the vpper frame of *Pison*, or *Basilus*, which runneth into *Hiddekel* properly so called (that is, into *Tigris*) about *Selencia*, where it sheweth a passage vp *Tigris* into *Assyria*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel*, or *Tigris*, hauing before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath* or *Euphrates*, so called *per excellentiam*, being the Bodie of the Riuier *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otrus*. But, be it a riuier, or riuers, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not farr from these Riuers: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeede) as plaine it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses*) Eastward towards *Assur*, as we finde, that *Tigris* is the Riuier of *Assyria* *aproprie dicta*, whose chiefe Citie was *Nimue*, as in *Genesis* the tenth it is written: That out of that land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Assur*, and builded *Nimue*, which was the chiefe Citie of *Assyria*.

And as for the kinde of speech here vsed in the Text, speaking of foure heads; though the heads of Riuers be (properly) their fountaines, yet here are they to be vnderstood, to be spoken of the beginning of their diuision from the first streame. *Caput aque* (saith *VLPRIANVS*) *illud est, unde aqua nascitur; si ex fonte nascitur fons; si ex flumine, vel ex lacu prima initia, &c.* If the beginning of the water be out of a fountain, then is the fountain taken for the head: if out of a lake, then the lake; and if from a maine riuier any branch be separate and diuided, then where that branch doth first bound it selfe with new bankes, there is that part of the riuier, where the branch first seeketh the maine streame, called the head of the riuier.

Þ. XII.

Of the strange fertilitie and happinesse of the Babylonian soile, as it is certaine that *Eden* was such.

- 50 **T** may also be demanded, whether this region of *Eden*, by vs described, be of such fertilitie and beautie, as *Eden* the seate of *Paradise* was; which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulnessse to any part of the earth, nor the same vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before

Herd. C. 2. §. 1.

before the flood; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde written of it: First in *Heraclitus*, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe, for the *Iste* of *Eden* is but twelue miles or thereabout from *Dimne*, and so from *Musal*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta quod Urbis Ninus sita erat, Hac regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c.* Where *Euphrates* runneth out into *Tigris*, not farre from the place where *Ninus* is seated, This Region, of all that we haue seene, is most excellent; and he addeth afterward. *Cereus autem fructu procreando adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat, &c.* (that is) It is so fruitfull in bringing forth *Corn*, that it yeldeth two hundred fold. *As for the height of Millet and Sesame*, they are euensomewhat like vnto trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speake hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seeme very incredible to those, which neuer were in the Countrey of *Babylon*. They haue commonly in all the Countrey *Palme-trees* growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both meats, and wine, and homie, ordering them as the *Figs-trees*. Thus saith *Heraclitus*.

To this *Palme-tree* so much admired in the East *India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellencie, which is, that it yeldeth bread; *Ex quibus panem, & mē, & vinum, & actum conciscunt*, of which these people make bread, wine, homie, and vineger. But *Antonius* the *Eremite* findeth a fifth commoditie, not inferior to any of those foure, which is, that from this selfe-same Tree there is drawne a kind of fine flaxe, of which people make their garments, and with which in East *India* they prepare the cordage for their ships; and that this is true *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the *Eremite* confesseth, saying: That he receiued a garment made thereof from the *Eremite* himselfe, which he brought with him out of this Region. So therefore those trees, which the East *Indies* so highly esteeme and so much admire (as indeede the Earth yeldeth no plant comparable to this) those trees (I say) are in this vpper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any trees of the field. *Santirian* (saith *Strabo*) *paxim per omnem regionem Palmae sua sponte nascentes*, There are of *Palmes* ouer all the whole Region, growing of their owne accord. Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report. *Euntibus a parte leua Arabia odorum fertilitate nobilis, regia campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacens tam ubere & pingui solo, ut a pastore pellis pecora dicantur, ne satietas primat*, (that is) As you trauaile on the left hand of *Arabia* (famous for plenty of sweet odours) there lyeth a champaigne Countrey placed betwene *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and so fruitfull and fat a soile, that they are said to drue their cattell from the pasture, lest they should perishe by satietie. Bis in anno segetes *Babylonij* secant, The *Babylonians* cut their *corne twice a year* (saith *Niger*.) And as Countreies generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, then in the Northern parts: so we may iudge the excellencie of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South part of *Armenia*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof; his wordes be these in the Latine, *Tota enim hac regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemq; semper virentibus*, This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and trees alwaies greene: which witnesseth a perpetuall Spring, not found elswhere but in the *Indies* only, by reason of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life and stirrer vp of nature in a perpetuall activitie. In briefe so great is the fertilitie of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow downe their cornfields, and a third time to eate them vp with sheep: which husbandrie the *Spaniards* wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the first fortye yeares, could not make our kinde of Wheate beare seede, but it grew vp as high as the trees, and was fruitlesse. Besides, those fields are altogether without weedes (saith *Plinie*) who addeth this singularity to that soile, That the second year the very stubble (or rather falling downe of the seedes againe) yeldeth them a harvest of *Corn* without any further labour: his wordes are these: *Per totam tantum sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte cretibilis sit seges*.

§. XIII.

of the River *Pifon*, and the Land of *Hauilah*.



After the discovery of *Eden*, and the testimonies of the fertility thereof, it resteth to prove that *Pifon* and *Gebon* are branches of *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*. For that the knowledge and certainty of these two rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessity it is selfe (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being knowne) findeth them out: for *Euphrates* or *Tigris*, or both be that river or rivers of *Eden*, which water *Paradise*, which river or rivers *Moses* witnesseth afterward, divided into foure heads, whereof the one is called *Pifon*, the other *Gebon*, &c. Could there be a stranger fancy in the world, then when we find both these (namely) *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seeke the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two rivers as farre distant, as any of fame knowne or discovered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plaine, that these rivers were divided into foure branches; and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason and Experience bearing witness. There is no error, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability resembling truth, which when men (who studie to be singular) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention, and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformities of mens minds to finde some partakers or sectarous, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherish such weakie babes, as their owne inuentions haue begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the river of *Pifon*) seemeth to haue growne out of the not distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Hauilah*, from *Hauilah*, which adioyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward knowne by the name of *Susiana*. For *Hauilah* vpon *Tigris* tooke name from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Cush*; and *Hauilah* in *India* from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Iofan*, the one remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*, the other where *Moses* setteth downe the generations of *Noah* and his finnes after the flood. For the sonnes of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*; and the sonnes of *Iofan* were *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*, &c. of which later (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the sonnes of *Iofan*, that *Iland* of *Ophir*, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and *Hauilah* adioyning had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous river of the East *India*, and *Hauilah* a Countrey of the same, and is situated vpon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pifon*, which river is said by *Moses* to water the land of *Hauilah*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those foure rivers, named by *Moses*, must of necessity be foure of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous river after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, they chose out this river to make one of the foure. And yet certainly there is an other river, whome in these respects they should rather haue chosen then *Ganges*; for the river *Indus* on this side *India*, for beautie, for nearnesse, and for ability, giueth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceiue, that *Ganges* can be one of the foure heads; seeing *Indus* commeth betweene it and *Tigris*; and betweene *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther toward the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India* intra *Gangem*, which lie betweene those two proud rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdome of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* bee not accounted for any of the foure, because it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much lesse *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse then 50 fortie degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely whosoever readeth the Stone of *Alexander* shall finde, that there is no river in *Asia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* theron in great Gallies transported himselfe and the greatest part of his armie, and in laying downe that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered

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Gen. 10. 7.

10. 19.

2. 11.

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his whole Fleet, which was readie to be swallowed vp therein: *Hydaspes* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, hauing besides this, the Riuer of *Coas*, of *Snallus*, *Acesines*, *Adrius*, (otherwile *Hirotis*) *Hispalus*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are swallowed vp with all their children and companions, which being all incorporate and made one stream, it croffeth atwairt *Asia*, and then at *Cambai* visiteth the Ocean Sea.

Gen. 2. 15.

But because *Pison*, which compasseth *Hauilah*, as also *Gehon*, which watereth *Cush*, mult somewhere beioyned with the rest in one bodie, or at least be found to proceed out of the same Countie of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceed, out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riseth in the vttermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterran* Sea; and the Riuer *Ganges* riseth out of the mountaine *Imaus*, or (as others will haue it) *Caucasus*, which diuides the Northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neere *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other not farre off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Gordiean* mountaines, so as *Ganges* who onely traueleth in her owne *India*, and *Nilus* through *Aethiopia* and *Aegypt*, neuer saw the land of *Eden*, or ioyned themselves in one Channell, either with themselves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or diuided into lower heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Gen. 2. 12.

Therefore the Riuer *Pison*, which enuiceth *Hauilah*, is the same which by ioyning it selfe with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Piso-tigris*, or *Piso-tigris*, of *Pison* and *Tigris*, which riuer watereth that *Hauilah*, which *Hauilah* the sonne of *Cush* gaue name vnto, and not *Hauilah* of *India*, so called of *Havilah* the sonne of *Iocatan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the East. And this *Hauilah* of the *Cushites* hath also Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx stone. This Bdellium is a tree, of the biggness of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine gumme, sweet to smell to, but bitter in taste, called also Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-stone for Bdellium. *Beronius* affirmeth, that *Bala* in Hebrew signifieth Pearle: so doth *Eugubinus*, and *Mierome* calls it *Oleaster*: be it what it will, a tree bearing gumme, or pearle: *Hauilah*, or *Susiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Countie of *Susiana* or *Hauilah* stretcheth it selfe toward the North, as farre as the Altars of *Hercules*; and from thence embraceth all that Tract of land Southward, as farre as the *Persian Gulfe*, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the *Shebans* (which traded with the Cittie of *Tyre*, according to *Ezechiel*) their great plenty of gold, which *Strabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

Strabo.
Meth. de Per.

The Greeces had a conceipt, that *Pison* was *Danubius*: the Rabbines take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-ezra* (*Gyeth Hopkins*) out of Rabbi *Sandis* translateth *Pison* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the same impossibilitie that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Hellepont* and all *Asia* the lesse, betwene it and *Tigris*. Now *Pison* which runneth through *Hauilah* or *Susiana*, doth to this day retain some signe of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embrace each other vnder the Cittie of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a ioyned and compounded name, and are called *Piso-tigris*. And it is strange vnto me, that from so great antiquitie there should be found remanyng any resembling sound of the first name: for *Babylon* it selfe, which dwelleth so neere these riuers, is by some writers knowne by the name of *Barnas*, as by *Poicellus*, by *Callistus*, of *Baldus*: by *Arius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Bonghedor*, by *Andrew Thewet*; and yet all those that haue lately seene it, call it *Bagdet*. To this riuer of *Pison*, *Ptolomee* indeed with many others giue the name of *Babilus*, or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they terme *Mahar-sares* and *Marses*, and *Basfarses*. So is *Euphrates*, neere the Spring and fountain, by *Strabo* and *Plinie* called *Pixiratos*: by *Iunius*, *Puckperath*, out of the Hebrew, (that is) The profusion, or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the mountaine *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*; the

Pto. Cosmog.
Theop. Cosmog.
Apo. tab. 4.

Pto. lib. 5. c. 24.

das: the Hebrewes *Parath*, (sayth *Ar. Montanus*;) *Pagrus*, *Perath*: *Iosephus*, *Phorab*; *Eusebius*, *Zocimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalybeus*: *Gistilanus* and *Colutinus* terme it *Cobar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Assyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar* or *Naber Maleba*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The same confusion of names hath *Tigris*, as, *Diglate*, and *Diglat*, *Seilax*, and *Selax*: of the Hebrewes it was called *Hidikel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mereer* vpon *Genesis* conceiveth rightly of these rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (sayth he) streame into fower branches, two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other two, are called *Pison* and *Gehon*. The reason, why these two rivers ioyned in one (below *Apamia*) looke their names, and are called *Pist-tigris*, and the memorie of *Euphrates* extinguished, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the channell of *Gehon*, sinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, not farr from *Vr*, the Cittie of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Persian* Sea, as *Tigris* accompinied with *Pison* doth.

This error that *Pison* was *Ganges*, was first broched by *Iosephus*, (whose fields though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weedes;) and other men (who take his authoritie to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For
 20 *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Therome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Pison* was transported into the East *India*, to find out *Hauilah*: so was *Gehon* drawne into *Africa*, to compass *Ethiopia*. But if *Hauilah*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradise*, be found to be a Region, adioyning to *Babylon* on the one side, and *Cush* (which is falsely interpreted *Ethiopia*) fastned to it on the other side, wee shall not neede then to worke wonders (that is) to impose vpon men the transportation of nuers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other vices) were made to transport men. Now it was in the valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the sonne of *Ham* first sate downe with his sonnes, *Sheba*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, *Ramath*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Hauilah*, the sonnes of *Cush*, did that Region take name, which *Pison* compasseth; and the land (called *Cush*) which *Gehon* watereth, tooke name of *Cush* himselfe. For as the sonnes of *Isaac*, *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*, seated themselves as neere together as they could in *India*, so did the sonnes of *Cush* and *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Hauilah* or *Chauilah* was first *Chus* of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susiana*.

From this *Hauilah* vnto the Desarts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalechites* possess all the interiarent Countries: for *Saul* smote the *Amalechites* from *Hauilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur* the Chaldean *Paraphrasist* converteth *Hegra*, and *Hegra* bordereth the redde Sea; but this was not meant from *Sur* vpon the redde Sea, to *Hauilah* in the East *India*, for *Saul* was no such trauailer or Conquerour, and therefore *Hauilah* must
 40 be found neerer home, where the sonnes of *Ismael* inhabited, and which Countrie *Saul* wast: for *Amalek* and the *Amalechites* posselt that necke of Countrie, between the *Persian* Sea, and the redde Sea; *Hauilah* being the extreme of the one towards the East, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the West, leauing that great body of *Arabia felix* towards the South; and they sprede themselves with the *Medianites* and *Ethiopiens*, from the East part, or backe-side of the Holie Land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, comprising the best parts of *Arabia Petrea*, and *Deserta*.



§. XIII.

Of the River Gehon and the land of Cush; and of the ill translating of the *Aethiopia* for *Cush*. 2. Chron. 21. 16.

NOW, as *Hauilah* in the East India drew *Pison* so farre out of this way thither, so I lay did *Cush* (being by the Seuentie translated *Aethiopia* for *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Aethiopia* by the Greekes, whom the Latins followed, *Gehon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But *Aethiopians* are as much as blacke or burnt faces, whose proper Countrey is called *Thebaides*, lying to the Southward of all *Aegypt*. And although there be many other regions of *Aethiopians*, and far South in *Africa*, yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembred in the *Aegyptian* Stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Aegypt*: all which *Aethiopians* are very neare, or else directly vnder the *Aequinoctial* line, which is very farre from that land inhabited by the *Chusites*; who are neither blacke of colour, nor in any sort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this Translation of the *Septuagint*. *Pterius* doth qualifie in this manner. There are (saith he) two *Aethiopia's*, the East, and the West: and this diuision he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chus* *Aethiopian* in *Africa*, *Pterius* will make *Chus* and the land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia* the happie, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the East *Aethiopia*.

Now if it be graunted, that *Cush* and the land of the *Chusites*, be that Tract from *Sur* to *Hauilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habituauit Ismael ab Hauilah usque Sur, qua respicit Aegyptum introcunibus Assyriae*; *Ismael* dwelt from *Hauilah* vnto *Sur*, that is towards *Aegypt*, as thou goest toward *Affria*; The same sufficeth to proue that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a river which watereth *Cush*, and not *Aethiopia*. But this place of Scripture *Habituauit Ismael*, &c. hath this sense. *Ismael* dwelt from *Hauilah*, which is the way of *Affria*, or the Countrey bordering *Affria*; and *Sur*, which lyeth toward *Aegypt*, which is as much to say, as, The issues of *Ismael* (whereof there were twelue Princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those regions betwene the border of *Aegypt* and *Affria*. And that they were (according to the word of God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when *Zearab* the *Chusite*, which others call *Tharantus*, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against *Asa* King of *Iuda*. Which Armie came not out of *Aethiopia* beyond *Aegypt*; for that had beene a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, hauing so mightie a King as the King of *Aegypt*, betwene *Palaestina* and *Aethiopia*. But these were the *Chusites*, *Amalechites*, *Madianites*, *Ismaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Asa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victorie tooke some of the Cities of King *Zearab* round about, as *Gerar*. Now that *Gerar* is a Cittie of the *Aethiopians*, it cannot be suspected: for these be the wordes of the Scripture disprouing it: *And Abraham departed thence toward the South Countrey, and dwelt betwene Cadath and Sur, and sojourned in Gerar*; Now *Sur* is that part, vpon which *Moses* and the *Israelites* first set their feet after they passed the redde Sea, where the *Amalechites* in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had beene weary, and vnable to resist. Again, in the Storie of *Isaac* it is written. *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech, and the Philistines vnto Gerar*; and I am sure *Abimelech* and the *Philistines* were no *Aethiopians*. And lastly, *Moses* himselfe, where he describeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath these wordes: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comest to Gerar*: for *Sydon* was the Frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gazah* towards the South. But indeede, howe soeuer *Pterius* doth with an honest excuse salue his Translation of *Chus* for *Aethiopia*, yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint*, and *Iosephus* did altogether misvnderstand this place. And first, for *Homers* East and West *Aethiopia*, they

See more of
this point.
c. 7. §. 10.

Gen. 35. 18.

Gen. 16.

2. Chron. 14. 2.

Gen. 10. 10, 11.

Exod. 17. 8.

Gen. 36. 1.

10. 19.

they are both found elsewhere. For *Plinie* in his fifth Booke and eighth Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Author, of these two *Ethiopia's*. But the East *Ethiopia* is that which compasseth *Nilus* to the South of *Egypt*, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the *Abyssinies*, vnder *Prester Iohn*. And the West *Ethiopia* is that, which joyneth it selfe with the river *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambria*: for thereabouts are these *Ethiopians*, called *Perossi*, *Daraites*, with diuers other names, which *Plinie* numbred. But all these are in *Africa*, and beyond the *Desarts* thereof, saith *Plinie* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa*, and *Iuba*; which Regions indeede (I meane that of *Niger*, and that of *Prester Iohn*, and the *Troglodytes*) lie due East and West. But as for *Cush*, and the Region of the *Ismadites*, &c. they are extended directly North from that *Ethiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Iosephus* was exceeding grosse herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of *Moses* when he serued *Pharao*, in the warres against the *Ethiopians*: for in that (to make *Cush*, *Ethiopia*) hee transporteth *Madian* by miracle ouer the Red Sea, and beyond all *Egypt*, and fettereth it in *Ethiopia*, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the worlds plantation. Again, that *Gehon* was improperly translated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confesseth, and laith it rather to the corruption of the Greeke copie, than otherwise. And whereas the *Septuagint* haue conuerted this place of the Prophet *HIEREMIE*. And what hast thou now to doe in the way of *Egypt*, to drinke the water

- 10 of *Nilus*? *Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, et bibas aquam Gehon*: to this saith *Pererius*, *profectus Hebraice ibi non est vox Gehon*, sed *Siehor*, quæ significat *nigrum & turbidum*; Truly (saith *PERERIVS*) the word *Gehon* in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but *Siehor*, which significeth black and troubleth water.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and vnanswerable argument, that *Cush* was ill taken for *Ethiopia*. *Moses* married the daughter of *Iethro*, Prince and Priest of *Madian*, whom both the Greeke and Latin call a *Madianite*, and not *Ethiopian*, as (with *Iosephus*) the *Genena* conuerts it, though it helpe it a little with a marginall note. Now it is without dispute, that *Zipporah* was of the Countrey of *Madian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petraea*, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of

- 30 *Exodus*, that *MOSES* fled from *PHARAO* into the land of *Madian*, and sate downe by a Well, &c. and againe, in the third of *Exodus*, When *MOSES* kept the sheepe of *IEHRO* V. 1. his father in law, Priest of *Madian*, &c. Indeed, these four Nations are euerie where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Ismadites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chnites*, which were all in one generall word, *Arabians*, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes by another, as in *Gen. 37. v. 25. 27. & 28.* that *Ioseph* was sold to the *Ismadites*; and in the same chapter, v. 36. it is written, that the *Madianites* sold *Ioseph* to *Putiphar*, *Pharao's* steward. The *Geneuans*, in a marginall note (to auoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the *Madianites* and *Ismadites* to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth, and these were all *Arabians*, and so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought *Ioseph*: for their Cammels were laden with *spicerie*, and *Balm*, & *Myrrhe*, which are the trades of *Arabia felix*: from whence chiefly, and from the East *India*, all the world is serued with *Myrrhe* and *Frankincense*; and their spices they receiued from the East side of the *Arabian Gulse*, as aforesaid. And in the 39. Chapter it is said: That *Putiphar* bought *Ioseph* of the *Ismadites*, which the *Chaldean Paraphrase* in the same place calleth *Arabians*. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the 6. of *Iudges*. That when *Israel* had sowed, then came up the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the East, and came vpon them: they of the East, were *Arabians* of the Desert; so as where before in the buying of *Ioseph*, the *Madianites* and the *Ismadites* were confused, here the *Madianites* and *Amalekites*, are made one Nation. For in the prosecution of the storie of *Gedeon*, the *Madianites* only are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, v. 24. these Nations are all called *Ismadites*, and

and neither *Madianites* nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedon* desired, that every man would giue him the golden ear-rings, which they had taken, after the victorie against *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of *Arabis*, amounting to 1700 licks of gold; is written: For they had golden ear-rings, because they were *Ismaelites*. And these *Ismaelites* were a great and valliant Nation, and euer in action of warre. *Mans cius contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; His hand (saith God of *Ismael*) shall be against all men, and every mans hand against him. Of these *Ismaelites* came the *Mahometan Arabians*, though some writers thinke *Mahomet* to be of the *Sehenita*. And these *Ismaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the *Deserts* of *Sur* and *Pharan* (saith *Iosephus*) vse poison vpon their arrowes, as the *Indians* doe. Towards the South-east are the *Madianites*, and *Chusites*: and beyond them, towards the *Deserts* of *Arabis*, the *Amalekites*; and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

Lastly, the ill translation of *Ethiopia* for *Chus*, is, among other places, made most apparent, in the second of *Chronicles*, in these words: So the Lord stirred up against *Iehoram*, the spirit of the *Philistines*, and the *Arabians*, which confine the *Ethiopians*; so *Hierome* reads it: the *Genuea* translation hath it, which were besides the *Ethiopians*. Now, how farre it is off betwene the *Philistines*, and the *Negro's*, or the *Ethiopians*, every man that looketh in a Map, may iudge. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, doe mixe and joyne with the land of the *Chusites*, and are distant from *Ethiopia* about two and thirtie, or three and thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next Neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the *Deserts* of *Sur* and *Pharan*, are betwene them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should haue bene translated in these words: So the Lord stirred up against *Iehoram*, the spirits of the *Philistines*, and the *Arabians*, which confine and border vpon the *Chusites*, who indeed are their next neighbours. * *Nulla superest dubitatio quin Ethiopia in sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua; There remaineth no doubt* (saith *Stevchius*) but *Ethiopia* in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey, which ioyneth to *Arabia*.

Now may we thinke it is probable, or possible, that *Moses* could beignorant of *Nilus*? No, he knew it, no liuing man so wel, and therefore would neuer haue named *Gehon*, for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely if *Moses* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon* he would haue called the Riuer (into which he was cast vpon reeds, and persecuted by God, working compassion in the Daughter of *Pharao*) a Riuer of *Egypt*, wherein hee was borne and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides the riuer of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but neuer by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moses* had told the *Israelites*, that *Nilus* had bene a Riuer of *Paradise*, they might iustly haue thought, that he had derided them: for they had liued there all daies of their liues, and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memorie, or speech thereof; except we shall belecue the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (saith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wild Oliues in stead of golden apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichon*, once in *Egypt*, and once in the Prophet *Hieremie*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a riuer of *Ethiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Israelites* had neuer any cōmunion or affaires with the *Ethiopians*, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the enemies, which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*: who being often governed by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers and Heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Calefyrians*, with the *Mogogians*, *Tubalimes*, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest Cities vpon the Sea-coast (as) *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many so others: yea, *Hierusalem* it selfe was with-held from *Israel* (from the daies of *Moses* euen vnto the time of *Dauid*) by the *Iebusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the stonie, which the *Chusites* inhabited

C.B. v. 3. 4.

Gen. 16. 12.

Chron. 2. 21. 16

* Steuch, Euegub. in Gen. c. 2.

Exod. 3.

Plin. l. 5. c. 1.

C. 23. v. 3.

C. 1. v. 18.

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red in the times of the Kings of *Israel*: and in this *Desart* it was that *Matt. Berodius* lost himself in seeking out *Paradise*: for he was driuen (to my vnderstanding) to create two riuers, and call them *Gehon*, and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Hanilah*, for I finde none such in *verum natura*, as he hath described: by which Riuers hee also includeth within *Paradise*, euen *Arabia* the *Desart*.

And as he well proued that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon*, *Nilus*: so where to finde them else, where it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this riuier of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterran* at *Gaza*, and whose springs he findeth farre East in *Arabia*, is but imaginarie: for the Current by *Gaza* is but a small streame, rising betweene it and the red Sea, whose head from *Gaza* it selfe is little more then twentie English miles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* rood, and when it flourished, being then their neere neighbours, and neuer looked back to the first seates and plantation of *CHVS*. For after the flood, *CHVS* and his children neuer rested, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and neere which himselfe with his sonnes first inhabited. *HAVILAH* tooke the riuier-side of *Tigris* chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called *HAVILAH*, (now *Susiana*): *Raamah* and *Sheba* further downe the riuier, in the entrance of *Arabia felix*. *NIMROD* seated himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *CHVS* himselfe and his brother *MIZRAIM* first kept vpon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, and in proceesse of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westward towards the red or *Arabian* Sea: from whence *MIZRAIM* past ouer into *Aegypt*, in which *Traet* the *Chusites* remained for many yeares after. Now because there could be no such riuier found in *Arabia* the stonie, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus* *Aethiopia*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if we doe examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceiue it as it was. For let vs suppose, that *BAYTE*, or who soeuer else that first peopled this Island, had arriued vpon the Riuier of *Thames*, and calling the Island after his name *BAITANNIA*, it might be layd that *Thames* or *Tems* was a riuier, that watered *Britannia*; and when afterwards in proceesse of time, the same *BAYTE* had also discovered and conquered *Scotland*, which he also entituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the riuier of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let vs suppose that *EVROPA*, the daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*, gaue the nameto *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, and that the first discoverers thereof arriued in the mouth of some riuier in *Crete*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as he first discovered, shall we in like sort resolute, that *France*, *Spaine*, and *Italy*, &c. are no parts of *Europe*, because that Riuier is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it layd by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole land of *Chus*; but not the whole land which the *Chusites* should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in after ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) haue bene Maisters in time, (as the *Saracens* which came of them were) of a great part of the world. For (though the *Babylonian Empire*, which tooke beginning in *NIMROD* the sonne of *CHVS*, consisted at the first but of fower Citties, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalbe*, yet we finde, that his Successours within a few yeares after commanded all the whole world in effect: and the fame of *Babel* consumed the memorie of *Chus*. For of this *Tower of Confusion* did all that land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatnesse of that Empire founded by *NIMROD* a younger sonne, obscured the name and nation of his father *CHVS* in those parts, vntill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian Empire*, where the *Chusites* retained their names, which also they fished to the Soile and Territory by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke,

that CHVS or any of his could in hast creepe through those desert Regions, which the length of 130 years after the flood had (as it were) fortified with thickets, and permitted eury bulsh and bñar, reede and tree to ioyne themselues (as it were) into one maine body and Forrest. For if we looke with iudgement and reason into the worlds plantation, we shall finde that eury familie seared themselves as nere together as possible they could; and though necessitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselues, and creepe out of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, yet did they it with this aduise, as that they might at a times resort, and succour one another by riuer, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So NIMROD, who out of wit and strength vsurped dominion ouer the rest, late downe in the very confluence of all those riuers, which watered *Paradise*: for thither it was to which the greatest troupes of NOAHs children repaired; and from the same place whence Mankinde had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increase. The first Father of men ADAM, had therein his former habitation. The second Father of Mankinde NOAH, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as NIMROD the yongelt, yet strongest, made his choice of *Babel* (as aforesaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleansed and enriched; so did HAVILAH place himselfe vpon *Piso-tigris*: RAAMAH and his sonne SHEBA further downe vpon the same riuer, on the Sea-coast of *Arabia*: CHVS himselfe vpon *Gehon*, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselues farther off, yet they alwaies fastened themselues to the riuers sides: for *Ninine*, *Charan*, *Reseph*, *Canneh*, &c. in *Chaldea*, and the other first-peopled Cities were all founded vpon these nauigable riuers, or their branches, by which the one might giue succour and assistance to the other, as is already often remembered.

§. XV.

A conclusion by way of repetition of some things spoken before.

BE now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that *Paradise* was a place created by God, and a part of this our earth and habitable world, seated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram*, *fluuiorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35 degrees from the *Aequinoctiall*, and 55 from the North pole: in which Climate the most excellent wines, fruites, oyle, graine of all sorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proueth the excellencie of this fayd soile and temper, then the abundant growing of the *Palme*-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein foucer the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can most vaunt, that they haue excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their works: this tree alone giueth vnto man what foucer his life begetteth at Natures hand. And though it may be sayd, that these trees are found both in the East and West *Indies*, which Countries are also blessed with a perpetuall Spring and Summer, yet lay downe by those pleasures and benefites the fearefull and dangerous thunders and lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous beasts and wormes, with other inconueniences, and then there will be found no comparison betweene the one and the other.

What other excellencies this garden of *Paradise* had (before God, (for mans ingratitude and crueltie, cursed the earth) we cannot iudge; but I may safely thinke, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all liuing men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular garden exceed all parts of the vniuersall world, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow

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grow the trees, of Life, of Knowledge; Plants only proper, and becoming the *Paradise*, and Garden of so great a Lord.

The summe of all this is, That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture have beene dimme-sighted (some of them finding *Paradise* beyond our knowne world: some, about the middle Region of the aire: some, elevated neare the Moone: others, as farre South as the Line, or as farre North, as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Cuttles in the aire, and in mens fancies, vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in *Eden* (saith *Moses*) Eastward, in respect of *India*, that God planted this garden, which *Eden* we finde in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A Riuer went out of *Eden* to water this garden, and from thence diuided it selfe into foure branches; and we finde that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* swimming through *Eden* doe ioine in one, and afterward taking wayes apart doe water *Chus* and *Hauilah*, according to *Moses*: the true feates of *Chus* and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nemrod* built *Babel*. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the contrarie: for that which was neuer ioined cannot be diuided. *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Riuer of *Eden*; That *Gebon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibilitie, and this Riuer is a greater stranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, then *Ganges* is: for although there are betwene *Tigris* and *Ganges* about foure thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the world; but *Nilus* is begotten in the mountaines of the Moone, almost as farre off as the *Cape of good hope*, and falleth into the *Mediterran* Sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the mountaines of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulfe* of *Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and trauaileth North: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, three score and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following I haue added a *Chorographical* description of this terrestriall *Paradise*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceiue the preceeding discourse; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labours may but receiue an allowance suspended
vntill such time as this description of mine
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CHAP.

1st. Series

End



CHAP. IIII.

Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

§. I.

That the tree of Life was a materiall tree: and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made subiect to death.

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Or eating the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driven out of *Paradise*, in *exilium vita temporalis*, into the banishment of temporal life, saith *Beda*. That the trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and so slipperie, as nothing can fasten them, haue in this also deliuered to the world an imaginarie doctrine.

The tree of Life (say the Hebrewes) hath a plural construction, and is to be vnderstood, *Lignum uitarum*, The tree of liues, because the fruit thereof had a proprietie, to preserve both the growing, sensitiue, and rational life of man; and not only (but for *Adams* transgression) had prolonged his owne dayes, but also giuen aduerfull continuance to all posteritie; and that, so long, as a bodie compounded of Elements could last.

Barth. Sept. 2. l. 1.
274.

And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and blood could be immortall, but that it must once perith and rot, by the vnchanged law of God imposed on his creatures, Man (notwithstaning) should haue enioyed thereby a long, healthfull, and vngriued life: after which (according to the opinion of most Diuines) he should haue bene translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the flood, the daies of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeares; and soon after the flood of two hundred yeares and vpwards euen to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandment, the liues of men on earth might haue continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men haue conceiued. *Chrysostome*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of beliefe, that (but for *Adams* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his posteritie had bene immortall. But such is the infinite wisdome of God, as he foresaw that the Earth could not haue contained mankind; or else, that Millions of soules must haue bene vngenerated, and haue had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for euer: and therefore that of *Chrysostome* must be vnderstood of immortalitie of bodies, which should haue bene translated and glorified.

But of what kinde or Species this tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to reach: in which respect many haue conceiued, that the same was not materiall; but a meere Allegorie, taking their strength out of *Salomon*, where Wisdome is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life, and out of the *Apocalypsis*, I will giue to him that ouercometh, to eat of the Tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God. But to this place *S^r. Auguslines* answer may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a

Apocal. 2. 7.

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terrestriall *Paradise*, so there was a celestiall. For although *Agar* and *Sars* were Figures of the *Old*, and *New Testament*, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the maide and wife of *Abraham*, were more foolishnesse. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. For God brought out of the earth every tree faire to sight, and sweet to taste; the tree also of life in the midst of the garden: which sheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandment produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or *Chaos*, *Hesiodus*, *Homer*, *Ovid*, and others steale the inuention of the created world; so from the Garden of *Paradise*, they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the tree of Life, their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, significth making young, and *Ambrosia*, immortallite; and therefore said to be the meate and drinke of the Gods.

§. II.

Of *BECAVUS* his opinion that the Tree of Knowledge was
Ficus Indica.

- 20 **N**OW for the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, some men haue presumed further, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giueth himselfe the honour to haue found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could euer ghesse at, whereat *Goropius* much maruaileth. But as he had an inuentiue braine, so there neuer liued any man, that beleued better thereof, and of himselfe. Surely howsoeuer his opinion may be valued, yet he vsurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the inuention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Bar-cephus* fastened on this come thence about fise hundred yeares before *Becanus* was borne; and *Bar-cephus* him selfe referreth the inuention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Authour *Philoxenus*
- 30 *Ataburgensis*, and others, whose very wordes *Goropius* vseth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For *Moses Bar-cephus* in his Treatise of *Paradise* (the first Part and fol. 49.) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, the Indian Fig-tree, of which the greatest plentie (saith *Becanus*) are found vpon the banks of *Acenes*, one of the Riueres which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies, or neare the Kingdom of *Parus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bignesse of a great peaze, or (as *Plinius* reporteth) somewhat bigger, and that it is a tree *se tempore serens, auius plantam it sese*; that it spreadeth it selfe so farre abroad, as that a troupe of horsemen may hide themselves vnder it. *Strabo* saith, that it hath branches bending downward, and leaues no lesse than a shield. *Aristobolus* affirmeth that fiftie horsemen may shadow themselves vnder one of these trees. *Oncserius* raiseth this number to foure hundred. This tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceedeth all other in bignesse, which also *Plinius* and *Oncserius* confirme: to the truncke of which these Authours giue such a magnitude as I thinke to repete. But it may be, they all speake by an ill-vnderstood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not so rare a Plant, as *Becanus* conceiuet, who because he found it no where else, would needs draw the garden of *Paradise* to the Tree, and set it by the riuer *Acenes*. But many parts of the world haue them, and I my selfe haue seene twentie thousand of them in one Vallie, not farre from *Puin in America*. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner. After they are first thrt vp some twentie or thirtie foote in length, (some more, some lesse, according to the soile) they spread a very large toppes, hauing no bough nor twigge in the truncke or stemme: for from the vtmost end of the head branches there issueth out a gummie iuyce, which hangeth downward like a cord or sinnew, and within a few Moneths reacheth the ground;

ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the toppe boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this corde maketh it selfe a Tree exceeding haitily. From the vmoist boughes of these young trees there fall againe the like cordes, which in one yeare and lesse (in that world of a perpetuall spring) become also trees of the bignesse of the nether part of a launce, and as it straight, as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kinde of groue, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now one of these trees considered with all his young ones may (indeede) throwde foure hundred or foure thousand horsemen, if they please; for they couer whole vallies of ground where these Trees grow neare the Sea-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner part of *Trinidado*. The cordes which fall downe ouer the bankes into the Sea, shooting alway downward to finde roote vnder water, are in those Seas of the *Indies*, where Oysters breed, intangled in their beddes, so as by pulling vp one of these cordes out of the Sea, I haue scene siue hundred Oysters hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that Oysters grew on trees in *India*. But that they beare any such huge leaues, or any such delicate fruit I could neuer finde, and yet I haue trauailed adozen miles together vnder them; but to returne to *Goropius Becanus*. This tree (saith he) was good for meate and pleasing to the sight, as the tree of Knowledge of good and euill is described to be.

Secondly, this tree hauing so huge a truncke (as the former Authours report, and *Becanus* beleue) it was in this tree that *Adam* and *Eue* hidde themselves from the presence of God, for no other tree (saith he) could containe them. But first it is certaine, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the truncke or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger then the rest, and these are all but of a meane size. Secondly, the wordes of *Moses* translated in *medio ligni*, are by all the interpreters vnderstood in the plural number, (that is) in the midst of the trees. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses* *Ereophas*, word for word) is, that when *Adam* and *Eue* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeede) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: because *Adam* being posselt with shame did not runne vp and downe the garden to seeke out leaues to couer him, but found them in the place it selfe; and these leaues of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse, which *Plinie* auoweth in these wordes; *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazonis habet*, The breadth of the leaues hath the shape of an Amazonian shield: which also *Theophrast* confirmeth; the forme of which Targets

Gen. 3. 7.

Pl. 4. 15. c. 5.

V' 19. R. N. L. 1.
494.

Ducit Amazonidum leuatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens.

The Amazons with Crescent-formed shield
Penthesilea leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be beleued, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him; to giue credit to this his borrowed discouerie, vling this confident (or rather cholerick) speech. *Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hac à nobis de fien hac ex antiquis scriptoribus cum MOSIS narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere aliam arborem inueniri posse, quæcum illa magis quadret, Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things which we haue reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers deliuered, with the narration of MOSES, as to daro auow, that any other tree can be found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith.* But for my selfe, because I neither find this tree, sorting in body, in largenesse of leaues, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: That the Earth neuer brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leaue euery man to his owne beleefe, for the matter is of

no great weight as touching his kinde: only thereby, and by the easie Commandement by God giuen to *Adam*, to forbear to feede thereon, it pleased God to make triall of his obedience: *Prohibita, non propter alium, quin ad commendandum para ac August de ciuit. simplici Obediencia bonum*, Being forbidden, not for any other respect, then thereby to commend the goodnesse of pure and simple Obedience.

ð. III.

Of BECANVS his not vnwittie allegorizing of the Storie of his Ficus Indica.

- 10 **B**Vt in this I must doe *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I haue gathered in these few wordes. As this Tree (saith he) so did Man, grow straight and vpright towards God, vntill such time as hee had transgressed and broken the Commandement of his Creatour; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, he beganne to bend downeward, and stooped toward the earth, which all the rest of *Adams* posteritie after him haue done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding vmbraiousnesse of this tree he compareth to the darke and shadowed life of man, through which the Sunne of iustice being not able to pierce, we haue all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to finde among so many large leaues, may be compared (saith he) to the little vertue, and vnperceined knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it ouer. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate, so are the delights and pleasures of the world, most pleasing while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choller and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures conuerted into the bitterest sorrowes and repentances. That the leaues are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaues) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shewes, and publike ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seeke for the fruit, which ought to be their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bignesse of the smallest pease; glorie, to all the world apparent; goodness, to all the world inuisible. And furthermore, as the leaues, bodie, and boughes of this tree, by so much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpass the meane: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees, rather sitting and becoming the vnworthiest shrubbe, and humblest bryar, or the poorest and basest man, then such a flourishing stateliness, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after he had disobeyed God, and beheld his owne nakednesse and shame, sought for leaues to couer himselfe withall, this may serue to put vs in minde of his and our finnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintaine which wee vse so many vncharitable and cruell practises in this world.

ð. IIII.

Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and euill; with some other notes touching the Storie of *Adams* sinne.

- 50 **N**Ow, as touching the sense of this tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propriety of the Tree it selfe, *Moses Barcephas* an ancient Syrian Doctor (translated by *Masius*) giueth this iudgement: That the fruit of this tree had no such vertue or qualitie, as that by the tasting thereof, there

was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had beene ignorant before; but as *Iunius* also noteth, *Arbor* (scientia boni & mali) (*id est*) experientia boni & mali ab euentu. *The Tree of Knowledge of good and euill* (that is) the experience of good and euill by the euent. For thus much we may conceiue, that *Adam* being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanship of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection then euer any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created plant, out of whose seede all men liuing haue growne vp; and hauing receiued immortallitie from the breath or spirit of God, which could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobaying of Gods commandment was the fearfulllest euill, and the obseruation of his precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health doe (notwithstanding) conceiue, that sicknesse is grievous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witness: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proofe thereof in himselfe another terror then he had forethought, or could imagine. For looking into the glasse of his owne guiltie soule, he beheld therein the horreur of Gods iudgements, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased euill, which could not be exprest. He then saw himselfe naked both in bodie and minde; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had any such operation, by any selfe qualitie or effect; for the same phrase is vsed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are giuen to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, by cause of the euent (as is aforesaid) so was the Well of contention therefore called *Eck*, and the Well of hatred *Sinath*, because the Heardsmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the heape of stones, called the *heape of witness*, betweene *Jacob* and *Laban*, not that the stones bare witness, but for a memorie of the covenant. So *Jacob* called the house of God *Bethel*: and *Hagar*, the Well in the Desert, *Vimentis*, & *videntis*.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge then he had perceiued in himselfe, and looking but slightly (as all his illuſions doe) into the miseries and sorrowes incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glorie which he might obtaine by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward by the gentle winde of pleasing perswasions vnwares; his progression being strengthened by the subtile arguments of *Sathan*, who laboured to poyſon mankind in the very roote, which he moistned with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himselfe perished for euer.

Bart. sem. 2. Ls.

But what meanes did the Deuill finde out, or what instruments did his owne subtiletie present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischiefe by? euen the vnquiet vanitie of the woman; so as by *Adams* hearkening to the voice of his wife, contrarie to the expresse commandment of the liuing God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subiect of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being giuen to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a Counsellour. But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife, &c. (said God himselfe) Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou cate of it all thy life. It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; euen by the most vgly and vnworthy of all beasts, into whom the Deuill entred and perswaded.

Gen. 3. 17.

Secondly, what was the motive of her disobedience: euen a desire to know what was most vnishing her knowledge, an affection which hath euer since remained in all the pollicentie of her Sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moued the man to yeeld to her perswasions? euen the same cause which hath moued all men since the like consent, namely an unwillingnesse to gricue her and make her sadde, least she should pine and be ouercome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Saul* the sonne of *Dauid* Gods chosen seruant, and himselfe a man endued with the greatest

Nom. 10. 13.
Gen. 26. 30.
31.
C. 31. 43.
C. 38. 19.
C. 16. 14.

§. II.

of CAÏNS dwelling in the land of NOD: and of his Citie Enoch.

Hieron. 7. ad.
Hebr.

Jesep. 1. 1. 3.

Gen. 4. 14.

Gen. 4. 16.

17.

Gen.

v. 21. 6.
13.

17. 25.

24.

10. 15.

Gen. 4. 14.

THis word *Nod* or *Naid* S^r. Hierome and many others vnderstand to signifie wandering, or incertaine habitation: vexation or agitation, faith *Iunius*; but the Sequentie conuert it otherwise, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Countrey, and so doth *Iosephus*. But it seemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a vagabond or wanderer in his cogitations, then any thing else, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the murder committed justly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence: And whoeuer findeth me (saith CAÏN) shall slay me. Now that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for dwelling signifieth an abiding; and we call those people wanderers and vagabonds that haue no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, *Moses* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East side of *Eden*. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after *Cain* departed from the presence or fauour of God, he built a Citie, and called it by the name of his first borne, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortifie himselfe against reuenge. *Cyrillus* lieth, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of *Christ* and of the *Iewes*; and that as *Cain*, after that he had slaine *Abel* vnjustly, had thenceforth no certaine abiding in the world: so the *Iewes*, after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnegates: and it is true, that the *Iewes* had neuer since any certaine Estate, Commonweale, or Prince of their owne vpon the earth. Now this land of *Nod*, *Iunius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deserta*, a Region of *Nomades*; but *Arabia* the Desert is not Eastward, or on the East part of *Eden*, neither are these *Nomades* any particular people or Nation. For all these, in what part of the world soeuer, which in old time liued by pastorage, and fedde (as we call it in *Ireland*) vpon white meate without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes *Nomades*, and by the Latines *Pastores vagi*, as the Northern *Tartarians*, the *Gethulians*, and *Nymidiains* in *Africa*, the ancient *Brittanni*, and the Northern *Irish*: yea such were the inhabitants of *Italie* it selfe, till such time as *Italus* (who gaue them that name) taught them the husbandrie of tillage vled at this day. But the Region Eastward from *Eden* is that part of *Assyria*, called by *Ptolomie*, *Calkens*, which also might be deriued of *Carens*, the Countrey of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written *Gen. 3. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the earth whence he was taken: and in the Verse following: Thus he cast out man, Eve, and at the East side of the garden of Eden he set the Cherubims: which sheweth that the entrie into Paradise was from the East, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of *Paradise* which was Eastward, according to the Text. *Cain* also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe signifie *profluges*, that is, a fugitive, wee can giue no longer time to this vncertaine habitation of *Cain*, then till hee built the Citie of *Enoch*, the first of the world, which he inclosed either for his owne defence, or (as *Iosephus* writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as for mine owne opinion I am resolu'd with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (vagabond) which *Cain* vseth of himselfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (vagabond) is therein vnderstood for such an one as traileth in feare of reuengement: for whoeuer findeth me (saith CAÏN) shall slay me; or else (vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the fauour of God.*

And because these *Henoehians*, so called of the Citie *Henoach*, were the first societic and ciuill assemblie of all other, it is likely that the same of these people (either for crueltie, strength, or other actions) liued in the memorie of *Noah* and his sonnes; so that

that after the flood (as there were of all sorts of natures, some virtuously, some im-
piously disposed, and every active minde setting before it whom to follow or imi-
tate) those people, which delighted in cruelty and oppression tooke on them their
names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Henochians* were
not the least. Perchance the place it selfe where *Henoch* stood before the flood, and
whereof the monuments might remaine (as the pillars or the foundation of *Ioppo*)
did give occasion to the planters of that place to call themselves by the same names;
for of those *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Col-
chis* in *Iberia*, *Sagdiaria*, and *Bactria*, and of the same name many mountaines, as those
10 which are otherwise called *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to finde out the truth
of these things, which the most aged time hath couered over or defaced, wee may
15 (according to the counsaile of *Plato*) exceedingly cloyce, and therewith satiate our
selves, if of so great and almost worn-out antiquitie, if of the eldest peoples names
and nations there remaine any print or footsteps to posteritie.

In * *Plinie*, *P. Melis*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we finde those
Henochi described, though diuerly written, as in *Plinie*, sometimes *Henochi*, in *Mela*
Eniochi, in *Flaccus Henochi*, in *Lucan Eniochi* all which inhabit vpon the Sea *Euxinus*,
but yet none of these are on the East side of *Eden*, or (according to *Moses* words) East-
ward from *Eden*. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so
20 exceeding precise, as sometime he vseth the word East or South without borrow-
ing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, orte-
wards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the eleuenth he writeth the word
(East) simply and directly. And as they went from the East, they found a Plane in the
land of *Shinar*, but in this of *Cain* he addeth the word (towards) as, in the land of *Nod*
towards the East side of *Eden*; which may betaken, as inclining some one point or two
either to the North or to the South, of the East.

But as we may coniecture that these Nations tooke name of *Henoch*, the Cittie of
Cain, or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was repeople after the
flood: so it is probable that these *Henochi* of *Colchis*, and other parts adioyning, were
30 not the first of that name, after the sonnes of *Noah* beganne to fill the world againe:
because, had this *Henoch* the Cittie of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then
been seated North, and not East or Eastward from *Eden*. But as *Plinie* findeth their
habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he tracke them
or trace them out to their originall. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Plin* 18. c. 2. §. 5.
Sanni Heniochi; *Ptolomie Zani*; beyond which an hundred and fiftie mile Eastward
he findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these
again he discouereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest tooke beginning,
which inhabited on the West side of the mountaines of *Paropamisus*, between them
and the great river of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North side; and these
40 *Henochi* are due East from the Region of *Eden*, and Eastward from the very garden
it selfe.

And although we cannot be assured, that these *Henochi* tooke name from the
memorie of the Cittie of *Enoch* directly, yet because they inhabited due East from
Paradise, and afterwards spred themselves Westward (as all *Noahs* sonnes did that
came into *Shinar*) the coniecture is faire more probable, then that of *Animus* the
Fryar, who sets *Henoch* in *Phenicia*, quite contrarie to *Moses* word: *Phenicia* from all
parts of *Eden* being directly West.

And besides these severall Nations of the *Henochi*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region cal-
led *Henochia*, and the same also in the East, with diuers mountaines about *Bactria* and
50 *Sagdiaria* of the same name. Only the *Græcians* (according to their fabulous inuen-
tions of all things else) out of the word (*Heniochi*) which signifieth Carts or Coach-
men, make these Nations to haue sprung from the Waggoners of *Cassior* and *Pellus*
(to wit) *Amphotes* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Iafon* into
Colchis. And though I doe not denie, but that *Iafon* with other *Greekes* ranged the
coastes

Quotidi aliq
in his magis or
lematis: pona
vrbium funda-
mentis inactur,
nona Centum
milia (exten-
dit) non minus
prioribus vnan-
tur. Strabo ad
Albionem.
* *Plin.* 18. c. 2. §.
11. & 16.
Strabo, l. 11.
V. 2. l. 1. c. 6.
Lucan, l. 3. v. 371.
v. 2.

Plin 18. c. 2. §. 5.
Ptol. 2. l. 1. c. 2.

Steph. de Vr.

Not. Comes cal-
chæ cheas *Rhe-
cas*,
Nat. Com. 18. c. 9

425-6
 Strabo l. 11.
 In the second booke of
 this first part.
 Cap. 13. §. 5.

coastes of *Assis* the left, in an open Boate or kinde of small Galley,* of whom I shall speake in his owne time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the golden Fleece was for the most part Poeticall; and withall that in such an open Boate, which could hardly carry their owne Rowers, being foure and fiftie, there was no place and lesse vfe of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

§. II.

of MOSES his omitting sundry things concerning CAINs generation.

BVt of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the Citie of *Henoch* in prophane storie, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answer some few obiections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (having no other assistance then his sonne *Henoch*) to performe such a worke as the building of a Citie, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a masse of all sorts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious race) *Moses* vseth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his diuine reason, seeing that he containeth the whole storie of the first race, 20 which lasted by the least account 1656. yeares, in five short Chapters. Yet thus much may euery man borrow of his owne weakit reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens liues so long a measure, as 800. and 900. yeares, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and meanes to build many such Cities as *Henoch*, be the capacite answering to what other of the world souer: for in what age of *Cains* life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whose times, and the times of his issues *Moses* had the least care. And as it was said of *Cain*, that he built a Citie: so was it said of *Noah*, that his three sonnes peopled all the world; but in both the proceesse of time required to be vnderstood: which aduise seeing *Moses* vseth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily vnderstand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the birth of *Abel*, and oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos et a fine dicrum* (that is) in proceesse of time it came to passe that *CAIN* brought an oblation. And therefore it is in like sort to be vnderstood of *Cain*, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increased he built the Citie of *Enoch* or *Henoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, so of *Salomon*, that he built the Temple of *Iherusalem*; yet it is well knowne of *Salomon*, that he employed in that worke 150000. labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selues to say, The King inuaded; when he caused an inuasion to be made: and he built, 40 when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing we finde, that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cains* issues, it is not to be maruailed at, why he also passeth ouer in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner: *CAIN* also knew his wife, who conceived and bare *HENOCH*, and he built a Citie, and called the name of the Citie after the name of his sonne *HENOCH*. And to *HENOCH* was borne *IRAD*, and *IRAD* begat *MEHVIAEL*, and *MEHVIAEL* begat *METHVSIAEL*, and *METHVSIAEL* *LANECH*.

Now of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth farre other wise, and in this manner. And *SETH* lived 105. yeares, and begat *ENOC*, and *SETH* lived after he begat *ENOC* 807. 50 yeares, and begat Sonnes and Daughters: so as all the daies of *SETH* were 912. yeares, and he died: as for the yeares and times of the wicked they were not numbered in *libro vniuersitatis*, saith *Cyril*. But in *Seth* was the Church of God established, from whom *Christ* descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke Mo-
 ses

ses walked in, and finished it with care, passing over the reprobate generation (as a-
fore said.) Of the line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembereth but eight generati-
ons, reckoning *Adam* for one, and of the line of *Adam* by *Set*h ten, counting *Adam*
also therein, as followeth :

¶ I. ADAM.

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 2. <i>Cain</i> . | 2. <i>Set</i> h. |
| 3. <i>Henoch</i> . | 3. <i>Enosh</i> . |
| 4. <i>Irad</i> . | 4. <i>Canaan</i> . |
| 5. <i>Mahisael</i> . | 5. <i>Mahaleel</i> . |
| 6. <i>Mathusalem</i> . | 6. <i>Iared</i> . |
| 7. <i>Lamech</i> , who by <i>Ada</i> had | 7. <i>Enoch</i> . |
| 8. <i>Jubal</i> and <i>Tubal</i> , and by <i>Silla</i> | 8. <i>Mathusalem</i> . |
| <i>Tubalcain</i> , and <i>Noëma</i> . | 9. <i>Lamech</i> , and |
| | 10. <i>Noah</i> . |

These be the generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention : but
Iosephus giueth vnto *Lamech* three score and seuentene Sonnes and Daughters, by
his two wiues *Ada*, and *Silla*: and to these three sonnes of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth
the inuention of Pastorage, of Mulikey, and the working in metall; for it seemeth
that *Jubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly
were vntamed, and brought them into herds and droues : *Tubal* inuented Mulikey,
and *Tubalcain* the working in bras and yron: the one being addicted to husbandrie,
the other was Mechanicall, the third giuen to idleness and pleasure. In whom be-
ganne these three manner degrees of Sheep-herds, handy-crafts-men, and Militians.
And in the issues of *Set*h beganne the seruices of God, Diuinitie, Prophesie, and A-
stronomie: the children of the one beheld the Heauens, the other the Earth.

¶ IIII.

Of the diuersities in the ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their children.

Second scruple hath bene made, How it came to passe that the Pa-
triarchs begat their children at so diuers ages, as *Canaan* or *Cen* at se-
centie years, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at three score and five years, where-
as *Iared* begat not any of his vntill he was 162. years old: *Mathusalem*
begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. years. Now this
difference hath bene the more enforced, because it cannot be coniectured, that ei-
ther *Iared*, *Mathusalem*, or *Lamech* obtained from marriage out of the religion of ab-
stinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular sanctities, be-
gat children before he was three score and ten years old.

The apparent difference herof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the ge-
nerations before the flood precisely, according to the first begotten and eldest sonnes
of the Patriarchs, but he drew downe the line of *Noah* from *Set*h, and afterward from
Noah to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestors were they elder or younger as he found
them for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldest of *Iared*, nor *Lamech* the first borne
of *Mathusalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing knowne to the contra-
rie, but that *Noah* might haue had many sonnes before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Iaphet*, though
these three were only named, and suruiuing, and which by God were reserved to be
the Fathers of mankind after the flood; and therefore when we finde *Mahaleel* to be
begotten by *Kenan* at three score and ten years who was the first sonne of *Kenan*, and
then reckon that *Mathusalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. year of his life, the difference
seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* reiecteth all the o-
ther sonnes of *Mathusalem* but *Lamech* only, because he was the Father of *Noah* as a-
fore said.

forefaid. Of this *St. Augustine* hath somewhat else in his 20. and 21. Chapters, *De Cinitate Dei*.

But as *Moses* counted the generations of the first age, and so to *Abraham*, and the children of the promise after him, so doth *St. Matthew* recite the Genealogie of *Christ*, not by the eldest sonnes, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first borne, who haue hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitorie only; and therefore the *Euangelist* nameth *Isaac*, and not *Ismael*, though *Ismael* were first in time: so doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Esaue* the elder; neither is *Christ* deniued from any of the three eldest *Patriarchs*, *Reuben*, *Simon*, or *Leui*, but from *Juda* a fourth brother, and so from *Dauid* a younger sonne of *Iessai*; and lastly we finde, that the Kingdome it selfe of *Juda* was not giuen to the Heire in nature, but to the Heire of grace, namely *Salomon*.

§. V.

Of the long liues of the Patriarchs: and some of late memorie.



He third obiection is, that the great difference of yeares betweene those of the first age, whereof some of them had well neare scene a thousand yeares, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the same measure as in after-ages, seeing that soone after the flood multiplied not a third part of that time, and in succeeding ages and to this day not the tenth.

They that haue hereon resolved that those yeares were but Lunare yeares, (to wit) of a Moneth or thereabouts, or *Ægyptian* yeares, are easily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enosh* in the year of his life 105. if those yeares bee taken but for *Months*, then had *Seth* liued but eight yeares and one Moneth when he begat *Enosh*: and if the time of *Enosh* haue the same allowance, when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enosh* at that time haue bene but sixe yeares and fortie eight weekes old; and so it may be gathered of the rest; excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kinde, as were the trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and feede. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. Forto giue an abilitie of generation at 6. 7. or 8. yeares, agreeeth with the short liues of the *Pigmies*, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the workmanship of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the strong youth of the world, had length of daies and abilitie of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunare yeares, then there would follow this extremitie, that those which liued longest, and vpwards of nine hundred yeares, had by that account but the time of foure score and ten and odde yeares, which were not only lesse by farre then the *Patriarchs* liued after the flood, but short of many mens liues in this decrepite age of the world, wherein many exceede foure score, and some hundred yeares. Further (if needs be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written *Gen. 25.* That *Abraham* died in a good age, an old man, and of great yeares: all which (if the former account were of Lunare yeares) makes but seuentee and an halfe of our yeares.

And if we seeke for a cause of this long life in nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equall strength or little differing: for of the first and purest seede there must of necessity spring vp the fairest and fruitfulllest Plants. Secondly, the earth it selfe was then much lesse corrupt, which yielded her increase, and brought forth fruit and foode for man, without any such mixture of harmefull qualitie, as since that time the curse of God for the crueltie of mans heart brought on it and mankind: Neither had the waters of the flood infused such an impuritie, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Hearbes, and fruits vpon the earth receiued a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things vnder the Sunne haue one time of strength, and another

Mat. 1. 2.

1. Kings 2.

Solin. Poli. hist.
c. 3.
Adscr. Sator.
lx. c. 8.
Eliad. 7. c. 48.

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other of weaknesse, a youth and beautie, and then age and deformitie: so Time it selfe (vnder the deathfull shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worne out that liuely vertue of Nature in Men, and Beasts, and Plants; yea the Heuens themselves being of a most pure and cleauesd matter shall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generatiue in inferior Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receiue operative vertue from the superior.

But besides the old age of the world, how faire doth our education and simplicitie of liuing differ from that old time: the tender bringing vp of children, first fedde, and nourished with the milke of a strange Dugge; an vnaturall curiolitic hauing taught all women (but the begger) to finde out Nurces, which necessitie only ought to commend vnto them: The hasty marriages in tender yeares, wherein, Nature, being but yet greene and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her selfe hath not yet any roote sufficient to maintaine her owne toppe; and such halfe-ripe feedes (for the most part) in their growing vp wither in the budde, and waxe old euen in their infancie. But aboue all things the exceeding luxuriose hessie of this gluttonous age, wherein we presse nature with ouerweightie burdens, and finding her strength defectiue we take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of strong waters, hot spices, and prouoking sawces, of which Lucan hath these elegant Verles:

O prodigavimus.

*Lucanus, nunquam paruo contenti paratu:
Et quæstiverunt terra pelagique ciborum
Ambitiosa famens, & laute gloria mensa,
Discite quam paruo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum Natura petat.
Non auro myrrisque bibunt: sed gurgite puro
Vita redit: satis est populis suminus, Ceresq;*

O wastfull Riot, neuer vvell content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of cares by land and sea faire fetcht and sent;
Vaine glorie of a table sumptuous,
Learne vvith how little life may be preferred.
In Gold and Myrrhe they neede not to carrouse;
But vvith the brooke the peoples thirst is serued:
Who fedde vvith bread and vvater are not serued,

The *Ægyptians* affirme, that the longest time of mans life is a hundred yeares, because the heart in a perfect bodie vvaxeth and growth to strength fiftie yeares, and afterwards by the same degree deciaeth and vvithereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philosophie, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twentie yeares and *Berosus* to a hundred and seventeen yeares. These opinions *Plinie* repeateth and reproueth, producing many examples to the contrarie. In the last taxation, number and reuiue of the eighth Region of *Italie*, there were found in the roll (saith *Plinie*) foure and fiftie persons of an hundred yeares of age: seuen and fiftie of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred and fife and twentie: foure, of an hundred and thirtie: as many that were hundred and fife and thirtie; or hundred and seuen and thirtie yeares old: and last of all three men of an hundred and fortie: and this search was made in the times of *Vespasian* the Father and the Sonne.

The simple diet and temperate life of the *Ægyptians* gaue them long account of many yeares: so did it to the Secretaries of *Ægyptian* ceremonies, to the *Persians*, *Mediterranean* and *Indian* Brachmans. The Greeks affirme out of *Homer*, that *Ægeon* liued three ages, and *Tiresias* sixe, *Sybilla* three hundred yeares, *Endymion* of the lesse *Asia*

little lesse: Also *Masiffa* of *Namidia* liued very long, and *Dando* of *Ilyria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia* many liued three hundred yeares (saith *Ephorus*) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that some of them liue full two hundred yeares: and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*; and that these reports are not fabulous, *Iosephus* bringeth many witnessles with him selfe, as *Marathon*, *Berolus*, *Mochus*, *Ephorus*, *Etiocynus*, *Aegyptius*, *Hecataeus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Antonius Fume* an *Hilorian* of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570. there was an *indij* presented to *Solyman*, *General* of the *Turkes* Armie, who had out-liued three hundred yeares. I my selfe knew the old *Countesse* of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who liued in the year 1589. and many yeares since, who was married in *Edward* the fourth time, and held her Ioynture from all the *Earles* of *Desmond* then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munster* can witness. *Strozzius Cigogna*, out of *Torquemada Massani*, and the like Authours, telleth of some that have not only farre exceeded the terme prescribed by *Epigenes*; but beene repaired from the withered estate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference betwene the abilitie of men in those daies wherein *Galen* the Philisition liued, it may easily proue vnto vs what reedes we are in respect of those *Cedars* of the first age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let blood fixe pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) stoppe at fixe ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the naturall causes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure and thinnie aire, and temperate vse of diet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long vpright; on aire we feede alwaies and in euery instant, and on meates but at times; and yet the heauie load of abundance, wherewith we oppresse and ouercharge Nature, maketh her to linke vnawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure aire, and a temperate vse of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs deliuering their knowledge by Tradition: and that *Enoch* writ before the flood.



Fourth scruple hath beene made. How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no storie thereof written, and if any such had beene, yet it is conceiued, that all memorie of Antiquities perished in the vniuersall flood.

But if we consider the curiositie and policie of elder ages, we shall find that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also couered and hid from the vulgar sort, asiewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreuerent confusion of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained vnto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but deliuered ouer by heart and tradition from wise men to a posteritie equally zealous, *Ex animo in animum sine literis, medio intercedente verbo*, From minde to minde without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by *Esdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius*, (as *Mirandula* conceiue) that *Moses* did not onely vpon the Mount receiue the Law from God, but withall *secretiorum & veran legis characteron*, a more secret and true explanation of the Law, which (saith he out of the same Authors), he deliuered by mouth to *Iosuah*, and *Iosuah* to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, so which he called *secretiora* to the rude multitude were no other quam *dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere margaritas*, then to giue holy things to Dogges, and to cast pearles before swine. In succeeding times this vnderstanding and wisdome began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and letters bearing the forme of beastes, birds,

note: knowledge would be very hard from v. bulgar 222. 227. 430. 611. 430

birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to such, as served in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the *Jewes* was an imitation; the invention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercennius*, *Caldus*, and others, but falsely.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *receptum* in Latine, and a *receiving* in English. And this custome was also held by the *Druids* & *Bards* of our ancient *Brittaines*, and of latter times by the *Irish* *Charmers* called *Lymeris*. If then such as would seeme wisest in the use of reason wil not acknowledge, that the storie of the Creation or beginning of all things was written by inspiration, the holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then used) be delivered vnto him by a more certaine presumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquitie had preserved and left to their successours: which their wise men (as they terme them) did lay vp and defend from the iniurie of the time and other hazards. For, leauing to remember that *Adam* intracted *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and successours, which cannot be doubted of; it is manifest, that *Methusalem* liued together with *Adam* himselfe two hundred fortie and three yeeres, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no lesse then five hundred yeeres: and before *Noah* died *Abraham* was fiftie and eight yeeres old; from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinarie way might come to *Isaac*, and so to *Moses*.

But besides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the use of letters was found out in the very infancie of the world, proued by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and Bricke by *Enoch*: of which *Iosephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained euen in his time, (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these prophecies of *Enoch* Saint *Iude* testifieth; and some part of his Bookes (which contained the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia felix* in the Dominion of the Queene of *Saba*: (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth that hee had seene and read some whole pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation and storie of the first age, seeing hee might receiue it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before hee wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Now for the Bookes of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make question of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazens*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to proue them unwritten traditions, allegeth that *Pope Gelasius* among other the *Apocryphall* Scriptures (which he reiecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembered out of them, the same was deliuered by Tradition from the *Jewes*. But I rather thinke with *Petrus* that such a Booke there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by hereticks, who tooke occasion vpon the antiquitie thereof; and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the deuill about the body of *Moses*, to frame and adde thereunto many inuentions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is that neither *Philo*, nor *Iosephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquitie) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of Saint *Augustine*, *Scriptis est quidem nonnulla diuina ENOCHII: septiman ab ADAM negare non possumus*: That *ENOCH* the seventh from *ADAM* did write diuers diuine things we cannot denie. Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquitie, & of fables of Giants supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Booke was found amongst those Canonick Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priest in *Armaria Iudaea* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this Booke might bee preferred by *Noah*. Surdy that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembered by *Iude* no man can denie;

cabala est
receptum
p. m. 82.
M. 110. 111

8. 80
115
116

12. Ep. 1. 14.

Origen. Homil.
in Rom.

Orig. Homil. 8.
in Rom.
Comment. in
Euang. Ioh. 1.
Gelasius. 15.

1. 73

Tertul. de habit.
malerum.

denie; how they were deliuered to posteritie I know not, whether by the *Jewes Cabala*, or by what other meanes, the same is but mans coniecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the heauens, and of the natures and coniunctions of the Starrs; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to *Zoraster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had scene and might preferre this booke. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as the selfe man had) was suddenly inuented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath bene said before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* liued with *Methusalem*, who liued with *Adam*, and *Abraham* liued with *Noah*, it is not strange (I say) to conceiue how *Moses* 19 came to the knowledge of the first Age; be it by letters, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the vndoubted word of God neede of any other prooffe then selfe-authoritie.

§. VII.

Of the men of renowme before the flood.

NOW let vs consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seuen descents of *Cains* children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being giuen by God in reade of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to professe Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publike. For although *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creatour, as appeared by the sacrifice by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh* men began publicly to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they serued and praised God by Communion and in publike manner, or calling vpon the name of the Lord, and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the sonne of *Seth* to the time of *Enoch* the sonne of *Iared* there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their owne births, the births of their sonnes, the length of their liues, and deaths. But of *Enoch* it is written, *that he walked with God, and he was no more seene*: for God tooke him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that he was a iust and vpright man, and that he feared, loued, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* vseth of *Noah*. *NOAH was a iust and vpright man in his time, and NOAH walked with God.* The Sequentie conuert it, *ENOCH placuit Deo: HENOCHE pleased God.* And although *Aben-Ezra* and others vnderstand this place, (*tulit eum Deus*;) *scilicet, mortuus est, God tooke him away (that is) he died*, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away, when hedied; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh betweene the pietie of *Enoch* and the rest of the *Patriarchs*, and by omitting the word (death) which becometh to all else, makes it manifest, that *Enoch* was not dissolued as the rest. For to all the rest of the *Patriarchs*, *Moses* vseth these wordes, *And he died*; but of *Enoch* he spake otherwise, saying only, *he was missing*, or *he was not seene*. *Et non inueniebatur* (saith the Epistle to the Hebrewes) *quia Deus eum transtulit, And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away.* In the same place it is expressly added, *that he saw not death*.

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the same kinde of changing, which *S. Paul* promisseth when he saith, that when the end shall come, we shall not all die, but all shall be changed, I leave it to the learned Diuines.

After *Enoch*, *Moses* passeth ouer to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembering (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saying that *Lamech* prophesied of his sonne *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort vs concerning our worke, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed.* Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply, then of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his familie) preferred, because he was an vpright man in his time, and feared God.

But


But of the warre, peace, gouernement, and pollicie of these strong and mightie men, so able both in bodie and wit, there is no memorie remaining: whose Stories if they had bene preserved, and what else was then performed in that new world of the world, there could nothing of more delight haue bene left to posteritie. For the exceeding long liues of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeares) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisdom and vnder takings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all what-focuer can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we no sooner beginne to know, but we beginne to die; according to *Hippocrates*.

- 10 *Vita breuis, ars longa, tempus praeceptis*, (which is) *Life is short, Art is long, and Time is* *heslong*. And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*, *These were mighty men*, *Gen. 6. 4.* *which in old time were men of renoune*. But these men of renoune (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of bodie and crueltie of minde) trusted so much to their owne abilities, as they forgot altogether the pietie of *Seth*, and the waies wherein *Henoch* walked: for all the imaginations of their hearts were euill, only *V. 5.* *euill, and continually euill*. And this wickednesse was not only found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then vniuersall, when the children and sonnes of God, (or of the godly) were corrupted and mist by their idolatrous wiues, the Daughters of *Cain*, or

- 20 of those other men louing themselves and the world only.
That these *sonnes of God* were Angels, which being taken with the beautie of women accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely *Lullantius* and *Eusebius* mislead by *Iosephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers haue taken great aduantage, and haue troubled themselves with large answers and very needlesse: the question being vn capable of dispute, especially since *St. Chrysostome* and *St. Augustine* haue answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth euery where appeare in the Scripture; and on the contrarie, to thinke that Angels, who (as *Christ* 30 witnesse) behold the face of God, (that is) alwaies attend his commandments, should after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer* forsake the glorious presence of their Creatour, and become *Inubi*, or *Sucubi*, contrarie both to nature and grace, were more then madnesse to imagine.

§. VIII.

That the Giants by *Moses* so called were indeed men of huge bodies: as also diuers in latter times.

- 40  F these Giants which *Moses* calleth mightie men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall then the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large discourse, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and strained his braines to proue, that there were neuer any such men: his reasons (whose euery desires to loose time) he may finde them in the Treatises before named. It is true that *Cyrrillus* reproues the Graecian Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirme shamefully, That the Giants haue in elder times not only cast vp mountaines vpon mountaines, but remoued 50 *Islands* out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that inuention of casting vp hills, and making warre with the Gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the storie of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and euen out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God saw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, That Giants were the sonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heauens the sonnes of God, and by the

giant.

the Earth the daughters of men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *Iohn Cassian* (who hath written a witty discourse of this subiect) thus changed into Latine.

*Nomine cadesles illos dixere Gigantes
Orri quod terrâ fuerint & sanguine caeli.*

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, O heauen, they came,
Whome thereupon the Gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opinators and selfe-beleeuing men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceiue that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there haue beene in all times since? Seeing the Scriptures auow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlatiue straining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to oppressours and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them oppressours because they were Giants, and therefore had abilitie to oppress, then say, That they were called Giants onely, because oppressours. For first *Moses* himselfe calleth them mightie men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards, men of renowne, (that is) of great vndertaking and aduenturous action. And if the same stature of body, and abilitie had not beene found among diuers Nations after the generall flood, then might this place of *Moses* haue more willingly hearkned to a dispute, and yielded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will reserue to accompanie the Giants of *Albion* in the *Storie of Britanie*) the Scriptures doo clearly and without all allegorical construction auow, That besides *Nimrod*, there were found of these Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Iesus*, and of *David*; namely the *Rephaims* in *Asteroth*, the *Zuc-ai* or *Zamzummims* in *Han*, and the *Emims*, which dwelt anciently in the land of *Moab*: whom *Moses* (for stature) comparcth with the *Anakims*, which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they also were taken for Giants as the *Anakims*: Likewise where *Moses* speaketh of the land of *Ammon*, he vseth these words. That also was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein aforesometimes: and, whome the *Ammonites* call *Zamzummims*: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the *Anakims*. And these Giants called *Rephaims* in *Asteroth* and *Karnaim*, and the *Zuc-ai* or *Zamzummims*, *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* ouerthrew, assisted by other Kings his associates. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites* men of Giant-like stature, whome he comparcth to the Cedar, and whose strength to the Oakes; and the Prophet *Baruch*, These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in warre. Particularly it is written of *Og*, King of *Basan*, that his bedde of yron was nine cubits long, and foure cubits broad: for onely *Og* King of *Basan* remained of the remnants of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of *Basan*, foure hundred yeares after the expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreouer those discoverers and searchers of the Land of promise (sent by *Moses* from *Cadesbarre* in *Paran*) made report at their returne of the great stature of those people in generall, and especially of the sonnes of *Anak*, in these words. All the people which we saw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw Giants, the sonnes of *Anak*, which come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our sights like grassie-hoppers, and so we were in their sight, (that is) the searchers found in their owne iudgements a marvellous difference betweene the *Anakims* and themselves: in so much that the *Israelites* were so stricken with feare, as they rather sought and desired to returne againe into *Egypt*, and were more willing to endure their former slauierie, then to fall by the strokes of those fearefull Nations. Furthermore the Scriptures put vs out of doubt, that *Goliath* the *Philistine* of *Gath* was a Giant of fixe cubits and a spanne long: the armour which he wore weighed fiftie thousand thickets of brasse: the shaft of his speare

was like a weavers beame, and his speare head waighed sixe hundred ^{libres} weight. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath* surnamed *Gibbeus*, because he was of *Gath*, and of three other Giants; of which the first was slaine by *Iehonathas*, *Danide* Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by sixes, even foure and twentie.

Also that *Samson* was of surpassing strength no man doubteth, who tore a Lion ^{Jud. 14. 6.} as it had bene a Kidde, and after slew thirtie of the *Philistines*, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a jawbone of an Ass; And lastly he tooke the gates of *Asub*, and the two posts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them vpon his shoulders, and carried them to the toppe of the Mountaine before *Ebron*. If then it be approved by every iudgement, that both Nature and the Heavens waxe old, and that the great age of time hath (with it selfe) infeebled and almost worn out the vertue of all things, then I say, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her young ones more strong and beautifull then it did in after-ages: so also those Giants, those mightie men, and men of renouwe as farre exceeded the proportion, nature and strength of those Giants remembered by *Moses* of his owne time, and after him their successeurs, as the ordinarie proportion of all men in generall, soone after the flood and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne in the withered quarter and Winter of the world: If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newnesse of the world.

But the wickednesse (especially in crueltie and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the flood gaue end to all flesh, but to the iust *Noah* and his familie. And God repented him that he had made man, which *St. Augustine* thus expoundeth: *Neque enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui paniter, cuius est de omnibus omnino rebus tan fixa sententia, quam certa presentia. Sed si non vitatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiaris insinuat omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & dat intelligentes, God (saith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (as men use to doe) but if the Scripture did not use those wordes or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it selfe familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, stirre up the negligent, exercise the searchers of truth, and nourish those that under-*

stand.

*Of idolatrons corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length
vanishing in the world : and of the Reliques of Truth
touching these ancient times, obscurely ap-
pearing in fables and old
Legends.*

¶ I.

That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.



HE before we proceede any further, the occasion of-
fereth it selfe for vs to consider, how the Greekes and
other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inuentions,
and by breaking into parts the Storie of the Creation,
and by deliuering it ouer in a mysticall sense, wrapping
it vp mixed with other their owne trumprerie, haue
sought to obscure the truth thereof; and haue hoped,
that after-ages, being thereby brought into many
doubts, might receiue those intermixt discourses of
God and Nature for the inuentions of Poets and Philo-
sophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolne
out of the bookes of God. But as a skilfull and learned *Chymist* can aswell by separation
of visible elements draw helpfull medicines out of poyson, as poyson out of
the most healthfull hearbs and plants (all things hauing in themselves both life and
death) so, contrarie to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those which
seeke after God and Truth finde out euery where, and in all the ancient Poets and
Philosophers, the Storie of the first Age, with all the workes and manerall thereof,
amply and liuely exprest.

¶ II.

*That the corruptions themselves were very ancient : as in the familie of NOAH,
and in the old Egyptians.*

BUT this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in
Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one hauing erred but once, the
other euery as concerning mankind it tooke such effect, that thereby
(the liberall grace of God being withdrawne) all the posteritie of our
first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a
perpetuall Eclipse of spirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such
impfection and harmefull qualitie, as the waters of the generall flood could not so
walk out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very
generation and nature of mankind. Yea, euen among the few sonnes of *Noah* there
were found strong effects of the former poyson. For as the children of *Sem* did inher-
it the vertues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the sonnes of *Cham* did possesse the vices
of the sonnes of *Cain*, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the *Chal-
deans* beganne soone after the flood to ascribe diuine power and honour to the crea-
ture,

ture, which was only due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the fire. So the Egyptians and Phœnicians did not only learne to leaue the true God, but created twelue Ieuerrall Gods, and diuine powers, whom they worshipped; and vnto whom they built Altars and Temples. For Herodotus saith, *duodecim Deorum nomina primos Egyptios in usu habuisse, atque Græcos ab illis cepisse maius, colisse, prius aras, & imagines, & templa dijs sibi creasse.* The Egyptians (saith he) first deuised the names of the twelue Gods, which the Greekes receiued from them, who first erected vnto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples for the Gods.

§. III.

That in proesse of time these lesser errors drew on greater: as appeareth in the grosse superstitions of the Egyptians.

BUt as men once fallen away from vndoubted truth, doe then after wander for euermore in vices vnknewe, and daylie trauaile towards their eternall perdition: so did these grosse and blinde Idolaters euer age after other descend lower and lower, and shrinke and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby crie in worshipping mortall men only, but they gaue diuine reuerence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Mornings, to the Euening, to Plants, T rees and Rootes, to Passions and Affections of the mind; to Palencesse, Sicknesse, Sorrowes, yea to the most vnworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemie Rhodius Anaxandrides de Nat. Com. Lib. 7. rideth in this manner.

*Bouem colis, ego Deis maxto bouem.
Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obsoniorum credidi suauissimum.
Carnea suillas tu caues, at gaudeo
His maxime: canem colis, quem verbera
Edentem ubi deprehendo forte obsonium,*

I sacrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore.
I broile the Egyptian Feles, which you (as God) implore.
You feare to eate the flesh of Swine, I finde it sweet.
You worship Dogs, to beate them I thinke meete,
When they my store deuoure.

And in this manner IUVENAL.

*Porrum aut cape nefas violare aut frangere morsu:
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Nympha!*

Sat. 15. p.

The Egyptians thinke it sinne to roote vp, or to bite
Their Leekes or Onyons, which they serue with holycrite:
O happie Nations, which of their owne sowing
Haue store of Gods in euerie garden growing.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

That from the reliques of ancient records among the Egyptians and others, the first Idols and fables were invented: and that the first IUPITER was CAIN, VULCAN, TVBALCAIN, &c.

BUt in so great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens themselves there is no agreement or certaintie, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these inventions were borrowed or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certain, that the Egyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and of what order was done therein, partly from some inscriptions vpon stone or mettall remaining after the flood, and partly from *Miram* the sonne of *Cham*, who had learnt the fame of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his father *Noah*. For all that the Egyptians write of their ancient Kings and date of times cannot be fained. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Iupiters* also, their *Saturnes*, *Vulcans*, *Mercuries* with the rest which *St. Augustine* out of *Varro*; *Eusebius* out of many prophane Historians; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more haue obserued, to wit, the *Phenicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greekes*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain* the sonne of *Adam* (as some very learned men conceiue) called and reputed for the first and ancient *Iupiter*; and *Adam* for the first *Saturne*: for *Iupiter* was said to haue inuented the founding of Cities; and the first Citie of the world was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochy* before remembered. And so much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protogoras*, which also *Higinus* in his 275. chapter confirmeth. For besides that, many Cities were founded by diuers men, *Tamen primam latissimam a primo et antiquissimo Ioue edificatam. yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient IUPITER*, seated in the East parts, or in *India*, according to that of *Moses*: And *Cain* dwelt towards the East side of *Eden* &c. where also the *Henochy* were found after the flood. And therefore was *Iupiter* by the Athenians called *Poleus*, a Founder of Cities, and *Hercules*, an Incloser or strengthener of Cities; (say *Phormutus* and *Pausanias*) and that to *Iupiter Hercules* there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the flood. *Plato* also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soone after mankind began to increase, they built many Cities; which has his meaning he deliuereth in plaine termes, in his third booke of lawes: for hee saith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great flood.

This first *Iupiter*, of the Ethnickes was then the same *Cain*, the sonne of *Adam*, who marrying his owne sister (as also *Iupiter* is said to haue done) inhabited the East, where *Stephanus de verbis* placeth the Citie *Henochia*. And besides this Citie of *Henoch*, *Philo Iudeus* conceiueeth that *Cain* built fixe others, as *Maich*, *Iared*, *Tehe*, *Iofea*, *Sela*, and *Gebah*; but where *Philo* had this I know not. Now as *Cain* was the first *Iupiter*, and from whome also the Ethnickes had the inuenton of sacrifice: so were *Tubal*, *Tubal*, and *Tubalcain* (inuentors of pastorage, smiths-craft, and musick) the same, which were called by the ancient prophane writers *Mercurius*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollo*; and as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: so doth *Augustine* expound the name of *Noëma* or *Naamath*, the sister of *Tubalcain*, to signifie *Venusta*, or beautifull *Voluptas*, or pleasure; as the wife of *Vulcan* is said to be *Venus*, the Lady of pleasure and beautie. And as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Saturne*, *Cain* the eldest *Iupiter*, *Eua* *Rhea*, and *Noëma* or *Naamath* the first *Venus*: so did the fable of the diuiding of the world betweene the three brethren the sonnes of *Saturne* arise, so from the true story of the diuiding of the earth betweene the three brethren the sonnes of *Noah*: so also was the fiction of those golden apples kept by a dragon taken from the Serpent, which tempted *Enab*: so was *Paradise* it selfe transported out of *Asia* into *Africa*, and made the garden of the *Hesperides*: the propheties, that

Christ

Aug. 1. 9. 22.
De Gen. Div.
Euch. 1. 1. Prop.
Euseb. 2. 7. & 1.
2. 253.
Cic. 1. 3. de nat.
Dionom.
Higin. 2. 275. cont.
610.

Gen. 4. 16.

Phon. 1. de na.
tur. Divom.
Pausan. 1. 4. 5. &
10. 10. Protog.

Plato

Gen. 4. 21. 22.
Iofea, Sela, and Gebah;
but where Philo had this I know not.
191.

Euch. 1. 4. 5. 27.

Christ should breake the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of *Hyperides*, and descending into Hell, and captiuating *Cerberus*: so out of the taking vpon of *Enoch* by God was borrowed the conuention of their *Heroes* (the Inuentors of Religion and such artes as the life of man had profit by) into Starres and heauenly signes, and (withall) that leasing of the world, and alienation of *Astraea*, of which *Ouid*,

Vltima caelestium terras Astraea reliquit
Astraea last of heauenly wights the earth did leaue.

Ouid. Met. l. 5.

10 For although thereby the Ethnickes would vnderstand Iustice it selfe to haue failed, as it is a vertue abstract, and may bee considered without a person; yet as it is visvall among the ancient Poets to describe vertues and vices by the persons of men and women as desire by *Cupid*, valour by *Mars*, beautie or lult by *Venus*, so doe they also the persons of men by like vertues and vices; and therefore by Iustice and *Astraea*, *Enoch*: the Iustice and pietie of *Enoch* being in the same manner exprest, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses* for *Noah* was said to bee a iust man; And *Noah* walked with God. And of *Enoch* it is written, that he walked with God, and he was no more scene: for God tooke him away.

Nat. Com. l. 2.
6. 2.

Gen. 7.
Gen. 5. 22, 24.

20 From this storie also of the first Age, and from that part where *Moses* remembereth the Giants begotten by the sonnes of good men vpon the daughters of the wicked (whome *Moses* calleth mightie men, and men of renowne) did they steale those wondrous great actes of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe their warre vnderaken against the Gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as *St. Augustin* termeth him. Which warre of their Giants *Cornelius Senerius* thus describeth,

L. de Ciuit. Dei.

Tentare (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, capitiq; Iovis transferre Gigantes:
Imperium, & vltio leges imponere caelo.

30 The Giants did advance their wicked hand
Against the Starres, to thrust them headlong downe
And robbing Iove of his Imperiall crowne
On conquered Heuens to lay their proude command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any coniunction of the Starres, should burie them vnder the moysture of a second flood, but that by

40 this building (if they had bene herein victorious) they would haue giuen the Law to Heauen it selfe. Also the making of leagues, peace and couenants among Hea-then nations and Kings, confirmed by sacrifice, wherof *Yngi* both in the eight and twelfth of his *Aeneides* hath a touch, was as it seemeth borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod.*

24 Who when he read the Booke of the couenant sprinkled the people with blood, We finde also many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternall Ancestor of *Enoch* and *Noah*, for *Amenophis*, the same King of *Aegypti*, which reigned at such time as *Moses* came thence the children of *Israel*, (as of late some learned men mistaking his time

Bah

Ioseph. l. 1. c. 25.
African.

50 supposed) called his sonne and successour *Setho*, of *Seth*, and of the same *Seth* (as many men of good iudgement haue graunted) were the Princes of *Thrace* called *Sethes*, wherof there were many very famous. But herein was the memorie of *Seth* most manifestly preferred, that the *Aegyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whome they called a principall Prouince *Sethetica*. We also find in *Bithynia* the Cittie of *Sethia*, and others of *Strabo* l. 17. the same name elsewhere. And sure from the *Aegyptians* did the *Gracians* borrow,

this

this kind of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquitie prece-
ding their owne; and that they might not seeme to learne elsewhere, they gaue the
same names to their owne Idoles which the *Aegyptians* did to theirs.

Of the three chiefe IVPITERS; and the strange storie of the third.

BVt of all those Armies of *Iupiters* remembred by the Ancients, *Ci-
cero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which o-
ther writers have also done, who fought out, and laboured in their
originals.

The first was *Iupiter*, the sonne of *Aether* and *Dies*, so called, be-
cause the one had reference to his caelestiall conditions (for *aether* is as much as thin-
ning or pure fire) the other discovered his naturall vertues, which daies and times
make more perfect, and are the witness of mens actions.

The second was said to bee the sonne of *Caelum* or Heauen, for the same former
respect; and this *Iupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The third of whom all the Grecian fables were deuised, was of *Crete* (now *Cand-
ia*) the sonne of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name deriued from the Latine is taken of
Iouans Pater, from the Greeke word *Zeus*, it signifieth life, but somewhat strayned.
Bocani in his genealogie of the Gods conceiue, that his name was borrowed from
Iupiter the Planet; but whether that starre had such a name, before the same was gi-
uen to men, I know not. *Iupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, aduen-
turous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull, (that is) giuing these inclinations.
And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions might be called
there after *Iupiter*; but how soeuer they were, or were not with those vertues enrich-
ed, yet, by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those titles and surnames:
great Princes affecting as high titles of honour and reputation in the world, (how-
soeuer deserved) as the worthiest, that euer were, acquired by their well deseruings.
Ioues omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui. The Ancients called all Kings IVPITERS as
Tzetzes in his *Varia historia* confirmeth: *Reges olim Ioues vocarunt omnes: In old
times all Nations called their Kings IVPITERS.* But where this last and most remem-
bered *Iupiter* was borne it is vncertaine. Some there are that make him of *Crete*: o-
thers, that he was but sent thither by his mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden
from the fury of *Titan* his vncl: because it was conditioned betwene *Saturne*
and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a yonger brother, and raigning (for his owne life) by
Titans permission, he should put to death all his male children, least the *Titans* might
be interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement because *Saturne*
performed in his first borne, it is faimed that *Saturne* deuoured his owne children.
Hereof *Lycophon*, thus turned into Latine.

*Hand sit pinguior,
Crudis sepulchrum quod sit ipse filij.*

SATVRNE to be the fatter is not knowne
By being the graue and buriall of his owne.

This composition betwene *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Syllaba* also witnesseth in these,
*Conceptis verbis; TITAN iurare coegit
SATVRNVM, de se natum ne nutriat vllum,
Qua possint regnare senis post fata Nepotes.*

Things thus agreed: *TITAN* made *SATVRNE* sweare
No Sonne to nourish; which by raigning might
Vsurpe the right of *TITANS* lawfull Heire,

But

CHAP. 6. §. 5. of the Historie of the World.

89

But *Opis*, the mother of *Jupiter*, being delivred at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, conuincd *Jupiter* (first called *Lysianus*) into *Crete*, as thece did afterwards his two brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where hee was brought vp in *Gnossum*, the chiefe Citie of that *Island*, by *Cressa* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof.

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes*, and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Messena*. The like contention is found among the *Greekes* touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme, that he was fed by honic-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and skinnes into yellow; a reward well fitting such a God: others, that he was nourished by *Beares*: others, by Goats; and of all these the idle *Greekes* haue many prettie tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturne* had broken his faith, he set on him, and tooke him and his wife prisoners, whom *Jupiter* againe rescued and delivred.

But lastly, the Father and the Sonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other, *Saturne* being the lesse powerful fled into *Italie*, and left his Kingdomes in Greece to his sonne. And although this Princeat the first purchased great honour, and for his many vertues the name of *Jupiter* was giuen him; yet, after he was once settled and became potent, he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to palliardize and adulterie, without all respect of honour, law, or religion. And it is reported by such, as doe ascribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, he was afterwardes knowne to offend in the linne of *Sodomie* with *Ganimedes* and others; and did not onely begin with incest, marrying his owne sister *Juno*, but he rauished, betrayed, stole away, and tooke by strong hand all the beautiful women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame, *Niohe*, *Laodemia*, and *Almena* the wife of *Amphitryon*, by whom he had *Pelagus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the mountaine *Taygetus* tooke name, with another sonne called *Saon*, of whom *Saona*: by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Lada*, *Cassio* & *Pollux*, *Helen* & *Clytemnestra*: by *Danae* *Perseus*: by *Jordana* *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britonartus*, by *Protegenia* he had *Athlius* the father of *Endymion*; and by *Io* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the Founder of *Alemphis* in *Aegypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Lybia*, of whom that Countrie tooke name, for so the *Greekes* afterward called *Africa*. He rauished *Aegina*, the daughter of *Aesopus*, and carried her into the *Island* *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aeacus*: by *Torribesia* he had *Archefflaus* and *Carbus*: by *Ora Colaxes*: he had also *Dardanius* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilum* and *Troy*. Hee begat the brothers *Talies*, on *Thalna*, and on *Garamantis* *Hierbus*. Hee had besides these (if they belie not their chiefe God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inuents of Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that hee could not bee fithier to all these, who were borne in ages so farre differing.

And of these his seuerall rauishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens wiues, daughters and sonnes, buying of virgins, and the like came in all those ancient fables of his transformations into showres of gold, Eagles, Bulls, birds, and beasts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Græcian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greekes* and *Romans* feare to entitle this monster, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second booke *de natura Deorum* affirme, that he deserved nothing lesse, and in his Oration *pro demo sua* reproceeth *Cleodius* for his incest, by the name of *Jupiter*. His buriall was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian*) *Cretenfes non solon natam aquid se & sepulchrum Iovem testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum eius ostendunt*. The *Cretians* or *Candians* doe not onely avow that *Ivltiter* was borne and buried among them, but they shew his grave and sepulcher: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, for in his time there remained the monuments of his tombe in the mountaine *Iafus*. This *Callimachus* in his hymnes also witnesseth, but as offended therat faith thus.

The *Cretians* euer liars were, they care not what they say:
For they a tombe haue built for thee, O King, that liu'st alway.

I 3

Diodorus

Euseb. in Temp.

a. d. m. m. m. m.

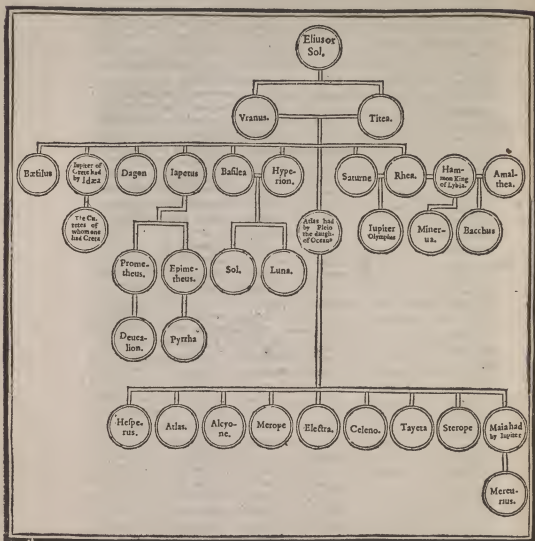
Luc. in sacrif.

Diod. 2. 2. 5.

Diodorus Siculus tels by way of report from the *Lybian* fables, confirmed (as he saith) by some *Greeke* writers, that the originall of these Gods was from the welterne parts of *Africk*. For there among the *Atlantida* reigned one *Franeus* (which signifieth heauen) called so for his great skill in *Astrologie*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many wives 45. sonnes; but by his principall wife *Tites* he had 17. sonnes and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name the *Titanes*. Of *Tites* likewise it is said, that (hee for her goodnesse was canonized as a Goddesse, being dead; and called the Earth, as her husband was tiled Heauen. But of all the children of *Tites*, her daughter *Besiles* (which name sounding as *Queene* in English, thee is by the Latine translator of *Diodorus* called *Régina*) excelling thereto as far in vertues as in yeeres, was by generall consent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as *Queene* after her fathers death, being as yet a virgin. Shee tooke to husband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom shee bare a sonne and a daughter, called *Sun* and *Moonne*. The beautie and towardnesse of these children moued her brethren to enuie, and bred in them a feare of being excluded from the succession; wherefore they tooke the boy and drowned him in the riuer *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The losse of this child caused his sister to breake her owne neck; and the losse of both her children made the mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with Cymbals after a wilde fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom shee is said to haue vanished away. Ere shee died, her sonne (as the fable hath it) signified vnto her in a dreame, that he and his sister by the prouidence of God should become immortal, that also the *Sun* and *Moonne* should be called by their names, and that their death should be reuenged vpon the murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two Planets, and wichall held her selfe as a Goddesse, and termed her the great mother, which name they had formerly giuen to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren whilst they were yong. *Hyperion* and his race being extinguished, the other sonnes of *Franeus* diuided the kingdome. Of these *Atlas* and *Saturne* were chiefe. *Atlas* reigned ouer the Countries lying about the mountaines, which after ward bare his name; a iust and wife Prince, deeply skilfull in *Astrologie*, and for inuention of the *Sphære* said to haue supported Heauen. He had many sonnes; but the principall of them called *Heperus*, being of his fathers qualities and studies, was said to haue bene carried away by the winde, from the top of an high hill in the midst of his contemplations, and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people vpon the morning starre. The seven daughters of *Atlas* were also said to haue bene excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be deified, or registered among the Worthies, brought forth children, answerable in qualitie to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seven starres called *Platides* tooke name. *Saturne* the brother of *Atlas* reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italie*. *Jupiter* another of the sonnes of *Franeus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had tenne sonnes which he called *Curetes*; he called that land after his wives name *Ides*; in which Ile he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* must not haue bene that great one, but vnde to the great *Jupiter*, if these fables of the *Lybians* were true. *Saturne* (as these *Lybians* tell the tale (was a great tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keepe his people in subiection. His sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africk*. *Hammon* louing others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called *Minerva*, neere to the riuer *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonis*. Hee also begat on *Amalthea* a sonne called *Bacchus*, whom he caused secretly for feare of his life to be brought vp at *Nysa*, an land in the riuer *Triton*, vnder the tuition of his daughter *Minerva*, and certaine *Nymphes*. To *Amalthea* he gaue in reward a goodly Countie, that lay on the Sea coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the tale of *Amaltheas* plentifull horne, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these newes, she fled from her husband to her brother *Saturne*, who not onely entertained her as a sister, but tooke her to wife, and at her instigation made warre vpon

Hammon

Hammon, vanquished him by assistance of the *Titanes*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Cretes*, *Jupiter*'s children before mentioned, held the *Island* at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings daughter, whom he tooke to wife, and had with her (women as may seeme being very gracious in those times) the kingdom. *Bacchus* was growne a proper young man, had found out the making of wine, the art of planting trees, and many things else commodious for mankind, before the flight of his mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had happened, and that *Saturne* was coming against him with the *Titanes*; he leuied an Armie, to which the *Amazons* living not farre from *Nysa*, added great forces, in loue of *Minerva*, who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they set forward against *Saturne*, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the *Titanes* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second expedition. In the second expedition he behaued himselfe so well, that he wanne the loue of all the people by whom he passed; inso-much that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturne*'s rigorous gouernment, he was greatly strengthened, and the enimie as much enfeebled by daily reuolutes. Comming to the Cittie of *Hammon*, he wanne a battaile of *Saturne*, before the very wals. After which *Saturne* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting the Towne on fire to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturne* had a young sonne by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This childe *Bacchus* tooke with him in a great expedition that he made into the East countries; and comming into *Aegypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a boy, gouernour of the Countrie; but appointed vnto him as an Ouerseer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whilest *Bacchus* traualled through all nations, as far as into *India*, dooing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titanes* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to warre vpon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*; with whom *Jupiter* from *Aegypt*, and his sister *Minerva*, together with the rest that afterwards were held as Gods, joining all their forces, went into *Crete*, ouerthrew the *Titanes*, chased them, tooke, and slew them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Jupiter* the sonne of *Saturne* succeeding them, reigned Lord alone ouer all the world, hauing none of the *Titanes* left aliue, nor any other to disturbe him. Betweene this tale of the *Libyan Gods*, and the *Aegyptian* fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked images of some one true historie. For the expeditions of *Osiris*, and of *Bacchus*; the warres of the Giants in the one storie, of the *Titanes* in the other; the kingdom of *Aegypt* giuen by *Hercules* *Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Isis*, and the Cymbals of *Bastiles*, with many pettie circumstances, nearely enough resemble each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoniaton* (as *Eusebius* cites him) would haue all these to be *Phenicians*, and is earnest in saying, that it is a true storie, and no Allegoric. Yet he makes it seeme the more allegoricall, by giuing to *Phanus* or *Heaen* for daughters, *Fate* and *Beautie*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* haue enough. To the genealogie he addes *Elus* or the *Sun*, as father of *Phanus*; and among the children of *Phanus*, *Iapetus*, *Behtus*, and *Dagen*, (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giuing witchall to *Phanus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *Indigena*, and of *Ilus* to *Saturne*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*, The Pedegree of them is this.



§. VI.

of CHANAN, and other wicked ones, whereof some gat, some affected
the name of Gods.



F Jupiter Belus, the sonne of Saturnus Babylonicus, otherwise *Nimrod*, it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembered: for long after these times were the Greekes but Saluages, if they seeke no farther off for their Gods.

But the *Egyptians*, euen after the flood, began (somewhat before this *Chaldean* Jupiter) to intitle *Chan*, the parent of their owne *Mizram*, *Jupiter Chamman*, or *Hamman*. For the Etymologie of this word (*Hammon*) which the Greekes deduce ab arenis, from the sandes, is ridiculous (saith *Peucer*); neither yet is his owne much better,

*Peucer de O-
racul.*

better, who brings it from *Hannath*, which signifieth heate; because the fūd Temple of *Iupiter Hannum* was seated in *Lybia*, where the ayre is exceeding hote and scorching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter *Iupiter* (among the Greekes and Romans the most renowned) it is certain that he was borne not long before the war of *Troy*, as by many of his sonnes is made manifest; namely, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which liued in that age of *Priamus*, vnder whom, and with whom *Troy* was destroyed.

Now seeing that mortall men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortal among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and others fought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monstres as the rest: For by what reason could the same *Deitie* be denied vnto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was giuen to *Venus*? Seeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as she was.

§. VII.

That the wisest of the ancient Heathen had farre better opinions of God.

BVt that euer *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, beliened in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (ouer busily) haue mixed their own inuentions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiodus* in Hell, where hee saied that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read ouer all the bookes of *Moses*, as by places stolne thence, almost word for word, may appeare; of which *Iustine Martyr* remembreth many in that Treatise conuerted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though he stumbled in some things, forgiue of the inquisition of the *Areopagites*, yet *St. Augustine* hath already answered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirificus est delectatus est, quod de uno Deo tradita fuerant*, And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God, saith *Iustine Martyr*. Now howsoeuer *Lactantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, because (saith he) *Plato* sought knowledge from the *Aegyptians*, and the *Chaldeans*, neglecting the *Iewes*, and the bookes of *Moses*: *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, finde reason to beleue the contrarie, thinking that from thence he tooke the grounds of all by him written of God, or sauouring of Diuinitie: and the same opinion had *St. Ambrose* of *Pythagoras*.

But whether it were out of the same vanitie, which possesse all those learned Philosophers and Poets, that *Plato* also published (not vnder the right Authors names) those things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the securitie of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Master *Socrates*, by them put to death by poison, I cannot iudge. *Iustine Martyr* (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to *Platoes* feare, whose wordes among many other of the same effect, are these; *PLATO MOSIS mentionem facere, ob id, quod vnicuique solam, Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum non putauit, veritus Areopagum, PLATO fearing the Areopagites thought it not safe for him among the Athenians to make mention of MOSES, that he taught that there is but one God*. But for that Diuinitie which he hath written in *TIMAEUS* of *idipsum de Deo differunt quod MOSES*, he discoursed and taught the same of God (saith *Iustine Martyr*) which *MOSES* did. For where it pleased God by his Angell to answer *MOSES*, *Ego sum qui existens* (which is) *I am*, and existens misit me ad vos. *I am hath sent me vnto you*, herein did *Plato* (saith *Iustine Martyr*) no otherwise differ then that *Moses* vld the word (*qui*) and *Plato* the word *quod*: *MOSES enim qui existit* (inquit) *PLATO quod existit*. For *MOSES* saith, *He who is*; *PLATO*, *That which is*. Now of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficultie either to conceiue, or expresse the same, he

90. 1036
S. Iustine Martyr

ces.

57. 67. 30

Exhib. prop. 6
aug. li. i. i.
Cyril. cont. Ju-
lia.
Origen. cont.
Celsum.
Amb. ad Iren.
p. 6. l. 1.

Areopagus, or
domus seu mens
Martii, qu. 11
huiusmodi boue
wherein capiti-
tall matters
were tried: so
called at first:
because Mars
therein first
pleaded his
cause for the
murder of the
Iouianus.
Patriarcha Attic.
Ysa. Com. li. 2.
ca. 7.
Iust. Mart. adu.
gent. fol. 8.
14. c. 1. cap.
Euseb. 1. 14.



In Times, he giueth this testimonie: *Genitorem Vniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire, quam inuentum impossibile dignè profari, It is as hard to finde out the Creatour of the Vniuersall, as it is impossible, if he were Iouan, to speake of him worthily.* And what can be more agreeable to the Maieſtic of Gods nature, then this propertie by Plato acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa,* God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is euill he is no cause at all: and againe, *Charitus Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum,* The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the original of all things. *Apulcius* the Platonist. *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione sed etiam naturæ dignitate: Et nihil est Deo similis & gratus, quam vir animo perfectio bonus,* The most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignitie of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God then a man of a perfect heart. *Thales* affirmed that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient, *quia nunquam esse cepit, because hee neuer had any beginning:* *Zeno*, that God beheld euen the thoughts of men: *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to bee carefull in the actions of their life, because God was eury where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses* storie of the creation, then this opinion and description of the worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholler of *Anaxagoras*?

*Cælum terraq; riuus forme fuit:
Sed cum fuissent abiuncta complexu mutuo,
Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita,
Arbores, aues, fera, quaq; affert mare,
Genusq; mortalium.*

Heauen and Earth one forme did beare?
But when disioyned once they were
From mutuall embraces,
All things to light appeared then,
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still-remaying races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: so we finde the same excellent vnderstanding in *Orpheus*, who eury where exprest the infinite and sole power of one God, though hee vsed the name of *Iupiter*, thereby to auoide the enuie and danger of the time; but that he could attribute those things to the Sonnes of men and mortall creatures, which he doth to this *Iupiter*, there is no man who hath euer heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (sæpius Mirandula) quos ORPHEVS canit, non decipientium demonum, à quibus malum & non bonum prouenit: sed naturalium virtutum diuinarumq; sunt nomina, The names of those Gods whom ORPHEVS doth sing, are not of deceiuing Devils, from whom euill comes, and not goodesse; but they are the names of naturall and diuine vertues. Yea that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himselfe, this his instruction to *Musæus*, and the Hymne following teach vs. *Respicies verò ad diuinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum aduerte, intendens cor dis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectè autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi Regem. Vnus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse vero in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truly lend
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one
Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone

All else; in which hee's still, nor could it ere befall
A mortall eye to see him once, yet he sees all.

And againe the same Author.

IUPITER omnipotent, & primus, & ultimus idem;
IUPITER est caput & medium: IOVIS omnia munus.
IUPITER est fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi.
IUPITER & mas est, & femina nescia mortis.
Spiritus est cunctis, validus vis IUPITER ignis.
Et Pelagi radix, SOL, LVNA est IUPITER ipse
Rex, & origo simul verum est, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occultuit, magno post lumine, sacra
Cae referans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.

The first of all is God, and the last is he.
God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be:
God is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie.
He is the male and female too, shall neuer die.
The spirit of all is God, the Sunne, the Moone, and what is higher,
The King, th'originall of all, of all the end.
For close in holie brest he all did comprehend,
Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did fend.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the *Aegyptians*, *Grecians*, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Reader to those large and learned Collections of *Justin Martyr*, *Clement*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Engubinus*, *Peucer*, *Plessis*, *Danais*, and others. For *Clement* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and properties. *Bonus, iustus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tuus, gloriosus, charitas, &c.* Good, just, holy, possessing himselfe, profitable, beautifull, best, severe, free, always doing good, safe without feare, glorious, and selfe-charitie. *Epicharmus* affirmed, that God who beelde all things, and pierced every nature, was only and every where powerfull: agreeing with *Democritus*, *Rex omnium ipse solus*, He is the only King of all Kings; and with *Pindarus* the Poet; *Deus unus, Pater, creator summus, atque optimus artifex*, qui progressus singulas duersas secundum meritis prebet, One God, the Father, the most high creator, and best artificer, who giveth to every thing duers proceedings according to their deserts. This God (*sic* *ANTISTHENES*) cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere knowne, *Nisi patria illa perenni*, cuius imaginem nullam habes, save only in that everlasting countrie, whose image thou hast none at all. Hereof also *XEROPHANES COLOPHONIS*, *Vnus Deus inter Deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis*, There is one God among Gods and men most powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals: and *XENOPHON*, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus mentis, quod omnibus pater: qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli*, qui luce sua omnia persolvit, God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mighty, as is manifest to all: but of what forme he is, it is manifest to none save only to himselfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light. Finally, *Plato* saith, *Totius rerum naturae causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, aeternus animantium sustinator, auctus mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore ulla comprehensus, eoq; paucis cogitabilis, nemini est habilis*, God is the cause, ground, and originall of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soule, the eternal preserver of living creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time, therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can expresse what he is.

There-

*Hieron. is com.
in Dec. 19. p. 11.
cap.*

Therefore was it said by St. *HIEROME*, *Sic enim cunctos Philosophorum renouas libros, necesse est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem visum Dei, ut apud PLATONEM, fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud ZENONEM Stoicorum Principem, inferas & immortales animas, &c.* If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but finde in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in *PLATO*, God the creator of the world: in *ZENO* Prince of the Stoicks, Iust and immortall soules, &c. And this is certaine, that if we looke into the wisdom of all ages, wee shall finde that there neuer was man of solid vnderstanding or excellent iudgement: neuer any man whose minde the art of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a peniue inspection aduised; but that he hath found by an vnresistible necessitie, one true God, and euermlasting being, all for euer causing, and all for euer sustaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly exprest, then that *Egyptian Hermes*, howsoeuer it failed afterward in his posteritie: all being at length by diuillish pollicie of the *Egyptian Priests* purposely obscured; who inuented new Gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the *Deuill* perfwaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keepe in awe and order their common people.

§. VIII.

That *Heathenisme* and *Iudaisme*, after many wounds were at length about the same time under *IULIAN* miraculously confounded.

BUt all these are againe vanished; for the inuentions of mortall men are no lesse mortall then themselves. The Fire, which the *Chaldeans* worshipped for a God, is crept into euery mans chimney, which the lacke of fewell starueth, water quencheth, and want of aire suffocath: *Iupiter* is no more vexed with *Iunoes* ielousies; Death hath perswaded him to chastitie, and her to patience; and that Time which hath deuoured it selfe, hath also eaten vp both the bodies and images of him and his: yea, their stately Temples of stone, and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where bee found vpon the earth; nor any monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phoenicia*, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Lybia*, *Creta*, *Thessalia*, or elsewhere, that can aske counsaile or helpe from *Iupiter*. The great God *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apolloes* Priests are become speechlesse; and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the *Deuils* telling mens fortunes therein, is taken vp by counterfait *Egyptians*, and couensing *Astrologers*.

But it was long ere the *Deuill* gaue way to these his ouerthrowes and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chiefe Manions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repaired, and redified againe, till by the hand of God himselfe it received the last and vtter subuersion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and ornaments therein by the *Euboean Pyrates*: Secondly, by the *Phlegians* vtterly sackt: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the Sonne of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Armie of *Alexes*: Fifthly, by the Captaines of the *Phoenes*: Sixthly, by *Nero*, who carried thence fise hundred brazen images: all which were new made, and therein againe set vp at the common charge. But whatsoeuer was gathered betwene the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remained till such time as *Iulian* the *Apostate* sent thither to know the successe of his *Parthian* enterprise, at which time it was vtterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heauen; and the image of *Apollo* himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols therein molten downe and lost in the earth.

The

The like successe had the *Jewes* in the same *Indians* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of *Iherusalem*: for while they were builed to lay the foundations, their buildings were ouerthrowne by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the *Jewes* were ouerwhelmed with the ruines, and others slaine, and scattered by tempest and thunder: though *Am. Marcellus* report it more fauourably for the *Jewes*, ascribing this to the nature of that element. For, saith he, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the Prouince of *Iudea*, being by *Julian* buied in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming bals of fire issuing neare the foundation, and oft consuming the workemen, made the enterprise fruitless.

IX.

Of the last refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.

NOW the Deuill, because he cannot play vpon the open stage of this world (as in those dayes) and being still as industrious as euer, findes it more for his aduantage to creepe into the mindes of men; inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effectual adoration of himselfe then euer. For whereas hee first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of beaſts, birds, and other mixt Natures; hee now sets before them the high and shining Idoll of glorie, the all-commanding Image of bright Gold. Hee tels them that Truth is the Goddesse of dangers and oppressions: that chastitie is the enemy of nature; and lastly, that as all vertue (in generally) is without taste: so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth every sense for true wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, then in the obtaining of power to oppress, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-politician* finde in his Pupils any remorse, any feare or feeling of Gods future iudgement, hee perswades them that God hath so great neede of mens soules, that he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeuours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying those great blockes of rugged pueritie, and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his diuine presence. But as the minde of man hath two ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and ouergrowne with grasse, by which enter our charitable thoughts and diuine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly misery passing by the one, worldly prosperitie by the other: at the entrance of the one we finde our sufferings and patience, to attend vs: (all which haue gone before vs to prepare our ioyes) at the other our cruelties, couetousnesse, licentiousnesse, iniustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearful and terrible sorrow) staying for vs. And as the Deuill our most industrious enemy was euer most diligent: so is he now more laborious then euer: the long day of mankind drawing fast towards an euening, and the worlds Tragedie and time neare at an end.

CHAP. VII.
Of NOAH'S Flood.

p. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane testimonies: and some doubting
touching the truth of NOAH'S Flood.

10



F this destruction it pleased God to giue warning vn-
to Noah: who (saith Iosephus) fearing to perish among
the rest, secedens cum suis in aliam regionem migravit.
He departed with his children, and traualled into another
Region. And of these Giants from whom Noah with-
drew himselfe, Berofus writeth in this manner, That
they exceeded in all sorts of inhumane and vnnaturall wic-
kednesse, and that they were contemptores & religionis
& Deorum, contemptors of religion and of the Gods: a-
mong which mightie men (saith Berofus) vnus erat
qui Deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic

nomen erat NOAH, There was one more wise and reuerencing the Gods then therest,
whose name was NOAH: who with his three sonnes Sem, Iaphetus, and Cham, and
with their wiues, and the wife of Noah, (namely Titea the great, Pandora, Noela and
Noegla) preferred themselves in the Arke. This Arke God commanded Noah to
prepare: And God said vnto NOAH, make thee an Arke of pinetrees: thou shalt make
cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within, and without, with pitch. For God made
Noah to know that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graues of the rebellious
and cruell generations were already fashioned in the cloudes, which soone after
should swallow vp and couer all liuing creatures, which breathed in the aire: Noah
and his familie excepted.

But this vniuersall graue of waters, and generall deluge hath not bene receiued
by all: for diuine testimonies doe not perswade all naturall men to those things, to
which their owne reason cannot reach: dum obuoluta in obscuro veritas latet, whilest
the truth lyeth wrapped up in obscuritie. Many there are who haue disputed against
the vniuersalitie of this ouerflowing, and haue iudged that this flood of Noah fell
but on some particular places and Kingdomes: moued so to thinke, because in elder
ages there haue beene many other floodes (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof
Nicholaus Damascenus writeth in this manner, as his wordes are cited by Iosephus.
Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos con-
fugientes sermo est dilauit tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Arce deuotum in huius
veritatis hasisse, ignorantium, reliquias multo tempore conseruatas, qui fortasse fuit, de quo
etiam MOSES Indarum Legislator scribit: thus saith this Authour. There is (saith
he) about Minyada (or the Countie of Minya) an exceeding high Mountaine in Ar-
menia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many hauing fled thither were saued in the
time of the deluge: and that one was carried in an Arke, and rested vpon the toppes of the
mountaine, whereon there remained a long time after certaine peeces thereof; and this might
be the same, of which MOSES the Law-giuer of the Iewes maketh mention. And of this
opinion were the Thaumadists (saith Annius) that many Giants saued themselves
vpon Mount Syon.

But Berofus (who after Moses was one of the most ancient, how soeuer hee haue
bene since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with Moses
as touching the generall flood, taking from thence the beginning of his Historie in
these

Iosephus l. 1. c. 1.

Gen. 6. 14.

v. 13.

I. off. in Prefate
falla relle.
103. after 100Iosephus l. 1. c. 1.
Ex lib. de prep.
19. c. 4.

these words. *Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua uniuersus perijt Orbis &c.* Before that famous destruction of Waters, by which the World vnderfall perished: witnessing withall, that *Noah* with his wife *Titea*, and his three sonnes with their wiues (in all eight persons) were onely saved.

§. II

Of the flood in the time of *Ogyges*: and that this was not *Noahs* flood.

10 **B**Ut from the vanity of the Greekes, the corrupters of all truth (saith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquitie, came the error first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to perswade the world, that there was no flood preceded the flood of *Ogyges*, King of the *Thebans* in *Baotia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore saith *Rhodoginus* *Ogygium* id appellat. Poeta, tanquam peruenit dixeris, *Rho. lib. 15. c. 33.* ab *Ogyge* vetustissimo. The Poets giue the name of *Ogygia* to things exceeding ancient, as of *Ogyges* the most ancient.

20 But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that he lived but in *Jacobs* time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was borne 67. years after him. There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he farre later) as *Rhodoginus* in the ninth booke of his antiquities remembreth: *sunt tamen qui in Aegypto regnasse autem hunc: unde sit Cadmus qui in Græcia profectus Thebas condidit, ab eo ingulato sic nuncupatus; quoniam Syro-lingua bos dicitur Thebe. There are (saith hee) who thinke that this Ogyges did reigne in Aegypti, whereby he should be Cadmus, who traueling into Greece built Thebes, so named of a beefe slaine: because in the Syrian language a beefe is called Thebe.*

30 But this flood of *Ogyges* fell in the year of the world 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the flood of *Noah* in the year 2242. after the same account; and so there came 1200. years betweene these floods, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now although the very year and time of this overflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set downe, but that there is a great difference among writers, yet who soeuer makes it most ancient, findes about 500. years difference betweene that and the generall flood.

40 For *Paulus Orosius* affirms, that this tempest fell vpon the *Athenians* but 1040. years before *Rome* built. *Bucholzerus* saith it was 1043. elder then *Rome*; which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the worlds year 3219: though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will giue my reasons in the storie of *Abraham*) it was built in the worlds year 3280. Now the generall flood preceded the building of *Rome* (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. years: and the flood of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by calic calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference betweene these two floods must be 520. years, to which we (allowing 60. more) finde 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah Ogyges prius*, as some doe) it appears by this, that the flood of *Ogyges* then king of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it selfe any further, then the banks of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Aegæan* Sea. For whereas *Nela*, *Plinie*, and *Solinus* witness, that the Citie of *Ioppe* in *Iudea* was founded before the flood; and that (notwithstanding the weight of waters) there remained on certaine Altars of stone the tide of the King, and of his brother *Plinius*, with many of the grounds of their religion: sure, it is no where found among prophane Historians nor in the scriptures, that euer the flood of *Ogyges* spread it selfe ouer any part of *Syria*, much lesse ouer all the earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it is

*Xenophon. de-
monas.*

*Nela lib. 5.
Plin. lib. 5.
Solin. c. 47.
Ioppe oppidum
antiquissimum
ante Iux, suppo-
sit ante inundationem terrarum
Solin. libid.*

meth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed vp (Citties seated on the North part of *Peloponnesus*) of which *Ouid*.

Ouid. Metam.
li. 15. 303.

Siquar as Helicon, & Bura, Achides urbes,
Inuenies sub aquis.

Bura and *Helice* on Achaian ground
Are sought in vaine, but vnder sea are found.

+ 19

Nat. com. li. 2.
ca. 6.

Of this flood of *Ogyges* was inuented the fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona* 19
the daughter of *Caeus*, the sonne of *Titan*, being beloued and forced by *Jupiter*, and
by him gotten with childe, *Iuno* thereat enraged permitted her (as they say) no part
of the earth to be deliuered on; and withall caused the monitrous serpent *Pyrhon*
to follow and affright her, wherefoer he trauailed, till at length arriuing at the
Isle of *Orygia* he was there receiued: in which he was deliuered, first of *Diana*, and
then of *Apollo*, being *Twinnes*; whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at
such time as the deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his raigne) ceased, out of the
abundant moisture of the earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there
were exhaled such thicke mists and foggies, that in *Attica*, and along the coasts of
the *Aegean* sea, neither the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by 20
night could pierce the ayer, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length
(the earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the ayer began to be cleare,
and the people of *Orygia* espied the light of the Moone somewhat before day, and
in the same morning the Sunne also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana*
represents the Moone, and *Apollo* the Sunne) they were reported to be borne
in the Ile of *Orygia* thereof afterwarde called *Delos*: which signifieth manifi-
station.

Plin. li. 4. ca. 11.

And surely it is not improbable, that the flood of *Ogyges*, being so great, as *Hi-*
storics haue reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayer sensibly
discerned in those parts, and some vnusall face of the skies. *Varro* in his bookes *De* 30
gente populi Romani (as he is cited by *S. Augustine*) reporteth out of *Castor*, that fo
great a miracle happened in the starre of *Venus*, as neuer was scene before, nor in after
times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed.
This fell out as *Abulfatus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous *Mathematicians* af-
firmed in the time of *Ogyges*.

Aug. de ciuiti
li. 21. ca. 3.

Now concerning the course of that or any other planet, I do not remember, that
I haue any where read, of so good *Astrologers* flourishing among the *Greekes*, or else
where in those daies as were likely to make any calculation of the reuolutions of the
Planets so exact, that it should neede no reformation. Of the colour and mag-
nitude. I see no reason why the difference found in the starre of *Venus* should be 40
held miraculous; considering that lesser mists and foggies, than those which coue-
Greece with so long darkness doe familiarly present our senses, with as great al-
terations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure should vary, questionlesse it was
very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason,
that the side of *Venus* which the Sunne beholds, being enlightened by him, the op-
posite halfe should remaine shadowed; whereby that Planet, would vnto our eyes,
deceiving onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to bee horned, as the
Moone doth seeme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension
of our senses.

Galileus Galileus

Galileus Galileus, a worthy *Astrologer* now liuing, who by the helpe of perspective 50
glasses hath found in the starres many things vnknown to the ancients, affirmeth so
much to haue beene discovered in *Venus* by his late obseruations. Whether some
watried disposition of the aire might present as much to them that liued with *Ogyges*
as *Galileus* hath scene through his instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the dis-
couerie

courcie of a truth formerly vnknowne, doth rather conuince man of ignorance, then nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular flood of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of *S. Augustine*) accompanied with such vnusuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) signes testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the flood of *Noah* which was generall and altogether miraculous, may seeme to haue had no other token, or forehewing, then the long preaching of *Noah* himselſe, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the flood came suddenly, and tooke them all away.

10

§. III.

Of DEUCALIONS flood: and that this was not NOAH'S flood: nor the Vmbri in Italie a remnant of any vniuersall flood.



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Second flood of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of *Deucalion* in *Thessalia*, of which *S. Augustine* ſaith out of *Varro*. *His temporibus (ut Varro ſcribit) regnante Athenienſibus CRANAOS, ſucceſſore CECROPI* (ut autem noſtri, *EUSEBIVS & HIERONYMVS*) adhuc eodem *CECROPE* permanente, diluuium fuit, quod appellatum eſt *Deucalionis*: (that is) *In theſe times (as Varro reporteth) CRANAOS the ſucceſſour of CECROPS governing the Athenians, or (as our EUSEBIVS and HIEROME ſay) CECROPS yet liuing, that flood (called Deucalions) happened.*

And in the beginning of the eleuenth Chapter of the ſame eighteenth Booke, he ſaith theſe wordes. *Eduxit ergo MOSES ex Aegypto populum Dei nouiſſima tempore CECROPI Athenienſium Regis, cum apud Aſſyrios regneret ASCATADES, apud Scythianos MARATHVS, apud Argiuos TRIOPAS.* *Moses led the people of God out of Aegypt about the latter times of CECROPS King of the Athenians, ASCATADES reigning over the Aſſyrians, over the Scythians MARATHVS, and over the Argives*

30

TRIOPAS: ſo as leauing the curioſitie of a few yeares, more or leſſe, it appeareth, that this flood of *Deucalion* was either at the egreſſion of the children of *Iſrael* out of *Aegypt*, or neare it: and then after *Noah* 753. yeares, according to *Fanſtius*, who makes *Cecrops* to liue in the yeare of the world 2409. or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739. yeares after *Noah*, and in the yeare of the world 2395. But if *Deucalion* were borne in the age of the world 2356. according to *Codoman*; then giuing vnto *Deucalion* fourtie yeares of age when this flood happened, it fillth within one yeare of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion* by all approved Hiſtorians is ſaid to haue bene 82. yeares old at that time. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this flood of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phætons* time, by the raigne of

40

Cratopus King of the *Argiues*; but *Cratopus* liued King of the *Argiues* ſix yeares after *Iſrael* departed *Aegypt*, which makes twentie yeares difference according to *Fanſtius*, who will haue this flood and burning to haue fallen fourtene yeares before *Moses* left *Aegypt*: for hee gaue of the worldes yeares to the flood and burning the yeare 2440. and to *Moses* his egreſſion the yeare 2454. And yet *Cecrops* thinks that *Moses* was more ancient, and liued with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the flood of *Deucalion* and the burning of *Phæton*, preceded the flood of *Ogyges*, which is denyed by all: for that of *Thellæſis* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Atica* (called *Ogygia*) at leaſt 250. yeares or thereabouts. *Eusebius* in his *Chronologie*, makes it 230. and ſo doth *P. Orſius*: *Eusebius* about the 50. yeares of *Moses* liſe, and

50

Cyrillus about the 67. and both after *Noahs* flood 770. yeares: for theſe be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his wordes. *Fuit autem in Graecia tempore quidem PHORONEI, qui ſuit poſt INACHVM, inundatio qua ſuit tempore Ogygis. There happened in Greece in the time of PHORONEVS, who liued after INACHVS, the flood of Ogyges.* Now if the flood of *Ogyges* in *Atica* were 1020. or 1016. yeares before the firſt *Olympiad*, according

Cecrops l. 3. §. 3.

Clem. Alex. 2. Strom. 16.

Euseb. in Chron.

according to *Eusebius* and *Orosius*; (as before) then is it manifest, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it falls out that *Ogyges* flood happened before the Hebrews left *Egypt* 250. yeares, or 262. yeares, according to the difference between the opinions of *Eusebius* and *Orosius*. And for my selfe (who rather follow those *Chronologers*, which giue 60. yeares more to *Abraham* after the flood, then the rest) I reckon the times which come between these floods in this sort. The generall flood was in the yeare of the world 1656. *Jacob* was borne in the yeare of the world 2169. so as from the beginning of the flood to *Jacobs* birth there were consumed 513. yeares. *Ogyges* flood happened 100. yeares after *Jacob* was borne; and therefore after the generall flood 613. yeares. Now *Deucalion* was borne in the yeare of the world 2356. and had liued 82. yeares, when his Kingdome of *Thessalie* was ouerwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438) his flood was after *Neahs* flood ended 782. yeares. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. yeares betweene the generall flood and *Deucalions* birth; to which adde 82. yeares of his age (as before) and then the flood of *Thessalie* followed the generall 782. yeares. The wordes of that *Xenophon* are these. *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum DEUCALIONIS, secundo anno Sphæri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta Thessalian vidit inundatam. From the drawing of the world to the birth of DEUCALION, in the second yeare of Sphærus, are numbred 700. yeares, and when DEUCALION was 82. yeares old, he saw Thessalia drowned.* This flood happened in the winter time about *Parnassus*: witnesse *Aristotle* in the first of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* (whom *St. Augustine* so often citeth for his excellent learning, especially in antiquities) findeth this flood of *Deucalion* to haue happened in the time of *Craaneus*, who succeeded *Cecrops*: *Orosius* thinkes it somewhat later, *Amphitryon* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*. Only this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not only over *Thessalie* it selfe, and the Regions adioyning Westward; but it couered the greatest part of *Italie*: and either the same, or some other particular flood then happening oppressed *Egypt*, saith *Eusebius*. And therefore did the Greekes either thinke it, or faime it to be vniuersall; and *Deucalion*, then King, sauing himselfe and some others on the mountaines of *Thessalie* (of all other the highest, saith *Solinus*) was by reason thereof (as *Strabo* witnesseth) said to be the preseruer of mankind. That this flood couered a great part of *Italie*, *Plinie* and *Solinus* make it probable: who affirme that the people then inhabiting *Italie* were therefore called *imbrui*: quia ab imbris diluuij superfluent; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his first Booke, and *Trezenius* in his second: which *Imbri* these Authours make the Parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to bee the Parents of the *Sannites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brutij*, and all others inhabiting anciently the banks of the *Mediterrane* Sea. But that these *Imbri* were not the inhabitants of *Italie* before the flood of *Neah*, and so tooke name by sauing themselves vpon the *Appenine* mountaines, the Scriptures teach vs: shewing who, and who only then were preferred, 40 which is sufficient. Report hath aduentured further, telling vs that the first people which after the generall flood inhabited *Italie*, were the *Camefenes*; (so named from *Camefe*, whom *Cato* in *origenibus*, another of *Annius* his Authours names for a consort of *Ianus*) which people liued altogether a sauage life; till such time as *Saturne* arriuing on those coasts, deuised lawes to gouerne them by: the memorie of whose acts in that Region *Diodor* and *Thallus* among the Greekes, *Nepos* *Cassius* and *Varro* among the Latines haue preferred; and of whom *Virgil*:

Solin. l. 14.
Strabo. l. 9.
Plin. l. 3. c. 14.
Solin. 7.
Plin. ibid.

Albucius dyro-
soph. l. 5. out of
Draco Curyeus
saith that Ca-
mele was the
wife and sister
of Ianus.
Lact. l. 3. c. 13.

En. l. 8. 319.

Primus ab aethereo venit SATVRNVS Olympo,
Arma IOVIS fugiens, & regnis exul adempti,
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legesq; dedit; Latiniq; vocari
Maluit.

SATVRNE descending from the heauenshgh,
Fearing the Armes of IVPITER his Sonne,
His Kingdome lost, and banish't thence doth flie.
Rude people on the Mountaine tops he wonne
To lue together, and by lawes: which done
Hechofe to call it Latium.

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the *Aufones*, and after them
of the *Sicani*: Nations, which againe fought to displant the ancient inhabitants:

10 *Tum manus Aufonia, & gentes venere Sicani.*

Virg. I. 8. Æn.

Then came th' Aufonian bands, and the Sicanian tribes.

Of these *Sicani* (which left *Spain* and fate downe in *Italie*) *Thucydides* and *Plinie* giue
testimonie: who were againe expelled by the *Ligi*, saith *Thucydides*. After all these
plantations and replantations came the *Ymbri*, defended of the *Galles* (saith *Annius*)
not of those *Galles* of *France*, but of those of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part
of *Italie*, even all *Heiruria* and *Campania*, as *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, and *Dionysius*, haue as-
sured vs; and therefore this flood of *Deucalion* was longer after that of *Nösh*. For all
those Nations were planted in *Italie*, and dispossest of *Italie* againe, before the *Ymbri*
were euer heard of, or had being. So that Kingdome was first called *Camsene*,
then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Aufonia*, then *Sicania*; before the *Ymbri* (in whose
time *Deucalions* flood happened) posselt the same, about 306. yeares before the war
of *Troy*: *Lycan* then gouerning *Arcadis*; who being the Father of two and twentie
Sonnnes, the youngest called *Oenotrus* inuaded *Italie*, who gaue it the name of *Oe-*
notria. This name it held vntill *Italus* of the same Nation changed it into *Italie*,
after his owne name, about 250. yeares before the fall of *Troy*. After these came
the *Pelasgi*, of whome *Plinie* in his third Booke and fift Chapter; and *Strabo* in his
fift; *Thucydides* in his sixth speakes at large: and after them the *Lydi* vnder *Tyrrhenus*
their Captaine, that gaue name to the *Tyrrheni*; who casting thence the *Ymbri*, tooke
from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelue Citties; to which (after
they had posselt and past ouer the *Appennine* Mountaines) they added diuers others,
whercof *Telsina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently such a Nation, as these *Ymbri*, in those parts, I
doe not affirme: hauing respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus*
thinks, that the name was deriued from the Greeke word *Ombros*; but that these
Ymbri of *Italie* were defended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it shall bee
shewed hereafter.

§. IIII.

Of some other records testifying the vniuersall flood: and of two ancient deluges in
Ægypt: and of some elsewhere.



Aint *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth that the Greekes and Latines
made not any mention of the vniuersall flood; because they had no-
thing of antiquitie foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (accord-
ing to *Rhodoginus* before remembered) were all things among the
Greekes (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*,
which we in English commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all
the parts of the earth were successiue planted and peopled; and as all Nations had
their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did euery
familie which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledge of di-
punc

uine letters was not received, finde no parent of more antiquite, then such as they had them selues, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the Grecians, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigene*, and growing out of the earth, or inuent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certaine knowledge of *Noahs* flood, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirme by heare-say, that some Giants saved themselves vnder the mountains *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speake not thereof as from any authoritie approved: vising the word *sermo est*, that such a speech there was. And *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Sisithrus* to preferre himselfe from a flood foretold him by *Saturnus* 10 fled to the hills of *Armenia* by ship, ad *Armenian nauigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) sent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe; which hee also did a second time, but at the third returne the birdes feete were couered with mudde and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius* wordes out of *Abydenus*, which may seeme a true description (though in other termes) of *Noahs* flood.

22
Euf. de prep. E.
uulg. 19. c. 4.

Cyrrillus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this generall flood. And *Plato* in *Timao* produceth an *Aegyptian* Priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Bookes of *Aegypt*, the storie of the flood vniuersall, which (saith he) happened long before the Grecian inundations. Fryer *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembreth 20 a third flood, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient then that of *Ogyges* in *Africa*. For he named the generall flood: for the first, which happened (saith he) vnder the old *Ogyges*, sub prisco *Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then liuing, 44 years before that of *Atica*, in the 34. year of *Belochus* King of the *Assyrians*, though I doe not beleue him as touching the time. But this flood couered a great part of the nether *Aegypt*, especially all that Region subiect to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the 30 *Nat. Com. L. 4. c. 6* *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his liuer, afterward slaine by *Hercules* of *Aegypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* deliuereth in these wordes: *Fluuium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatemq; aquarum Aquilon tunc appellatum, HERCVLEM cum consilij magnitudine, tum virtute, voluit vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum conuertisse. Vnde & Graci quidam Poetarem gesiam in fabulam vertentes, HERCVLEM tradunt Aquilam PROMETHEI iocur depascetem occidisse, This flood (meaning of *Nilus*) for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: but *HERCVLES* by his great iudgement and vertue did againe compress, and straighten this River, so farre extended and ouerspred, turning it into the old channels: Whence certaine Greeke Poets (conuerting this labour and worke of *HERCVLES* into a fable) deuised that *HERCVLES* slew the Eagle, which sed on *PROMETHEUS* liuer; meaning that he deliuered *Prometheus* of that sorrow and torment, which for the losse of his people and Countrey (by the waters destroyed and couered ouer) hee 40 suffered.*

Xenop. de agui.
Cuius. per An.
muni. sel. 37.

A fourth flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Aegypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiueth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this briefe fort writeth of all these inundations. Inundationes plures fure: prima nouimstis inunda- 50 tio terrarum sub prisco *Ogyge*: secunda *Niliaca*, &c. There were many inundations (saith this same *Xenophon*) the first which was vniuersall of nine Moneths, and this happened vnder the first *Ogyges*: the second was *Niliaca*, and of one Moneths continuance in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus* *Aegyptians*: a third of two Moneths vnder *Ogyges* *Atticus*: the fourth of three Moneths in *Thessalia* vnder *Deucalion*, and a fift of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) vnder *Proetus* of *Aegypt*, about the time of *Heleus* rape. *Diodorus* in his fift booke and eleventh Chapter, taking the *Samotheas* for his Authors, remembreth a flood in *Asia* the lesse and elsewhere, of no lesse destruction then any of the other particular inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*: the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellefont* breaking in ouer the land.

But

But there have beene many floods in diuers times, and ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Aegypt*: as in the yeare of our redemption 590. when in October of the same yeare, *Gregorie* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a maruailous ouerflowing in *Italie*, and especially in the *Venetian* territorie, and in *Lygria*, accompanied with a most fearefull storme of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast vp and left vpon the land, after the waters decreased and returned. And in the yeare 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordrecht* in *Holland*: of which kinde I take that flood to be of *Achua* or *Attica*. Before that and in the yeare 1238. *Trithemius* speaketh of an earthquake which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a flood in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozius Sigg.* in his *Magna annisaria*, telleth of an inundation in *Italie*, in the time of *Pope Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicile* were swallowed: another in the *Papacie* of *Alexander* the sixth in the yeare 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperour. Hee also remembreth a perillous overflowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Viginier* a French Historian speaketh of a great flood in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the yeare of our Lord 1557. with so dreadfull a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the world, and iudgement day; saying, that by the violent descent of the waters from the mountaines, about *Nismes* there were removed diuers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne vp and rent: by which accident there was found both coyns of silver and gold, diuers peeces of plate, and vessels of other metall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* invaded that Prouince, in the yeare 1156.

§. V.

That the flood of *NOAH* was supernaturall, though some say it might haue beene foretold by the Starres, 15. 16. 2025. 164. 123.

30 **N**OW howsoever all these floods and many other, which have occurred at severall times severall Regions, not only in these parts of the world, but in *America* also, (as I have learned of some ancient Southlayers among them) may be ascribed to naturall causes and accidents; yet that vniuersall flood (in the time of *Noah*) was powred over the whole face of the earth by a power aboue nature, and by the especial commandement of God himselfe, who at that time gaue strength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaines of the deepe: whereby the irruption of waters was made more forcible, then any abilitie of nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoever vnion could performe, without receiving from the Fountaine of all power, strength, and faculties supernaturall. *Henricus Medimensis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries vpon the great coniunctions of *Alon Masar* obserueth, that before the flood of *Noah*, the like coniunction of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*, happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation fine called the ship of *Argos*, by which the flood of *Noah* might be foretold, because *Cancer* is both a watric signe, and the house of the Moone, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of moisture, according to the rules of *Athenemie*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* vpon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming that although *Noah* did well know this flood by diuiner reuelation, yet (this coniunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second cause thereof: for those were not only signes, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which is God himselfe: and further that by * *Catastræ a caeli* (Englised the windores of

properly signifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carried downwards, dasheth and breaketh: of *apertum aliud* or frango. Hence, because windores doe not only open but also shut, the word hath been expounded (Windores) for barres or flood gates.

heauen)

Eclypsis, & terræ motus citius multa hominum milia opprimerant. Frisus quod per meritosus fluitans tunc perisumeria suis & perierant plusquam 100000.

Allo de Concor. die Theolog. & Astralog.

Gen. 11.

The word

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heauen) *Moses* meant this great and waterie coniunction; the word (*Cataractæ*) signifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now (*Saith P. de Aliato*) it pleased God to ordaine by the course of the Heauens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked waies wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercie.

Of this iudgement was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who vnderstood that the wordes *Cataractæ calis*, or windores of heauen were to be taken for the former coniunction, or for those waterie signes, *Cancer, Pisces, Pleiades, Hyades, and Orion*, and of the Planets, *Mars, Venus*, and the *Moon*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest inundations. His owne words are these, *Non enim intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum cataractæ as calis vocasse, nisi partes illas calis, quæ generatiue sunt pluuiarum & inundationum aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, vt Cancer &c.* as afore said. As yet (*saith he*) I perceiue not what the Prophet of the Hebrews meaneth by those words, (*Cataractæ calis*, or windores of Heauen) vntlesse he thereby vnderstand those celestiall powers, by whose influences are engendered the raine, and inundations of waters, such as are the waterie Signes of *Cancer &c.*

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his vnsearchable wisdom this coniunction should at such time be: so did he (as afore said) adde vigour and facultie, and gaue to euery operation increase of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and fountaines, commanding them to call out the whole treasure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the Cloudes, and condensing ayer into water by the ministerie of his Angels, or how soeuer else best pleased his Al-powerfulnesse.

§. VI.

That there was no neede of any new creation of matter to make the vniuersall flood: and what are *Cataractæ Celi*. *Gen. 7. vers. 11.*

NOW if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God resteth the seuenth day: (that is) he did not then after create any new *species*) which graunted, it may seeme that then all the earth & ayre had not waters sufficient to couer the habitable world fifteene cubites about the highest mountaines. Of this proposition whether God hath so restrained himselfe or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the world had want of water to ouerouer the highest mountaines, I take that conceit to be vnlarned and foolish; for it is written, that the fountaines of the great deepe were broken vp (that is) the waters forsook the very bowels of the earth; and all whatsoeuer was disperst therein perced and brake through the face thereof. Then let vs consider that the Earth had about one and twentie thousand miles: the Diameter of the Earth according to that circle seuen thousand mile, and then from the Superficies to the Center some three thousand five hundred miles: Take then the highest mountaine of the world, *Caucasus, Taurus, Olympus, or Atlas*, the mountaines of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tenners*, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh highest stretcheth about thirtie miles vpright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the earth three thousand five hundred miles deepe should not well helpe to couer the space of thirtie miles in height, this thirtie miles vpright being found in the depths of the earth one hundred and sixteene times: for the fountaines of the great Deepe were broken vp, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the earth. Secondly if we consider what proportion the earth beareth to the extension of the ayre ouer and about it, we shall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased

Cataractæ
calis

05

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30

not in 340 miles deep

fed God to condense but so much of this ayre as euery-where compasseth and embraceth the earth, which condensation is a conuersion of ayre into water, a change familiar in those elements, it will not seeme strange to men of iudgement, yea but of ordinarie vnderstanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was couered ouer with waters without any new Creation.

Lastly, for the opinions of *Guilielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacenſis*, to which I may adde *Berosus* and others, That such a coniunction there was, foreshewing that destruction by waters which followed; and that by the word *Cataracta calis*, or Windores of heauen, was meant this coniunction; there needs no other answer then that obseruation of *Londonicus Viues*, who affirmeth that by the grauest *Astralogians* it was obserued, that in the year 1524. there should happen the like coniunction, as at *Nogahs* flood, then which (saith he) there was neuer a more faire, drie, and seasonable year: the like destruction was prophesied of the year 1588. But *Picus Earle of Marandula* proueth that there could not bee any such coniunction at that time.

To conclude, I finde no other mysterie in the word *Cataracta calis*, then that the clowdes were meant thereby: *Moses* vsing the word *Windores of Heauen* (if that bee the sense of the word) to expresse the violence of the rains, and powring downe of waters. For whosoeuer hath seene those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spowts (where clowdes doe not breake into drops, but fall with a resistlesse violence in one body) may properly vie that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the windores or flood-gates of heauen opened: (which is) That waters fell, contrarie to custome, and that order which we call natural. God then loosened the power retentive in the vppermost aire, and the waters fell in abundance: Behold (saith I 08) he which holdeth the waters, and they dried vp, or better in Latine, *Et omnia siccantur, et all things are dried vp; but when hee bindeth them out, they destroy the earth:* and in the 26. Chapter. *Hee bindeth the waters in the clowdes;* but these bonds God loosed at that time of the generall flood, and called vp the waters which slept in the great deep: and these ioyning together couered the earth, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, hee then commaunded them to returne into their darke and vast caues, and the rest (by a winde) rarified againe into aire, formerly condensed into drops.

§. VII.

Of some remainder of the memorie of *NOAH* among the Heathen.

NOAH commaunded by God, before the fall of those waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his owne wife, and his sonnes, and his sonnes wiues, taking with them of euerie creature, which tooke life by generation, seuen of the cleane, and of the vncleane, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietnesse; after others, and according to the prophesie of his Father *Lamech*, cessation; to whome after-times gaue many names answering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as *The first Ogges*, because in the time of the Grecian *Ogges* there was also a great flood of *Aethia*: *Saturne* they called him, because hee was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steale away *Iupiters* fire; fire in that place being taken and vnderstood for the knowledge of God and heauenly things. Others thinke that he was so called for his excellent wife dome and foresight. Hee had also the name of *Jany*, (id est) *vinosus*, because *rain*, signifieth wine in the Hebrew. And so *Tertullian* finds him written in *libris ritualibus*, in the booke of ceremonies, preceding both *Saturne*, *Vranus*, and *Ioue* - which three enioyed an elder time then all the other ancientest fained Gods. And this name *Jany* is taken from the Hebrew and Syriac, and not from the Latine: for it was in vye before there was any Latine Nation, or

orany Kingdome by that name knowne. Of the antiquite of *Iannus*, *Fabius Pictor* giuech this testimonie. *IANNI* atate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus peccatoribus non sum haerens villa regnandi cupiditas, &c. *Vinum* & *far* primus populos docuit, *IANNUS* ad sacrificia: primus enim aras & *Pomaria* & sacra docuit, in the time of *IANNUS* (saith he) there was no Monarchie: for the desire of rule had not then solied it self about the hearts of men. *IANNUS* first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meale: he first set up Altars, instituted gardens and solitarie groves, wherein they used to pray; with other holie rites and ceremonies. A greater testimonie then this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilst *Noah* flourished, there was not any King or Monarch: *Nimrod* being the first that tooke on him soueraine authoritie. Secondly, *Ngab* after the flood was the first that planted the Vine, and became a husbandman; and therefore offered the first fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, hee was the first that raised an Altar, and offered sacrifice to God, a thanks-giving for his mercifull goodnesse towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the name of *Bisnon* (which was giuen to *Iannus*) because he beheld the times both before and after the flood, quia praeterita nouerit, & futura profpexerit, saith *Arnobius*. Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person of *Iannus* shadowed by the name of *Chaos*, and *semen orbis*, the seede of the world; because as out of that confused heape was drawne all the kindes of beastes and plants: so from *Ngab* came all mankind: 23 whereof *Quid* in the person of *Iannus*:

Quid de *seffu* Ie

*Ne Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant,
Alitise quam longi temporis acta cano.*

The ancient call'd me *Chaos*: my great yeares
By those old times, of which I sing, appears.

He was also intituled *Caelum* and *Sol*, Heauen and the Sonne, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomie: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus*, and *Alex. Aphrodisiensis* so call, because he was the restorer of the Greekes to their former libertie, but in respect of the flood. For the Greekes called *Liber* *Pater*, and his Nurses *Hyades*, of raine, because *Ngab* entred the *Arke*, when the Sonne ioyned with the Starres *Hyades*, a constellation in the brow or necke of *Taurus*, and euer after a monument of *Noahs* flood. He was also by others fumed *Trifon*, a Marine God, the Sonne of *Ngptune*: because hee liued in sacrifice on the waters. So was he knowne by the name of *Dionysius*, quasi diuini uinum, mentem pungens, bite-braine, or wit-singer, though *Diodorus* conceiue otherwise, and denie that name a *pater* & *loco*, of his Father, and the place of his birth, (to wit) of *Ioue*, and *Nysa* a Towne of *Arabia felix*, saith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Tawro-phagus*; because he first yoked Oxen and tilled the ground, according to that of *Moses*. And *Noah* become an husbandman. Now how soeuer the Græcians vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certaine that the name was borrowed, and the inuention stolen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Noah*, was taken (saith *Gul. Stuckins*, and out of him *Danauus*) from *Ngachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the flood: and of *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all those fables deuised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Booke, and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah* was fumed *Nysus*, of the mountaine *Nysa* in *India*, where the Græcians *Bacchus* neuer came, what soeuer themselves fume of his enterprises; and these mountaines of *Nysa* ioyned with those of *Paropamisus*. And those other Easterne mountaines, on which the *Arke* of *Ngab* rested after the flood.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second parent of mankind might

*Not Com. 15.
c 13.*

Calist.

Gris. 9. 10.

*Stuck in scria
communiis, &
Dionysii de
manu diuinitate.*

might the better be preferred, there were founded by his issues many great Cities which bare his name; with many rivers and mountains: which oftentimes forgot that it was done in his regard, because the many names given him brought the same confusion to places as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we finde the Citie of *Noah* upon the banks of the red Sea and elsewhere: the River of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolome* *Danuis*; diuiding *Ilyria* from *Pannonia*. Thus much for the name.

Psalm 16.
Steph. 17.
Hered. 14.
Strabo. 17.

ð. VIII.

Of sundrie particulars touching the *Arke*: as the place where it was made,
the matter, fashion and name.

NOW in what part of the world *Noah* built the *Arke*, it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neither doe I finde any approved Authour that hath written thereof: only *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiue, that *Noah* built his *Arke* neare the mountains of *Caucasus*, because on those hills are found the goodliest Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the warre among a people, called *Nysai*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, hee found all their burials and Sepulchers wrought ouer with Cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himselfe from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Arke*; to which also hee added the conueniencie of friers, to transport the Timber which hee vsed, without troubling any other carriages.

Only this wee are sure of, that the *Arke* was built in some part of the Eastern world; and to my vnderstanding, not farre from the place where it rested after the flood. For *Noah* did not vse any mast or saile (as in other ships) and therefore did the *Arke* no otherwise moue then the Hulke or body of a ship doth in a calme Sea. Also because it is not probable, that during these continuall and downe-right raines there were any windes at all, therefore was the *Arke* little moued from the place where it was fashioned and set together. For it is written: *God made a winde to passe vpon the earth, and the waters ceased*; and therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the waters, there was not any storme or forcible winde at all, which could drie the *Arke* any great distance from the place where it was first by the waters lifted vp. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion bee true, as it is very likely, that the *Arke* had *fundum planum*, a flat bottom, and not raised in forme of a ship with a sharpnose forward, to cut the waues for the better speede.

This kind of Vessell the Hebrewes call *Thebet*, and the Greekes *Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalions* ship: and some say, that the hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight dayes hee arriued, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the change of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnassus*; but *Steph. 27.* *Paulinus* thinks that it tooke name of a Sonne of the *Nymphe Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, the inuentour of *Aurigation*.

Petrus findes the word (*Parnassus*) to haue no affinitie with the Greeke, but thinks it deriued from the Hebrew word *Noahus*, which signifieth *Aurigation* and *Diminution*: or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the lease before cited.

Iosephus calls the *Arke* *Machina*, by the generall name of a huge Frame: and *Epiphanius* out of the Hebrew *Aron*; but herein lieth the difference betweene *Aron* and *Thebet*, That *Aron* signifieth properly the *Arke* of the *Sanctuarie*, but *Thebet* such a Vessell, as swimmeth, and beareth it selfe vpon the waters.

Lastly, this *Arke* of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a couer and roofe, with a crest in the middelt thereof, and the sides declining like the roofe of an house; to the end, both to cast off the waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himselfe

Gen. 5. A.

himselfe and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomnesse of the many beasts, which filled the other rooms and parts of the *Arke*.

Of what wood the *Arke* was built it is vncertaine. The Hebrew word *Gopher* once and in this place only vsed is diuersly vnderstood; and though the matter bee of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the Geneva Translation calls it Pinetree, the *Rabbinie* Cedar, the Seuenitic square timber, the Latine smooth timber. Others will haue it Cypres trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypres is worn at funerals. But out of doubt if the word *Gopher* signifie any speciall kinde of timber, *Noah* obeyed the voice of God therein; if not, hee was not then curious as touching the kinde or nature of the wood, hauing the promise of God, and his grace 10 and mercie for his defence. For with *Noah* God promised to establish his covenant. *Plinie* affirmeth that in *Egypt* it was the vsd to build ships of Cedar, which the worne eates not; and he auoweth that he saw in *Vicia*, in the Temple of *Apollo* Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Citie, and that they were still found in his time; which was about 1188. yeares after: prouing thereby, that this kinde of wood was not subiect to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet fauour, lasting also better then any other wood, and because neare the place where the *Arke* rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the mountaines of the East, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the *Arke* might be of that wood: 20 which hath besides the other commodities the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withall. *Peterius* conceiueth that the *Arke* had diuers sorts of timber, and that the bottome had of one sort, the decke and partition of another, all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will serue for all parts of a ship, aswell for the body, as for masts and yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction receiued from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Arke*; and to pitch it, and to diuide it into Cabines, thereby to sear the cleane beasts from the vndeane, and to preserve their severall sorts of foodes; and that it might be capable of all kinde of liuing creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when 30 *Noah* had gathered together, hee cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his Angels steered this ship without a rudder, and directed it without the helpe of a Compass or the North starre. The pitch which *Noah* vsed, is by some supposed to haue beene a kinde of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, now the dead Sea or *Asphaltus*: and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*, and herein it exceedeth other pitch that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire only, after the manner of hard waxe.

Petrius.

d. I X.

That the *Arke* was of sufficient capacitie.

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De Civitat. Dei.
Lij. c. 26.

THe *Arke* according to Gods commaundement had of length three hundred cubites, fittie of breadth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion it had sixe parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. A. VGVSTINE. *Procul dubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc saeculo Civitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesie, quae sit salua per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Iesus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisq; eius significat corpus humanum, in cuius veritate ad homines pronuntiatus est venturus, & venit, &c.* Without doubt (saith he) it is a figure of the Citie of God, traualing in this world as a stranger (that is) of the Church, saved by the tree whereupon the Mediator betwene God and Man, the man Iesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, height, and breadth, answereth the shape of mans body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was foretold and performed.

By

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By what kinde of Cubite the *Arke* was measured, it hath beene a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these. The first kinde of cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the palme cubit) which taketh one handfull more then the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian Cubit*, which exceedeth the common cubit three inches. The fourth is the sacred cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly there is a fift cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth six common cubits. But of all these sortes, which were commonly measured by the vulgar cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a lesse proportion of bodies: so is the common cubit, from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of lesse length then it was in elder times.

S^t Augustine considering the many sortes of beastes and birds which the *Arke* held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the *Arke* had proportion after the Geometrical cubit, which containeth almost six of the Common. For measuring the *Arke* by the vulgar cubit, it did not exceed the capacite of that vessell built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the ship of *Ptolomie Philo-pater*. But *S^t Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his iudgement as touching the
20 Geometrical cubit; and found vpon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a bodie to præserved all sortes of creatures by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of fishes into the *Arke*, because they were kept living (saith *S^t Augustine*) in their owne element. *Non fuit necesse conservare in Arca que possent in aquis vivere; non solum mersea sicut pisces, verum super-natantia, sicut multa aves.* It was not needfull to conserve those creatures in the *Arke*, which could live in the waters; and not onely fishes which can live vnder water, but also those fowles which sit and swimme on them: and againe, *Terra non aqua, maledicta, quia Adam non huius, sed illius fructum vitium comedit.* It was the earth, and not the waters, which God cursed: for of the forbidden fruit of the earth and not of the Sea, did *Adam* eat; so as *S^t Augustine*
30 gathereth hereupon, (as aforesaid) that so huge a Frame needed not.

And if wee looke with the eyes of iudgement hereunto, wee shall finde nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischief and of ignorance, then of any reverend reason finde many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and vndoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now seeme differing and of severall kindes, were not then in *rerum natura*. For those beastes which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to præserved them: seeing they might be generated againe by others, as the Mules, the Hyazens and the like: the one begotten by Asses and Mares, the other by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by differing in colour or stature from those of these Northern parts, it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which were red and pyed skinned, or feathers, are differing from those that are lesse painted, and were plaine russet or black: they are much mistaken that so thinke. And for my owne opinion I finde no difference, but onely in magnitude, betweene the Cat of *Europe*, and the Ounce of *India*; and even those dogges which are become wilde in *Hispagania*, with which the Spaniards vied to deuoure the naked *Indians*, are now changed to wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattle, and doe also offendmentes tear asunder their owne Children. The common Crowe and Rooke of *India* is full of red feathers in the drownd and low Islands of *Caribana*; and the Blackbird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with black and carration: in the North parts of *Virginia*. The dogfish of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of Species, then were the *Negro*s, which we call the Black-mores
40 non animalia rationalia not men, but some kinde of strange beastes: and so the

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Athen. digno spe.
lib. A.
Plutar. in vita
Demetri.

Aug. de Civite.
Dei lib. 5. ca. 27.

22.1.
1100 1150 1200

a cat

dogfish

Acop. hist. India.

a dogfish

the Giants of the South *America* should bee of an other kinde, then the people of this part of the World. Wee also see it daily that the natures of fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good fruit by often grafting, and the best *Mellons* will change in a year or two to common *Cucumbers* by being set in a barren soyle: Therefore taking the kinds precisely of all creatures, as they were by God created, out of the earth by his ordinance produced: The *Arke*, after the measure of the common Cubit was sufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the Common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantic stature (and lesse allowance we cannot giue to the difference betweene them and vs) then did the *Arke* containe 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, and 60. foot deepe.

But first of all to make it manifest, that the Geometrical Cubit is not vsed in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the bed of *Qg King of Basan* had been nine Geometrical Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliath*, who had the length of 6. Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull, a proportion credible if these Cubites had beene Geometrical, then had beene 54. foot in height and vpwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliath* beene nine foot long, and farre weightier and bigger then all *Dauids* bodie, who carried it away.

Again if the Geometrical Cubit had been vsed for a measure in the Scripture as many Commenters haue obserued, then had the Altar (appointed to containe five Cubites of length, five of breadth and three of height) haue reached the length of 27. foot vp right, and so must their Priests haue ascended by steps or ladders to haue performed their sacrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandment giuen in these wordes: *Thou shalt not goe up with steps vnto mine altar, that thy flame bee not discomfited thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three Common Cubites high which make foure foot, that their Priests standing thereby might exocate their office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantic stature; which measure (doubtlesse) might giue much the more capacite to the *Arke*, although it be also probable, that as the men were, so were the horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whit the more room in the *Arke*, it were not hard to conceiue, how all the distinct Species of *Animals*, whose liues cannot bee preserved in the waters, might according to their present quantities bee contained in a vessell of those dimensions which the *Arke*, had, allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now vsuall measure: whence it followeth of necessitie, that those large bodie which were in the daies of *Noah* might haue room sufficient in the *Arke*, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures, to be saued (that is) seven of the cleane, two of the vncleane (with necessarie foode) might haue place in the *Arke*, *Batso* hath very learnedly declared: the briefe summe of whose discourse to that purpose is this. The length of the *Arke* was three hundred cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fiftie cubits, and the product by the height of thirtie cubits, sheweth the whole capacitie to haue beene 450000. Now whereas the posts, walles, and other partitions of lodgings may seeme to haue taken vp a great part of the hollow: the height of the theroot which (the perpendicular being one cubit) contained 7500. cubicall cubes, was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a ship of such greatnesse wee seeke room for 89. distinct Species of beasts, or (least any should be omitted) for 100. severall kinds, we shall easily finde place both for them, and for the birds, which in bignesse are no way answerable to them, and for meate to sustaine them all. For there are three fortes

sorts of beasts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne; the Beefe, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Beeces, one Lyon to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of beasts, some feede on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, only three are cleane, according to the law of *Moses*, whereof seuen of a kinde entred into the *Arke*, namely three couples for breede, and one odde one for sacrifice: the other eight and twentie kinde were taken by two of each kinde, so that in all there were in the *Arke* one and twentie great beasts cleane, and fixe and fiftie vn cleane, estimable for largenesse as 91. Beeces; yet for a supplement (least perhaps any *Species* be omitted) let them be valued, as 120. Beeces. Of the lesser sort, feeding on vegetables were in the *Arke* fixe and twentie kinde, estimable with good allowance for supplie, as fourescore Sheepe. Of those which deuour flesh were two and thirtie kinds, answerable to three score and foure Wolves. All these 280. beasts might be kept in one storie or roome of the *Arke* in their severall Cabines; their meate in a second: the Birds and their prouision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his familie, and all their necessaries.

§. X.

That the *Arke* rested upon part of the hill *Taurus* (or *Caucasus*) betwene the East Indies, and *Scythia*.

†. I.

A praterition of some questions lesse materiall: with a note of the use of this question, to finde out the *Metropolis* of Nations.

WHat time *Noah* tooke to build the *Arke*, I leave to others to dispute; but he received the Commandment from God 100. years before the waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leisure sufficient. As for the number of decks & partitions, which *Origen* deuides into foure, *St. Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controuersie: or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the land, other times in the waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartus*) the Sea-cowes or Sea-horses, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thinke it a needlesse curiositie; and yet to this faith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a fish-pool might bee made aswell within the *Arke*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolerie of the Hebrewes, who suppose that the *Arke* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had windores of Crisall to receiue in light, and keepe out water, were but to reuiue the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seeke most to satisfie my selfe and others in, is in what part of the world the *Arke* rested after the flood: because the true vnderstanding of some of these places (as the state of the terrestrial *Paradise*, and the resting of the *Arke*) doe only and truly teach the worlds plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the flood; and all storie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better vnderstood.

†. II

A proposall of the common opinion, that the *Arke* rested upon some of the hills of *Armenia*.

And first, for the true place where the *Arke* rested after the flood, and from what part of the world the children of *Noah* traualled to their first settlement

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and plantation, I am resolved (without any presumption) that therein the most writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinke out of my humour or newnesse of opinion, or singularitie; but doe herein ground my selfe on the originall and first truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *that the Arke stayed vpon one of the mountaines of Ararat*, which the Chaldaean Paraphrast hath conuerted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordai* or *Gordiai* in Armenia the greater: (as the wordes *Gordai* and *Kardu* seeme to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: (to wit) that it relied on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater Armenia. *Nicolaus Damascenus* calls this mountaine of *Ararat*, *Baris*, being the same which the Chaldaean nameth *Kardu*, to which mountaine the Fryer *Annius* (citing this place out of *Iosephus*) makes him finde another adioyning, called *Ocala*; and to say that the *Arke* (of which *Moses* the Lawgiuer of the Hebrewes wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocala*. But I doe not finde any such mountaine in being, as this *Ocala*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Iosephus*. *Strabo* remembereth a Promontorie in *Arabia felix*, of that name, and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne so called in the same, which *Ptolomie* calls *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Aeyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocala* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* mountaines. *Berosus* calleth those mountaines of Armenia *Gordai*, and *Curcius Gordai*: *Ptolomie* *Gordai* and *Gordiai*: of which the Countrey next adioyning is by this *Nicolaus Damascenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* coniectures) for *Nilyada* or rather *Minni*: which word is vied for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of Armenia seemeth to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we should say *Minni of Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Plinie* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Candies* about these mountaines, whom others call *Gordien* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are seated a part from all other to the North of that Ledge of mountaines called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the plaines of *Armenia* the great, neare the Lake *Thospitis*: whence the Riuer of *Tigris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines *Gordiai* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Iosephus*; which name (saith *Iupius*) was of the euent, because of *Noahs* comming downe with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed euent; seeing any hill, from whence on every side wee must descend, may thus be called: as *Iunius* corrects the place in *Iosephus* *Kubaria* (*Kubaria*). That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, because *Iosephus* L. 1. c. 4. saies, the place is called *αὐκαρτίμην* (as it were the descent or comming downe) and *Epiphanius* L. 1. c. 1. *αὐκαρτίμην* calls it *αὐκαρτίμην*: which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubar* is a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the Latine *Delubrum* may seeme to be deriued; and *Alf. 6. 9.* they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubratenu*. Yet this opinion hath bene embraced from age to age: receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any further examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be giuen, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage was more faire, vp and downe vnto it, then to any of the rest adioyning.

† III.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would have come sooner, had they come from so neere a place as Armenia.

BVt there are many arguments to perswade me, that the *Arke* of *Noah* did not rest it selfe in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountaine *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordian* mountaines.

For

For first, it is agreed by all which follow *Berosus*, that it was in the 130. yeare, or in the year 131. after the flood, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chusli*, and *Chaldaea*. If then the *Arke* had first found land in *Armenia*, it is very vnprobable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that valley could haue spent so many yeares in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was onely interuagant, which might by easie iourneies haue been past ouer in 20. daies; and to hasten and help which passage the nauigable riuer of *Tigris* offered it selfe, which is euerie where transpassable by boats of great burden: so as where the Defart on the one side resisted their expedition, the riuer on the contrarie side serued to aduance it; the riuer rising out of the same Ledge of mountaines, or at the foot of them, where the *Arke* of *Noah* was first supposed to settle it selfe; Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surpris of a second flood (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it soundeth ill to the care of reason, that they would haue spent many yeares in that low and ouerflown Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Riueres which imbroder or compasse it: for the effects witnessed their afflictions, and the workes, which they vndertooke, their vnbeliefe; being no sooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they beganne to provide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* beganne his Kingdome, the first knowne Citie of the world founded after the flood, about 131. yeares, or (as others suppose) ten yeares later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they vndertooke that worke in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, To get vs a name (saith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to vsurpe dominion ouer the rest.

†. IIII.

The second argument, That the Easterne people were most ancient in populostie, and in all humane glorie.

30 For a second Argument: The ciuilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world first abounded) hath more waight then any thing which hath beene, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the vs of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the East had) may easilie perswade vs, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East *Indians* (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordinance of batterie, confirmed by the *Portingals* and others, makes vs now to vnderstand, That the place of *Philosistratus* in *uta Apollonij Tiansi*, 2. c. 14. is no fable, though exprest in fabulous wordes: when he saith, that the wise men, which dwell betwene *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, vsf not themselves to goe forth into battaile: but that they driue away their enemies with thunder and lightning sent from *Iupiter*. By which meane there it is said, that *Hercules Aegyptius* and *Bacchus*, ioyning their forces were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there cast away his golden shield. For the inuention of letters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because he brought them first into Greece: of which the people (then rude and sauage) had reason to giue him the honour, from whom they receiued the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no lesse ancient then *Seth* or *Hemel* were: for they are said to haue written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the flood. But from the Easterne world it was that *Iohn Cuthenberg* a *Germane*, brought the deuise of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practise thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicholaus Gersoun* a *Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and inuention. And notwithstanding that this mysterie was then supposed to bee but newly borne, the *Chinians* had letters long before either the *Aegyptians* or *Phenicians*; and also the Art of Printing, when as the Greeks had neither any ciuill knowledge, or any letters among them.

And that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* haue witnessed, who about an hundred yeares since discovered those Kingdomes, and doe now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinases* account all other Nations but *Saluages*, in respect of themselves.

And to adde strength to this argument, the conquest and florise of *Alex. Macedon* may iustly bee called to witness, who found more Citties and sumptuousitie in that little kingdome of *Portus*, which lay side by side to the East *India*, then in all his other traualles and undertakings. For in *Alexanders* time learning and greatnesse had not trauielled so farre to the West as *Rome*: *Alexander* esteeming of *Italie* but as a barbarous Countrey, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the East pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the *Sun-ning*, and heare *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the vttermost Angle and Istand thereof, we shall finde that those Nations haue sent out, and not receiued, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more ciuill, the farther West the more saluage. And of the Iste of *Iapan* (now *Zipangari*) *Venetius* maketh this report. *Incolae religioni, literis, & sapientia sunt additißimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt Principem, unum Deum adorant*. The Ilanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they vse in their Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God. The antiquitie, magnificence, ciuillitie, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in gouernement, is reported to be such by those who haue bene employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named, and diuers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.

†. V.

The third argument, From the wonderfull resistance which SEMIRAMIS found in the East Indies.

But for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the inuasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and aduised Reader: who may consider in what age shee liued, and how soone after the worlds new birth shee gathered her Armie (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more then three Millions to inuade *India*, to which he adioyneth also 500000. Horse, and 100000. Waggones: whereof if we beleue but a third part, it shall suffice to proue that *India* was the first planted and peopled Countrey after the flood. Now as touching the time wherein shee liued: All Historians consent, that shee was the wife of *Ninus*; and the most approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Sonne of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Sonne of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came into *Shinar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Cittie and Tower of *Babel* may appeare; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two defents cast betweene *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let vs then see with whome shee encountered in that warre with this her powerfull Armie: euen with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her owne, conducted by *Staurabates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witness of *Diod. Siculus*. *STAVROBATES, autis maioribus quam quae erant SEMIRAMIDIS copijs. STAVROBATES gathering together greater troups then those of SEMIRAMIS*. If then these numbers of *Indians* had bene encreased but by a Colonie lent out from *Shinar*, (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance) this encrease in the East, and this Armie of *Staurabates* must haue bene made of stone, or som what else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might

might easily grow vp in that time, from so great a troupe as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the storie of *Israell*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication naturall, produce so many bodies of men, as were in the *Indian* armie victorious ouer *Semiramis*, if the colonies lent thither had beene so late as *Babel* ouerturned, and the confusion of languages. For if we allow 65. yeares time after the flood, before *Nimrod* was borne : of which, 30. yeares to *Cub* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom hee had *Hanubab*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha* : and then 30. yeares to *Raamah*, ere hee begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and fiae yeares to his hie elder brothers, which make 65. and then twice 30. yeares for two generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their sonnes; and that a third generation might growe vp, which makes in all 125. yeares, there will then remaine fixe yeares to haue beene spent in trauieling from the East, ere they arriued in *Shinar* in the yeare after the flood 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might bee of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to haue arriued at *Shinar* in the yeare 101: and the confusion to haue bene at *Peleg*'s birth, these men doe all by mirade: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time, and build *Nimrod*'s Tower in the ayer; and not on those low and marish groundes (which require found foundations) in the Plaines of *Shinar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a daie, there could be no confusion in that yeare 101. or at *Peleg*'s birth. And therefore it is furre more probable, that *Nimrod* vsurped regall authority in the 131. yeare after the flood, (according to *Berosus*) and that the worke of *Babel* lasted fourtie yeares (according to *Glycin*) *hominibus ea perficienda totis 40. annis inactum laborantibus*: *Alien laboring in vaine 40. yeares to finish it*. By which account it falls out, that it was 170. yeares after the flood ere a Colonie was sent into *East India*; which graunted (the one being the maine body, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly bee believed, that *Staurobates* could haue exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Emperre of all that part of the world, gathered the most of Nations into one bodie.

Gen 10.7.

55

Glycin Gen. 6. de Turris ex. finitiae. fol. 173.

†. VI.

The fourth Argum. from diuers considerations in the person of *N*oah.

FOurthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the flood, and had liued therein the long time of 605. yeares, was all that space 130. yeares after the flood without any certaine habitation; No, it will fall but, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* delained and appointed to fill and inhabite that middle part of the earth and the western world; (which traualles *Noah* put ouer to yong and able bodies) and that *Noah* himselfe then couered with many yeares planted himselfe in the same place which God had assigned him: which was where he first came downe out of the *Arke* from the waters: For it is written, that after *Noah* came downe out of the *Arke* he planted a vineyard, and became a husbandman: whose businesse was to dresse and manure the earth, and not to range ouer so many parts of the world; as from *Armenia* into *Arabia felix*, where hee should (if the tradition be found) haue left certaine Colonies; thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*; then into *Spain*, where they say he settled other companies, & built Cities after the names of *Noah* and *Aegla* his sons wiues: from thence into *Italie*, where they say hee found his sonne *Cham* the Saturne of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subiects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the storie) had patience for three yeares; but then finding no amendment they say hee banished him out of *Italie*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plaine imitation of the Gracian fables. For let euery reasonable man conceiue



conceiue, what it was to trauaile farre in such a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the floud the same lay wast and ouer-growne for 130. or 140. yeares, and wherein there could hardly be found either path or passage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bulhes and bryars that in those yeares were growne vp.

And there are so many reasons, prouing that *Noah* neuer came into the valley of *Shinar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italic* or *Spaine*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all those Nations, a man reuerenced both for his authoritie, knowledge, experience and pietie, would neuer have permitted his children and issues to haue undertaken that vnbeleueing presumptuous worke of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and preualent perswasions he would haue bound their hands from so vaine labours, and by the authoritie which he receiued euen from God himselfe, hee would haue held them in that awfull subiection, as whatsoever they had vainely conceiued or feared, yet they durst not haue disobayed the personall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regal authoritie ouer his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankind was by themselves purchased through crueltie and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise vp building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a prouocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that euer he came so farre West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he sent those numbers which came into *Shinar* (being the greatest troupe, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) vnder *Nimrod*, or those vpon whom he vsurped. *Nauderus* and *Calestinus* take the testimonie of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for current, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Iofan*: of which *Nimrod* commaunded the issues of *Cham*, *Iofan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Iaphet*. This opinion I cannot iudge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sonnes of *Sem*: *Iofan* *Hamilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to haue dwelt in the *East India*. The rest of *Sems* issues had also the Regions of *Persia* and the other adioyning to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till hee was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Iofan*, or of all the rest a certaine number (*Cham* and his issue only excepted) that *Noah* kept with himselfe, it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shall speake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which moues me to beleuee, that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinar*, is that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the storie of the Hebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all mankind, and the chosen seruant of God, was too principall a person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawn himselfe, and rested a part with his best beloued, giuing himselfe to the seruice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For hee landed in a warme and fertile soile, where hee planted his Vineyard, and dressed the earth; after which, and his thanks-giuing to God by sacrifice, hee is not remembered in the Scriptures, because hee was so farre away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

†. VII.

of the senselesse opinion of ANNIVS the Commentor vpon BEROSVS: that the Arke rested vpon Montes Caspij in Armenia, and yet vpon Gordisai, which are three hundred miles distant also in Armenia, and yet in Scythia.

- IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of Frier Annus, who in his Commentaries vpon Berofus and others, laboureth mutually to 10 to proue, that the Arke of Noah rested vpon the Armenian mountaines called Caspij; which mountaines separate Armenia from the vpper Media, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountaines Gordisai, hee hath no other shift to vnite these opinions, but by vniting those farre-distant mountaines together. To effect which he hath found no other inuention; then to charge those men with error which haue carefully ouerscene, printed, and published Ptolomies Geographic, in which they are altogether disfigured: for that last edition of Mercators, sets these hills five degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainly, if we looke into those more ancient copies of Ptolomianus and others, we shall finde nothing in them to helpe Annus withall: for in those the mountaines 20 Caspij stand seven degrees to the East of the Gordisai, which make 420. miles. And for those Authours by whose authoritie Annus strengtheneth himselfe, Diodorus whom he so much followeth, giueth this iudgement vpon them in the like dispute. *Aberrant vero omnes, non negligentia, sed errorum situs ignorantia, They haue altered (saith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdomes.* But for an induction, to proue that the Arke of Noah stood on the mountaines of Armenia, he beginneth with the antiquitie of the Scythians: and to proue the same hee citeth Marcus Porcius Cato, who auoweth that 250. yeares before Ninus; the earth was overflowne with waters, & in Scythia *Saga renatum mortale genus, and that in Scythia Saga the stocke of mortall men was renewed.* The same Authour also teacheth that 30 the Vmbri before remembred (who were so called, because saued from Deucalions flood) were the Sonnes of the Galls, a Nation of the Scythians: *Ex his gentibus FANNUM DYRIUM & GALLIS progenitoribus Vmbrosum, From these Scythians, he saith, that FANNUS came with DYRIUM and with the Galls the progenitors of the Vmbri;* And againe, *Equidem principatus originis semper Scythia tribuitur, Certainly, the Prime antiquitie of off-spring is alway giuen to the Scythians.* And herein truly I agree with Annus, that those Regions called Scythia, and now Tartaria, and by some Writers Sarmatia *Slavica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of Asia vnder tribute till Ninus time. Also Plinie calleth the Vmbri which long since inhabited 40 *Italia, Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation, who defended of these Scythians.* Now that which Annus laboureth, is to proue that these ancient Scythians (meaning the Nephewes of Noah) did first inhabit that Region of the mountaines, on which the Arke rested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in Armenia, he saith a nation of Scythians called *Araxes*, taking name of the mountaine *Ararat*, neare the River of *Araxes*: And because his Authour Cato helpeth him in part (to wit, That in Scythia mankinde was restored after the great flood, 250. yeares before Ninus) and in part venterly destroyeth his conceit of Cato, by adding the word *Saga*, as in Scythia *Saga renatum mortale genus, in Scythia Saga mankinde was restored*, hee therefore in the Proeme of his Commentaries vpon Berofus, leaueth out the addition of Saga altogether in the repetition of Cato his wordes, and writes *homines in Scythia saluati.* For Scythia Saga or Saca, is vndoubtedly vnder the mountaines of *Parapanisus*, on which, or neare which it is most probable that the Arke first tooke ground; and from those East parts (according to Moses) came all those companies which erected the Tower of Babel in Shinar or Babylonia.

But now the best authoritie which Annus hath is out of Diodorus: where he hath read,

read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name à *Scythia Rege* eorum, from *Scythia* their King. But (in a word) we may see his vanity, or rather (indeed) his fullblood in citing this place. For *Diodorus* a most approved and diligent Author beginneth in that place with these wordes. *Fabulantur Scythæ, The Scythians fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giueth this title to that very Chapter. *Scytharum origo & successus, fabula, The original and successe of the Scythians, a fable*. And (indeed) there needs no more disproofe hercof, since *Ptolomie* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saca*, or *Saca*, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians, Saca*, which *Plinie* confirmeth: for in respect that these *Sacæ* (saith *Plinie*) are the next *Scythians* to the *Persians*, therefore they gave all the rest that name. Now that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man beleueth. But this supposed *Scythia Araxæ* in *Armenia* lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the *Sacæ*; and the Countie about *Araxæ* *Ptolomie* calleth *Colchene* and *Sodacene* and *Sacapene*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed *Scythians*, either within *Imaus* or without, to the number of 100. severall Nations are by *Ptolomie* precisely set downe.

But to come to those later Authours, whereof some haue written, others haue scene a great part of those North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these mountains is also beyond our purpose.) *Scythia intra Imaum montem ea est, quæ proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridie Sacæ, Sogdiani, Margiani, usque ad Oxam in Hyrcanum mare excurrit; & parte ipsius maris hinc usque ad Rhæi fluminis ostia terminatur. Scythia within the mountain Imaus is that part of the world, which in their owne speech is at this time called Gassaria; and the same is bounded on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica, (or of Asia) on the East by the Imaum mountains: on the North by unknowne lands: on the South by the Sacæ (which are the Sacæ) the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a*

Rha now Volga.

Gen. 2. Asia.
Is. 47. 3.

Ad meridiem
flecto hylharo
partem septentrionem
natis ponte Eu-
xini usque in ostium
Caucasii fluminis
unde reliquis à
parte dextra
Colchis, Iberia,
Albania, in lit-
tus Hyrcani
maris præuenit.
Syl. 4. 1. 30.

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*, to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (quæ magna sive regio est, & quæ innumerabiles nationes complectitur, Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations, (saith *Niger*, much of it being betwene *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant vs, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plaine, he disfigureth *Sarmatia* it selfe from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, which hee leaueh on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound of *Scythia*.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian*, or *Scythian* Nations; neither doth his fellow *Fricus John Planerpius* (cited by *Vincenius* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus* an *Armenian* borne, of the bloud of those Kings, (though afterward a Monke) euer acknowledge himselfe for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* races descended: though he write that storie at large, gathered by *Nicholaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of *Pope Clement* the fifth) in the year 1307. published.

Neither doth *Mathias a Michou* (a Canon of *Craconia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* borne, and that traualled a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, finde *Armenia* any way within the compasse of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose traualles are extant) hath obserued so much of those Regions as he hath done: prouing and disproving many things; heretofore subiect to dispute. And among others hee be- lieth that ancient and receiued opinion. That out of the mountains *Riphei*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the Riuers of *Tanais* or *Dni*, *Volga* or *Edel*; prouing by vnanswerable experience, that there are no such mountains in rerum natura; and (indeed) the heads and fountaines of those famous Riuers, are now by the trade of *Muscovia* knowne to euery Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low wooddie,

and

and marsh grounds. The River of *Tanais* or *Don*, riseth to the South of the Citie *Tulla*, some twentie English miles, out of a Lake called *Ivanowesero* in the great wood *Okenitzkies* or *Iepiphanielles*. *Volga*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Ede*, riseth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great wood *Volkonzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of *Borysthenes* (now *Nycep*) and *Dniuns* or *Sig-Herbestia*. In *Sarmatia* of Europe are the Regions of *Russians*, *Lithuanians*, *Muscovians*, and those adioyning, bounded on the West by the River of *Vistla*, the name perchance misprinted *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a River which parts *Germanie* and *Sarmatia*: and for the

- 10 East border he nameth *Tanais* or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from Europe by the same River of *Tanais*, and the *Caspian* Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther East: this *Asian* *Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomie* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*, *Scythia within the mountaine Imaus*. And the same *Mathias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Amnius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* till selfe about three hundred and a few odd yeares before his owne time: these be his wordes. *Constat cum esse gentem novam, & adventitiam a partibus Orientis, (mutatis scilicet) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Asia Sarmatium ingressam, it is manifest (saith he, speaking of the Scythian Nation) that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coast of the East: from whence they entred into Asia, and gat new seates a little more then three hundred yeares since*. For (indeede) before that time the *Goths* or *Poulovi* inhabited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Mathias* liued in the year 1511. and this his discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Augustin* in the year 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the East, for in the East it was that the *Arke of Noah* rested; and the *Scythians* were those people which liued at the North foot of those mountaines of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or beginne to mixe themselves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimony then the generall description of the earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolomie*, it is plaine, that betwene all parts of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* Sea, on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeede) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariaci*) betwene *Taxarus* and *Iactus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariaci*, or *Scythia Ariaci* which *Amnius* placeth in *Armenia*, more then the *Scythians* of Europe?

†. VIII.

The first argument, The Vine must grow naturally neare the place where the *Arke* rested.

- 40 TO this if we adde the consideration of this part of the Text, That No A N planted a Vineyard, we shall finde that the fruit of the Vine or Rayfin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Arke* was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder Countrey. For *Tyrrenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at such time as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italie*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gauls* remained betwene the *Pyrenai* and the *Alpes*, neare unto the *Scenones*, where they continued a long time, until they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italie*; and after they tasted thereof they halted to inhabite that Countrey, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeared, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in *France*, but from *Italie* brought thither; as by *Saturne* from elsewhere into *Italie*.

Gen. 9. 20.

Servius Eutocius, Eusebius.

Now it is manifest that *Noah* trauielled not farre to seeke out the Vine. For the plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counsaile how to dispose of the world among his children: and the first thing he did was to till the ground, and to plant a Vineyard, after his sacrifice and thanks-giuing to God; and wherefoeuer the *Arke* rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare that he trauielled farre: for the Scriptures teach vs, that he was a Husbandman, and not a Wanderer.

†. I X.

Answere to an obiection out of the wordes of the Text. The Lord scattered them from thence vpon the face of the whole earth.

And that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinar*, it doth not appeare, sauing that it may be inferred out of these wordes (from thence) because it is written: So the Lord scattered them from thence vpon all the earth; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these wordes of *Sybilis* (as they are conuerted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinar*, for they haue this limitation. *Quidam eorum turrem edificauerunt altissimam, quasi per eam caelum essent aspersuri, Certaine of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to haue sealed the heavens.*

†. X.

An answer to the obiection from the name of *Ararat*, taken for *Armenia*: and the height of the hilles there.

But before I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see and consider, what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out to make it true or probable, that the *Arke* of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the mountaines of *Armenia*. For the Text hath only these wordes. The *Arke* rested on (or vpon) the mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia* (saith the marginal note of the *Geneue*, the *Chaldean Paraphrast* calls it *Kardu*; of which the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* do not conuert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a mountaine of *Armenia*, because *Armenia* it selfe had anciently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, that the *Arke* first fate thereon.

But these suppositions haue no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of those mountaines of equall stature to many other mountaines of the world; and yet it doth not follow, that the *Arke* found the highest mountaine of all other to rest on: for the *Plaines* were also vncouered, before *Noah* came out of the *Arke*. Now if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, wee might giue more credit to the conceit. For in the bookes of the *Sybilis* it is written, that the mountaines of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, vpon which it was supposed that the *Arke* stayed after the flood. And the better to particularize the place and seate of these mountaines, and to proue them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*, they are placed where the Citie of *Calenes* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description thee maketh mention of *Marsyas*, a River which runneth through part of *Phrygia*, and afterward ioyneth it selfe with the River *Meander*, which is farre from the *Gordian* mountaines in *Armenia*. Wee may also finde a great mistaking in *Iosephus*, (though out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Iosephus* sets *Ararat* betwene *Armenia* and *Parthia* toward *Adiabene*, and affirmeth

Gen. 8. 14.

Epiph. l. 4. c. 15. *Ararat*.

affirmeth withall, that in the Prouince of *Caron* by others *Kuros* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the waters haue from thence no descent, nor issue out, the people vvaunt that they had in those dayes rescued some peeces of *Noahs Arke*. But *Parthus* toucheth no where vpon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Prouince of *Assyria*: so that all *Medua* and a part of *Assyria* is betwene *Parthus* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discouerie of the mountaines *Gordias* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Iosephus*; yet the Text which *Iosephus* citeth out of *Berosus*, differs farre from the wordes of that *Berosus*, which wandereth vp and downe in these dayes, set out by *Annus*. For *Berosus* cited by *Iosephus* hath these wordes.

- 10 *Pertur & nauis huius pars in Armenia, apud montem Gordiarum superesse, & quosdam bitumen inde abrosam secum reportare*, quo vice annuleti loci huius homines uti solent, (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in *Armenia* vpon the *Gordian* mountaines; and that diuers doe scrape from it the bitumen or pitch, and carrying it with them, they vse it in steade of an annulet. But *Annus* his Edition of the fragment of *Berosus* vseth these wordes. *Nam eleuata ab aquis in Gordia montis vertice quicuius, cuius adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa bitumen tollere quo maxime vtuntur ad expiationem*, For the whole *Arke* being lifted vp by the waters, rested on the top of the *Gordian* mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the bitumen to purge by sacrifice therewith: so as in these two Texts (belides the difference of wordes) the name is diuersly written. The ancient *Berosus* writes *Gordias* with a (C) and the Fragment *Gordias* with a (G:) the one that the Bitumen is vsed for a preseruative against poyson or incantment; the other in sacrifice; And if it be said that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by neither from any certain knowledge, nor from any approved Author: for one of them vseth the word (*fortur*) the other (*dicitur*) the one, that so it is reported, the other, that so it is said, and both by heare say, and therefore of no authoritie nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report after it, nor giue credit to any thing they receiue from it.

- Furthermore, these mountaines which *Ptolomie* calls *Gordias*, are not those mountaines which himselfe giueth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the mountaines of *Armenia Moschici*. These be his owne wordes: *Montes Armenia nominantur ij, qui Moschici appellantur, qui protendantur vsq, ad superiorem partem Ponti Cappadociam; & mons qui Parayardi dicitur, The mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, which stretch along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians; also the hill which is called Parayardi; which mountaines Plinie calleth Pariedri, and both which lye to the North of Gordias or Baris, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the Gordian mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from the Northernmost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were first Gordians and then Georgians, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of Persia and Turkie, doe still remaine Christians. Concerning the other suppositions, that the mountaines of Gordias, otherwise Baris Kardior Lubar, (which *Ptolomie* calleth Togordion) are the highest of the world, the same is absolutely false.*

† XI.

Of *Caucesus*, and diuers farre higher hills then the *Armenian*.

- For the best *Cosmographers* with other, that haue seene the mountaines of *Armenia*, finde them farre inferiour, and vnder-set to diuers other mountaines euen in that part of the world, and elsewhere: as the mountaine *Athos* betwene *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacus*, (saith *Cassiodorus*) is farre surmounting any mountaine that euer hath bene seene in *Armenia*: for it casteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is seuen and thirtie miles and vpwards: of which *Platarch*. *Athos adumbrat latera Lemnie bonis, Athos* shadeth with the Cow of *Lemnos*.

Aristot. Met. sec.
lib. 1. c. 13.

nos. Also the mount of *Olympus* in *Theſſalie*, is ſaid to be of that height, as neither the windes, cloudes, or raine ouertop it. Again, the mountaine of *Antandrus* in *Myſia*, not farre from *Ida*, whence the River *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is alſo of a farre more admiſion then any in *Armenia*, and may bee ſcene from *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo in *Mauritania* neare the Sea, the famous mountaines of *Atlas*, of which *Herodotus*. Extat in hoc mari *Monts*, cui nomen *Atlas*, ita ſublimis eſſe dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium peruenire non poſint, Upon this coaſt there is a mountaine called *Atlas*, whose height is ſaid to be ſuch, as the eye of no mortall man can diſcerne the top thereof. And if we may beleuee *Aristotle*, then are all theſe inferior to *Caucasus*, which hee maketh the moſt notorious both for breadth 10 and height. *Caucasus mons omnium maximus, qui aſium ad ortum ſunt, acrimine atq; latitudine, cuius iuga à Sole radiantior uſq; ad conſinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occaſu, Caucasus* (ſaith *Aristotle*) is the greateſt mountaine both for breadth and height of all thoſe in the North-eaſt, whose tops are lightened by the Sunne beames, uſq; ad conſinium (which is ſaith *Macrobius*) betwene the firſt crowing after midnight and the breake of day: Others affirme that the top of this mountaine holds the Sunne beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot beleuee either: for the higheſt mountaine of the world knowne is that of *Tenriffe* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Weſtward of it for 1000. leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enioy the Sunnes companie at any ſuch late houres. Beſides, theſe mountaines which *A- 20* *ristotle* calleth *Caucasus*, are thoſe which ſeparate *Colchis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth diuide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, from *Sarmatia*: for hee acknowledgeth that the River of *Phisus* riſeth in the ſame mountaine, which himſelfe calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phisus* ſpringeth from thoſe hilles which ſunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which River (it is maniſeſt) yeeldeth it ſelfe to the Sea two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howſoeuer *Mercator* bring it from *Peryardes*.

†. XII.

Of diuers incongruities, if in this ſtorie we ſhould take *Ararat* for *Armenia*.

30

So as it doth firſt appeare, that there is no certaintie what mountaine *Ararat* was: for the bookes of the *Sybil* ſet it in *Phrygia*: and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authoritie, thoſe men haue great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Bariſ* was the higheſt hill, and therefore moſt likely that the *Arke* grounded thereon, the aſſertion and ſuppoſition haue equall credit: for there are many hils which exceede all thoſe of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *Arke* ſhould fit on the higheſt. 40

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any ſuch Hill in *Armenia*, or in verum *natura*, as *Bariſ* (ſaith *Iherome*) ſignifieth high Towers: and ſo may all high hils be called indifferently; and therefore wee may better giue the name of *Bariſ* to the hils of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riſeth) then to any hils of *Armenia*. For thoſe of *Caucasus* in the Eaſt, are vndoubtedly the higheſt of *Aſia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themſelues doe not agree in what Region the mountaines *Gordian* ſtand: for *Ptolomie* diſtinguiſheth the mountaines of *Armenia* from the *Gordian*, and calleth thoſe of *Armenia* *Mofchici* and *Paryardes*, as aforeſaid. Now *Paryardes* is ſeated neare the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the Weſt ſiden riſeth *Euphrates*, and out of the Eaſt ſide *Araxis*: and the mountaines *Mofchici* are thoſe hils which diſioyne *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Countrie of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*. 50

†. XIII.

†. XIII.

of the contrarie situation of Armenia to the place noted in the Text : and that it is no marvaile that the same ledge of hills running from Armenia to India should keepe the same name all along : and even in India be called *Ararat*.

L Asfly, we must blow vp this mountaine *Ararat* it selfe; or else wee must digge it downe, and carrie it out of Armenia; or finde it elsewhere, and in a warme country, and (withall) set it East from *Shinar*: or else wee shall wound the truth it selfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to euery eye, wee must vnderstand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one hill, so called, no more then any one hill among those mountaines which diuide *Italy* from *France* is called the *Alpes*: or any one among those which part *France* from *Spain* is the *Pyrenian*; but as these being continuations of many hills keepe one name in diuers Countries: so all that long ledge of mountaines, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomie* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, vntill they encounter and crosse the mountaines of the great *Imaus*, are of one generall name, and are called the mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabout they seeme to arise. So all these mountaines of *Ibercia*, *Armenia*, *Corasie*, *Caspji*, *Moschici*, *Amazonic*, *Heniuchi*, *Sythui*, (thus diuersly called by *Plinie* and others) *Ptolomie* calls by one name *Caucasus*, lying between the Seas *Caspium* and *Euxinum*: as all those mountaines which cut a funder *America*, cuen from the new Kingdome of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these mountaines of *Ararat* runne East and West: so doe those maruailous mountaines of *Imaus* stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well neare are called by the name of *Imaus*, euen as *Plinie* calleth these former hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the hills of *Ararat*. The reason of severall names giuen by *Ptolomie* was thereby the better to distinguish the

Plinie in his description of *Ibercia* l. 5. c. 27.

30 great Regions and Kingdomes, which these great mountaines bound and disseuer; as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Suliana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Arta*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropamisus*: hauing all these Kingdomes either on the North or South side of them. For all the mountaines of *Asia* (both the lesse and the greater) haue three generall names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receiue other titles, as they seuer and diuide particular places and regions. For these mountaines which funder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the lesse on the North side, are called *Taurus*; and those mountaines which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amansus*: the mountaines called *Taurus* running East and West, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus* the Riuer of *Euphrates* for-
40 ceth her passage, leauing the name of *Amansus* to the mountaines on her West banke; and on her East side the mountaines are sometimes knowne by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomies* three tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates*: (as in the fourth) retaining that vncertaine appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the Riuer of *Tygris* cutteth them afunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, vntill they separate *Assyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Coatras*, though betwene the vpper and nether *Media*, they doe not appeare, but altogether discontinue. For at *Alacasia* in *Media* they are not found, but runne through the Easterne *Media* by peeces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves *Orentes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*; out of the Southerne
50 part whereof the Riuer of *Bagradas* riseth, which diuideth the ancient *Persia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they giue to the *Parthians* and *Ibercians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the mountaines of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the Riuer *Margus*, afterward yeelding her selfe to *Oxus*: (now *Abia*) and drawing now neare their waies

end, they first make themselves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the title of *Paropamisus*; and lastly of *Caucasi*, even where the famous River of *Indus* with his principal companions *Hydaspis* and *Zaradrus* spring forth, and take beginning. And here doe these mountaines build themselves exceeding high, to equall the strong hills called *Imaus* of *Seythia*, which encounter each other in 35. 36. and 37. degrees of latitude, and in 140. of longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delaguer*, and the rest *Negracut*; and these mountaines in this place onely are properly called *Caucasi* (saith *Ptoleme*;) that is, betweene *Paropamisus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

Produb, Alpe.

10

†. XIII.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the mountaine Caucaſi and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the soile.

NOW in this part of the world it is, where the mountaine and River *Indus*, and the mountaine *Nysus* (so called of *Bacchus Nysus* or *Nysa*) are found: and on these highest mountaines of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the *Ake* of *Nash* grounded after the flood: of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indosythicus* hee hath many good arguments, though mixt with other fantastical opinions of this subiect. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same line, and in 34. 35. and 36. degrees of Septentrional latitude are the most delicate Wines of the world, namely, in *Judea*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*, and vnder these mountaines, *Strabo* affirmeth that the most excellent Vines of the world are found; the clusters of grapes containing two cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the land by *Moses* direction found bunches of equall bignesse at *Esoel*.

Nam. 13. 24.

The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottom of these hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana* neare the mountaine of *Meros* did *Alexander* feast himselfe and his Armie ten dayes together, finding therein the most delicate wine of all other.

†. XV.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of diuers chiefe points.

40

AND therefore to concludethis opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those mountaines doe also trauersfe *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it selfe sometime is knowne by the name of *Ararat*. But as *Plinie* giueth to this ledge of high hills, euen from *Cilicia* to *Paropamisus* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the hills of *France* and *Germanie* are called the *Alpes*: and all betweene *France* and *Spaine* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of hills for 3000. miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the generall name which *Moses* gaue them; the diuersitie of appellations no otherwise growing, then by their diuinding and bordering diuers Regions and diuers Countries. For in the like case doe we call the Sea, which entrench by *Gibraltar*, the 50 *Mediterran* and inland Sea; and yet where it walseth the coasts of *Carthage*, and ouer against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: betweene *Italic* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo* *Adriaticum*: betweene *Athens* and *Asia* *Aegæum*: betweene *Scitis* and *Abydus* *Helleſpont*: and after ward *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Bosphorus*. And as in these,

L. 4. c. 27.

these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of *Scotland* called *Denealedonyem*: and on this side, the *Brittan* Sea: to the East, the *Germane* and *Baltick*; and then the *Frozen*.

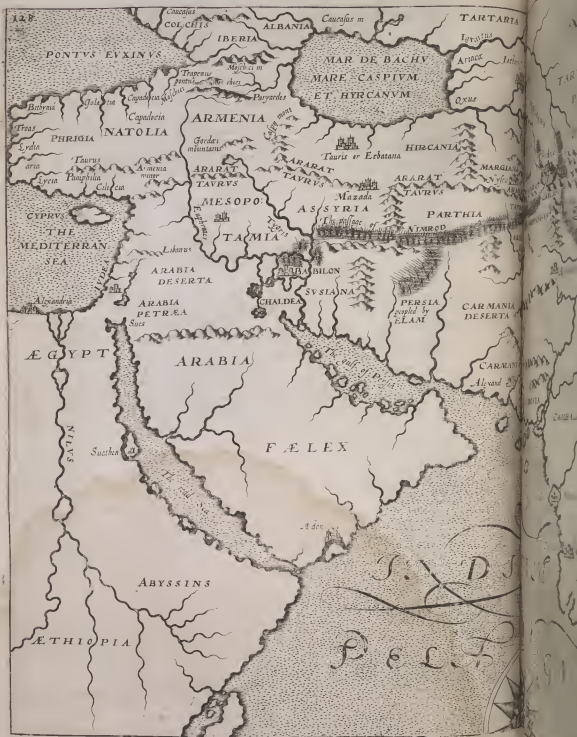
For a final end of this question we must appeale to that Iudge which cannot erre, even to the word of truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other contriuction then the wordes beare literally, because they are vsed to the very same plaine purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely where the sense is plaine, (and being so vnderstood, it bringeth with it no sublequent inconuenience or contrarietie) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our selues any new or strange expolition; and (withall) to resolute our selues, that euerie word (as aforesaid) hath his waight in Gods Booke. And therefore wee must respect and reuerence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as *St. Augustine* hath taught vs touching the Gospell of *Christ Iesus* (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat, quod narraturibus discipulis Christi in Euangelio legerit, quam si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gelat abbat, confixerit.* That no man otherwise take or vnderstand that which hee readeth in the Gospell, (the Disciples of *Christ* hauing written it) then if he had seene the vorie hand of the Lord, which hee bare in his owne bodie, setting it downe.

- 20 The wordes then of *Moses* which end this dispute are these. *And as they went from the East they found a Plaine in the land of Shinar, and there they abode,* which proeth without controuersie, that *Nimrod* and all with him came from the East into *Shinar*; and therefore the *Arke* of *Noah* rested and tooke land to the Eastward thereof. For wee must remember, that in all places wherefoever *Moses* maketh a difference of Countries, hee alwayes precisely nameth toward what quarters of the world the same were seated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Iocan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a mount in the East: where hee remembereth *Cains* departure from the presence of God, he addeth. *And Cain dwelt in the land of Nod towards the East side of Eden:* And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham* after he departed from *Sechem*, he vsed these wordes. *Afterwardes remoouing thence vnto a mountaine Eastward from Bethel, he pitched his Tentes: hauing Bethel on the West side, and Hai on the East:* and afterwarde in the ninth verse of the same chapter it is written. *And Abraham went forth iourneying towards the South:* also when *Ezechiel* prophced of *Gog* and *Magog*, hee sheweth that these nations of *Togorma* were of the North quarters: and of the Queene of *Saba* it is written, that shee came from the South to visite *SALOMON*: And the *Magi* (or *wise men*) came out of the East to offer presents vnto *Christ*. And that all Regions, and these traualles were precisely set downe vpon the points of the Compasse and quarters of the World, it is most manifest: for *Eder* was due East from *India*, *Saba* South from *Hierusalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Aegypt* directly South, and the *Calefrians*, the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Palatima*: and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that valley of *Babylonia*, is not a iourneying from the East, nor so neare vnto the East as the North: for *Armenia* is to the West of the North it selfe; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose handes the holy Ghost directed) that hee erred toto caelo, and that hee knew not East from West. For the body of *Armenia* standeth in fortie three degrees Septentrionall, and the North part thereof in fortie five; and those *Gordian* mountaines, whereon it was supposed that the *Arke* rested, stand in fortie one. But *Babylonia*, and the valley of *Shinar* are situated in thirtie five, and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference betwene East and West) the *Gordian* mountaines stand in 75 degrees, and the valley of *Shinar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinar* North-west, ninetie fivedegrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had bene but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the compasse. But *Gregorie* and *Licome* warne vs, In scripturis ne

minima differentia omitti debet: nam singula sermones, syllabæ, apices, et puncta in diuina scriptura plena sunt sensibus, in the scriptures the least difference may not bee omitted: for every speech, syllable, note, or accent, and point in diuine scriptures are replenished with their meanings. And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth vs that the children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not beleue Writers (of little authoritie) who also speake by hearefay and by report, *ut fertur, et ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all aduenture. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinar* lyeth West from the place where the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the flood; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first ciuill, 10 which had *Noah* himselfe for an instructor: and directly East from *Shinar* in the same degree of 35. are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also, which ouertopped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, proue that those parts were first planted: And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor reason sufficient: for my selfe I build on his wordes who in plaine termes hath told vs, that the Sonnes of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Arke* rest on those Easterne mountaines, called by one generall name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the mountaines of *Ararat*, and not on those mountaines of the North-west, as *Berosus* first fained, whom most part of the Writers haue followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentifull warme East where *Noah* rested, 20 where he planted the Vine, where hee tilled the ground and liued thereon. *Placuit uero NOACHO agricultura studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eam rem sua ipsius lingua ISH-ADAMATH (hoc est) telluris uir appellatur celebratusq; est, The studie of Husbandrie pleased NOAH (saith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANVS) in the knowledge and order of which it is said, that NOAH excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth. Which also sheweth that hee was no wanderer: and that hee troubled not himselfe with the contentions, beginning againe in the world, and among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where hee was first deliuered out of the prison of the Arke,* 30 whereinto God had committed him to preferue him and mankind.

39

19





[illegible]

CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the flood; and of the
Sonnes of NOAH, SEM, HAM, and IAP-
HET, by whom the earth was
repeopled.

10

§. I.

Whether SHEM and HAM were elder then IAPHET.



OF these Sonnes of Noah, which was the eldest, there is a question made. St. Augustine esteemed Shem for the eldest, Ham for the second, and Iaphet for the youngest: and herein the opinions of Writers are diuers. But this we finde euery where in the Scriptures, and especially in Moser, that there was neuer any respect giuen to the eldest in years, but in vertue, as by the examples of Henoch, Abraham, Iacob, and David, is made manifest. In a few wordes, this is the ground of the controuersie? The Latine translation, and so the Geneva, hath conuerted this Scripture of Genesis the 10. v. 21. in these wordes. *Unto SHEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER, and elder brother of IAPHET, were children borne.* But Iunius agreeing with the Septuagint, placeth the same wordes in this manner. *To SHEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER, and brother of IAPHET, the eldest sonne were children borne:* So the transposition of the word (*elder*) made this difference. For if the word (*elder*) had followed after Iaphet, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it bene as plaine for Iaphet, as it is by these translations for Shem. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last in blood, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for Iaphet then for Shem. And where the Scriptures are plainly vnderstood without any danger or inconuenience, it seemeth strange why any man of iudgement should make valuation of coniectural arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that Noah in the fift hundredth yeare of his life, begat the first of his three Sonnes, Shem, Ham, and Iaphet: and in the sixe hundredth yeare (to wit) the hundredth yeare following, came the generall flood; two yeares after which Shem begat Arphaxad, which was in the yeare 602. of Noahs life, and in the yeare of Shems life one hundred: so as Shem was but 100. yeares old, two yeares after the flood: and Noah begat his first borne being 500. yeares old; and therefore, were Shem the elder, he had then bene a hundred yeares old at the flood, and in the sixe hundredth yeare of Noahs life, and not two yeares after. Which seeing the Scripture before remembred hath denyed him, and that it is also written. *Then NOAH awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger sonne had done vnto him (to wit) HAM;* of necessitie the first place doth belong to Iaphet. This younger sonne so conuerted by the vulgar and Geneva, Iunius turnes it *filius minimus*, his youngest sonne; but St. Chrysostome takes it otherwise, and findes Cham to be the middle or second brother, and Iaphet the youngest sonne of all: which Cham for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father, (whose nakednesse hee derided) was disinherited, and lost the preheminencie of his birth, as Esau and Reuben did. Per-
rins conceiued that Ham was called the younger in respect of Shem the eldest, but
Euphrates 2. oct. 30. 8. 117. 12. 130. 1. 3. 6. 157. 227. auoweth

Augst. de Ciuit.
Dil. 1. 6. 3.

Gen. 10. 21.

Gen. 11. 10.

Gen. 11. 34.

In Gen.

281. 203. 244

auoweth withall, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of *younger* and *youngest*, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himselfe was alwaies named in the first place, yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet*: in the second Verse *Moses* leaueth to beginne with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Japhet* first. So the first place was giuen to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this waightie respect, that the Hebrew-Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *Dauid*, and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether wee shall follow the *Vulgar Pagninus*, and the *Genens*, who agree in this conuersion, *SHEM frater IAPHET maior*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Iunius*, and *Tremelius*, *SHEM fratri IAPHET maioris*; or with *Pererius*, *SHEM frater IAPHET ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Japhet*, let the Reader iudge. But for ought that I haue scene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former argument, That *Shem*'s age at the time of the flood did not agree with his eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that *SHEM was an hundred yeares old*, and begat *ARPHAXAD* two yeares after the flood; and againe in the 12. Verse. *So SHELA* lived after he begat *ENAH*, *four hundred and three yeares*, &c. so as the number of two yeares, of three yeares, of five yeares, and afterward of two yeares were alwaies 10 precisely accounted.

Gen. ix. 10.

§. II.

Of diuers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world, as that all Histories must yeeld to *MOSES*: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that the knowne great Lordes of the first ages were of the issue of *HAM*.

BVt let vs go vnto the worlds plantation after the flood, which being rightly vnderstood, we shall finde that many Nations haue supposed or fained themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which neuer saw or approached the bounds of their countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures howe the Sonnes and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Authour may receiue allowance herein, the same must bee with this caution. That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farre as the storie of Nations is therein handled, wee must know that both the truth and antiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or authoritie. All record, memorie, and testimonie of antiquitie whatsoeuer, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath bene borrowed thence, and therefore later then it, as all careful obseruers of time haue noted: among which thus writeth *Eusebius* in the Proeme of his Chronologic. *MOSES is found more ancient then all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as HOMER, HESIOD, and the Trojan warre; and farre before HERCULES, MYSAEVS, LINVS, CHIRON, ORPHEVS, CASTOR, POLLVS, ASCVLAPVS, BACCHVS, MERCVRVS, and APOLLO, and the rest of the Gods of the Nations, their ceremonies, or holy rites, or Prophets: and before all the deedes of IVPITER, whom the Greekes haue seated in the toppes and highest Turrets of their Diuinitie.*

38

Cicero de nat.
Deorum, l. 3.

For of the three *Iupiters* remembered by *Cicero*, the ancientest was the sonne of *Aether*, whose three sonnes begotten on *Proserpina*, were borne at *Athens*, of which *Cicero* says was the first King: and in the end of *Cicero*'s time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Aegypt*. *Eduxit MOSES populum Deice Aegypti nouissimo tempore*

por *CECROPIS Atheniensis Regis*, *MOSES* brought the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, in the last dayes of *CECROPIS* King of the *Athenians* saith *St. Augustine*; and yet *Dr. Cuius. Dab. l. 18. c. 11.* was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the *Cittie* it selfe, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diuersly proued, and by many learned Authours, I will not cut a sunder the purpose in hand by alleading many authorities in a needlesse question, but leaue it to the proper place.

10 The Sonnes of *Iaphet* were,

<i>Gomer.</i>	{ The Sonnes of <i>Gomer</i> were,	<i>Askenaz.</i>
<i>Magog.</i>		<i>Riphath.</i>
<i>Madai.</i>		<i>Togorma.</i>
<i>Ianan.</i>		
<i>Tubal.</i>	{ The Sonnes of <i>Ianan</i> were,	<i>Elisha.</i>
<i>Meflach.</i>		<i>Tarshis.</i>
and		<i>Kitim.</i>
<i>Tiras.</i>		<i>Dodanim.</i>

First, we are to consider that the world after the flood was not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings to flie from *Shinar* to the vitermost border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia* in halke, but that these children were directed by a wife Father, who knew those parts of the world before the flood, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as discoverers, or at all-adventure, but assigned and allotted to euery Sonne and their issues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authours, who haue no other end then to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus* in the fiction of *Aeneas*) or else to glorifie their owne Nations; Let vs build herein vpon the Scriptures themselves, and after them vpon reason and nature. First, therefore wee must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth euery where had in the 130. year after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfulllest valleys with our owne barren and cold ground, informe our selues thereby, what wonderfull desarts, what insupportable fastnesse of woods, reedes, bryars, and rotten grasse, what Lakes and standing Pooles, and what marshes, Fens and bogges, all the face of the earth (excepting the mountaines) was pestered withall. For if in this our climate (where the dead and destroying winter doth preffeth all vegetatiue and growing nature, for one halfe of the year in effect) yet in twentie or thirtie yeares these our grounds would all ouergrow and be couered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods or with other offenseue thickets and bushments: much more did all sorts of plants, reedes, and trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Vallies, and in the climate of a long and warme Sommer, and hauing withall the start of 130. yeares, to raise themselves without controulement.

This being considered it will appeare, that all these people which came into *Shinar*, and ouer whome *Nimrod* either by order or strength tooke the dominion, did after the confusion of languages, and at such time as they grew to bee a mightie people disperse themselves into the Regions adioyning to the said vally of *Shinar*, which contained the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*; and from the border thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both East and West from *Shinar*, with the Dominion of *Palestina*, which the *Canaanites* first posselt; yet could hee not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the suddaine, but by time and degrees. For we find, that *Abraham* the true successor of *Shem* dwelt in *Chaldea* at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he reuerted to *Sichem* in *Palestina*: from whence after the death of *Thare* he trauielled to *Sichem* in *Palestina*: and yet there had passed betwene *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselves) seven descents, before *Abraham* moued out of *Chaldea*: where, and in *Babylonia*, all those people by *Nimrod* commanded inhabited for many yeares, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Affrya*, and founded *Ninive*. Indeed

deed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as wee can knowe were, in that age of the illiuss of *Ham*; the blessing of God giuen by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking Iesse effect, vntill diuers yeeres were consumed; and vntill the time arriued, which by the wisdome of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan* came the people and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Aegypt* for many descents together.

§. III.

Of the Isles of the Gentiles in *JAPHETS* portion: of *BEROSVS* his too speedie sailing *GOMER* the sonne of *JAPHET* in Italy, and an other of *JAPHETS* sonnes *T V B A L* in Spaine: and of the antiquitie of Longinque Navigation.

TO beginne therefore (where *Moses* beginneth) with the sonnes of *Japhet*, among whom the Isles of the Gentiles were diuided: which diuision, as well to *Japhets* sonnes as to the rest which came into *Shinar*, was (if the diuision were made at *Phaleg* birth) in the year of the world 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the year after the flood one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sonnes of *Japhet* were the Isles of the Gentiles, which include all *Europe* with all the Ilands adioyning, and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea *Hellepont* and *Aegeum*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, sauing that it is fastned to *Asia* by the North, for it hath those seas before named to the East, the *Mediterran* to the South and South-west, the Ocean to the West, and *Brittish*, *Germane* and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciare* to the North Northeast, and Northwest. Besides, it hath about it all the *Glaciades* or Isles lying betweene *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the Isles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Creet* or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Isles of *Brittaine* and *Zealand*, with their yong ones adiacent.

This partition and portion of *Japheth*, with the part which he held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*. Dilate Deus *JAPHETH*, Let God spread abroad (or increase the posteritie of) *JAPHETH*, and let him dwell in the tents of *SETH*. For though *Iunius* here vseth the word (*alliciat*) and not *dilate*: and the *Genes* perswade; yet the *Septuagint* haue *dilate* or *amplificet*, and such was the blessing giuen to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seed for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the posteritie of *Japheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of territories; but that thereby they should be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Japhets* sonnes, of whome *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if wee may beleue *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late writers haue followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrods* raigne depart from *Babylonia* and planted *Italie*: which also *Functius* confirmeth in these words. Anno decimo *NIMROD*, *Ege* in the tenth year of *NIMROD*s raigne, *COMERVS* *GALLVS* planted a Colonie in that land afterward called *Italie*: and in the twelfth year of the same *NIMROD*s raigne *T V B A L* seated himselfe in *Asturia* in Spaine (now called *Biscay*) which was in the 140. and in the 142. yeeres after the flood, according to *BEROSVS*. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of tongues the children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinar*. Let vs therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a Citie and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie meanes to performe such a worke as *Nimrod* had crected (and as *Functius* himselfe out of his Authour *Berosus* witnesseth), ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium, to the

Gen. 9. 17.

Funct. Coron.

the height and magnitude of the mountaines. Sure that both this Cittie and Tower were almost builded the Scriptures witnesseth. *But the Lord came down to see the Cittie and Tower, which the Sonnes of men builded.* Let vs then but allot a time sufficient for the making of bricke to such a worke, of the greatest height (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that euer was. For where the vnuersall flood covered the highest mountaines fiftene cubits; *Let vs build vs a Cittie and a Tower* (saith Nimrod) *whose top may reach vnto the heauen:* meaning, that they would raise their worke about fiftene cubits higher then the highest mountaine, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the feare of a second inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the worke. They also beganne this building vpon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters forcibly ouerbearing and ouerflowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approved also by the Prophet *Iheremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these wordes. *Thou that dwellest vpon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantiall foundation, for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which *Glycys* vpon *Genesis* giueth fortie yeares. For it seemeth, that the Tower was neare finished when God ouerthrew it: it being afterward written, *So the Lord scattered them from thence vpon all the earth, and they left to build the Cittie.* Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Tower is not then named) that they very neare had performed the worke of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the Cittie adioyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the tower was throwne downe) these nations did not disperse themselves: *for from thence the Lord scattered them vpon all the earth,* (that was) when they perceived not one an others speech. Now to thinke that this worke in the newnesse of the world (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeares; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same yeare could crepe through 3000. miles of Desert, with women, children, and cattel: let those light beleeuers, that neither tye themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason, approue it, for I doe not. And if the *Arke of Noah* was 100. yeares in building, or but neare such a time; (and then) when the world had flood - 1556. yeares; it were more then foolishnes and madnes it selfe, to thinke that such a worke as this could be performed in ten; when the world (from the flood to the arrivall at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeares, and whereof they had spent some part in trauielling from the East. Again, if all *Assuete* to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that worke 400. yeares (or be it but halfe that time) and in such an age as when the world flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plentie of materials and carriages: This worke of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few yeares remembered. And for conclusion, let all men of iudgement weigh with themselves how impossible it was for a Nation or familie of men, with their wiues and children, and cattel, to traualle 3000. miles through woods, bogges, and deserts, without any guide or conductor; and we shall finde it rather a worke of 100. yeares then of 100. dayes. For in the West Indies, of which the *Spaniards* haue the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor guide, they haue not entred the Countrie ten miles in ten yeares. And if *Nimrods* people spent many yeares by the account before remembered in passing from the *East-Indies* or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 15. degrees of longitude, vntill they came into *Shinar* which lyeth in 79. degrees (the distance between those places containing 36. degrees, which make 720. leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keepe the mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betweene *Babylon* and *Bissey* is much more: for the bodie of *Bissey* lyeth in ten degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinar*, (as aforesaid) in 79. so the length of way from *Shinar* to *Affrica* or *Bissey* is 69. degrees, which make 1380. leagues, or

175 234 273 N
175 234 273 N

of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* tooke diuers yeares to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles : or (supposing that the *Arke* rested in *Armenia*) little above 400 miles : there is no caule to the contrary , but to allow as many yeares to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to trauaile 3000 miles to countries lesse knowne vnto them by farre; then the land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradyse* was knowne to *Noah* before the flood : and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterward remembred; but what hee vnderstood of most part of the world els it is vnkowne. And therefore did *Annus* ill aduise himselfe to plant *Gomer* in *Italie*, and *Tubal* in *Spaine*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrods* raigne: *Shall the earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a nation be borne at once?* But it may be obiected, That the *Sonnes of Iapheth* might come by Sea, and so faue this great trauaile through *Desarts* by land. But we neuer read of any navigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarque so greata people as we may iustly suppose those conducters carried with them, will not easily beleue, that there were any vessels in those daies to transport Armies, and (withall) their cattle, by whose milke they liued and fed their children : for milke and fruit were the banquetting dishes of our forefathers. And in the eld times, euen the Kings and Fathers of nations valued themselves by the heards and numbers of their Cattle : who had flocks of sheepe, and great droues and herds of their owne, and their owne sheep-herds and heardsmen. Now if *Tubal* had past by Sea from any part of *Palästina*, *Syria*, or *Cilicia*, hee might haue made good choice within the Streights, and not haue ouergone *Granado*, *Valentia*, and other Prouinces in that Tract : past the Streights of *Gibraltar*, disdained all *Andalusia* and *Portugal*, with all those goodly Ports and countries; and haue sought out the yron, wooddie, and barren Countrie of the world (called *Biscay*) by a long and dangerous navigation. But before the iourney of the *Argonauts* there were scarce any vessels that durst crosse the Seas in that part of the world : and yet that which *Iason* had (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knowes) and perchance such as they vse this day in *Ireland* : which although it carryed but foure and fiftie passengers, yet was it farre greater then any of the former times: *Erat enim antea paruum nauticulus, nunc vñsus, For in former times they used very small Vessells.* I denie not but that the *Tyrians* gaue themselves of late to farre-off navigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the inuention of ships vnto them.

Diod. Sicul. l. 4.
ca. foli. 12. p. 1.
rum vsus, For in former times they used very small Vessells.

Tibull. El. 3.
Strabo. l. 16.

Primaratem ventis credere docti Tyros.

Tyros knew first how ships might vse the winde.

Diod. Sicul. l. 4.
Plin. l. 7. c. 56.

Thucyd.

Plin. l. 7. c. 56.
Encl. de prop.
Euang. c. 1.
Tert. de Coran.
mil.

And for those boates called *longa naues* or Gallies, *Plinie* saith that *Aegestas* ascribeth the deuise to *Paralus*; and *Philostephanus* to *Ison*; *Ctesias* to *Samyras*; and *Aphanus* to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus* to *Aegon* : to which inuention the *Erythraei* are said to haue added certain numbers of Oares : and then *Aminodes* the *Corinthian* to haue increased them : the *Carthaginians* afterwards to haue brought them to foure banks: the *Quing*, *Remi* first to haue bene vied by *Nesichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which Vessels in those parts of the world, the *Romans* serued themselves in the *Pannic* war. But these be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the deuiling of these Gallies on *Sesostrius*, though *Semiramis* vsed them in the passage of her Armie ouer *Indus* in *Abrahams* time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first that brought a ship into Greece : and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the inuention; and yet *Tertullian* (on the contrarie) giues it to *Mimerus*: others to *Noëptine*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the people of those ages, as the *Aegyptians* vsed to coast the shores of the red Sea vpon raftes, deuised by King *Erythrus* : and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Brittains* had a kinde of Boat (with which they crosse the Seas) made of small twigs, and couered ouer with leather:

154 150. 2. 204. 5. 422. 916 210. 336 50

CHAP. 8. §. 4. of the Historie of the World.

135

leather: of which kinde I have seene at the Dingle in Ireland, and elsewhere. *Naves ex corio circumfuta in Oceano Britannice* (saith *Tertul*): of which *Lucan* the Poet:

*Primæ cana salix, medæfacto vimine, parum
Texturæ in puppim, casq; induta iuuenis,
Velloribus patiens tumidum superenatat ænem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoq; Britannus
Navigat Oceano.*

- 10 The moistned Oyster of the hoarie Willow
Is woven first into a little boat:
Then cloath'd in bullocks hide, vpon the bilow
Of a proude River, lightly doth it float
Vnder the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of ouer swelling Poe
Sailes the Venetian: and the Brittan so
On th'out-spred Ocean.

And although it cannot be denyed, when *Noah* by Gods inspiration was instructed
20 in so many particulars concerning the *Arke*, that then many things concerning navigation were first revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference betwene the *Arke* of *Noah*, and such ships as were for any long navigation. Yea ancient stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume vpon any long voyages to Sea: at least with multitudes of women, and children, and cattle: as also common reason can tell vs, that euen now when this Art is come to her perfection, such voyages are very troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appear, that there was not in that age of *Nimrod* any ship, or vñ of ships, fit for any long navigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had passed themselves and their people by Sea; the exercise of navigation would not haue bene dead for so many hundred
30 years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their fables, and all men else to their fancies, who haue cast Nations into Countries farre off, I know not how, I will follow herein the relation of *Moses* and the Prophets: to which truth there is ioynd both nature, reason, policie, and necessitie: and to the rest, neither probability, nor possibillitie.

þ. IIII.

of GOG and MAGOG, TYBAL and MESECH, seated first
about Asia the lesse, out of EZECHIEL.

Cap. 38. 39.

- 40 **N**OW although many learned and reuerend men haue formed (I know not whereby led) a plantation of the world, which also hath bene and is receiued: yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great learned man of this latter age, *Arias Montanus* was also in some things much mistaken: and for *Iosephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a guide to many errors withall, so was he in this plantation of the world very grosse and fabulous, whereby both
50 *Ensebius*, *Iherosolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that haue taken his testimonies for currant, haue bene by him farre misled. But the better to conceiue what Regions of the world *Gomer* the first sonne of *Iaphet* possit, as also *Tubal*, it is needfull to beginne with *Magog*; because the Scriptures take most knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*, which two names haue troubled many Commentators, saith *Math. Beroldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that euer I read) I finde
N 2 most

most iudicious in the examination of this plantation. He takes authoritie from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapter directeth vs, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of all which *Gog* was Prince or chiefe Conduſter in their attempts againſt *Iſrael*. For belides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-eaſt parts of the greater *Aſia*, which *Iapheth*ſſues poſſeſſt, all *Aſia* the leſſe was peopled by them. And that thoſe of the iſſue of *Iapheth* (whom *Ezechiel* ſpeakes of) were ſeated hereabout, it may beſt appear if wee conſider the circumſtances of the place, and the dependencie vpon the former prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, *Ezechiel* prophecieth of the vnting of the two Kingdomes of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, after their deliuerie from captiuitie.

By which prophecie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purpoſed to gather together his people, to giue life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpoſe it is written; And *DAVID* my ſervant ſhall bee King over them, and they ſhall haue one ſheepe-herd, (that is) they ſhall bee vnted as they were in *DAVID*s time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter *Ezechiel* prophecieth againſt thoſe Nations, which ſhould ſecke to impeach this Vnion, and diſturb the people of *Iſrael*, whom God purpoſed to receiue to grice, and promiſed to reſtore. And ſo in the ſame Chapter are thoſe Nations coupled together, which infeſted the *Iſraelites* after their returne, and fought to ſubiect them: all which were the ſubiects or Allies of *Gog*,³⁰ Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Caleſſyrians*, next bordering *Paleſtina* or the holy Land, followed alſo by the reſt of the Nations of *Aſia* the leſſe, which lay North from *Juda*. The wordes of *Ezechiel* are theſe: Some of man ſet thy face againſt *Gog*, and againſt the land of *MAGOG*, the chiefe Princes of *MESIECH* (or *MOSOECH*) and *TUBAL*: and afterward. Behold, I come againſt the chiefe Prince of *MESIECH* and *TUBAL*: and in the ſixth Verſe; *GOMER* and all his bands, and the houſe of *TOGORMA* of the North quarters. Herein *Ezechiel* hauing firſt deliuered the purpoſe of his prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that ſhould in vaine aſſaile *Iſrael*. He ioyneth them together vnder their Prince *Gog*, and ſheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Juda*, and how ſeated and ioyned together. *Gog* ſignifieth in the Hebrew (ſaith *St. Hierome*) *teſtum* or *couering of a houſe*: and *Pintus* vpon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichriſt*: for (ſaith hee) *Antichriſtus erit Diaboli regumētum ſub ſpecie humana, ſicut Antichriſt ſhall be the couering of the Denill vnder humane forme*. Hee addeth that *Magog* is as much to ſay as *Gog*: the letter (*M*) being an Hebrew Prepoſition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from*: ſo he taketh *Magog* for thoſe people which follow *Antichriſt*. So farre *Pintus*; at leaſt in this amiſſe, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one perſon, but for a Nation, with which agreeeth this obſervation of *Beroaldus*. *Magog* (ſaith he) in Hebrew is written *Hum-Magog*, which ſheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the letter (*H*) which is vſed but for an *Emphaſis* (which the Hebrewes call *Heliaicdia*) is neuer added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or according to others the people of *Gog*) alſo Prince of *Meſiech*, (or *Moſoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the firſt Verſe of the 39. Chapter is made manifeſt. Behold, I come againſt thee *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *MESIECH* and *TUBAL*. This muſt needs be meant by the ſucceſſours of *Selenus Nicator*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) ſecke to make the *Iewes* their Tributaries onely, but endeuoured by all means, and by all kinde of violence to extinguiſh the religion it ſelfe (which the Hebrewes profeſſt) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worſhip and ſerue the mortall and rotten Gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead images. *St. Ambroſe* and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike becauſe they invaded *Europe*, and ſucked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* our of *Pomp. Mela* deriues the *Turkes* from the *Scythians*, ckeemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation inhabi

inhabiting a Region, as *Iunius*, who saies that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the Greeke stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having slaine *Candaules* the *Lydean*, gave his owne name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof also the *Gygean* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia*, (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum stagnum*. *Hierodorus* and *Niander* set it about the Rivers of *Hyllus*, and *Maender*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydis*: who after hee had subdued the Countrie about the River *Rhedus* which runneth into the *Hellepont*, called the Promontory *Trapeze* after his owne name *Gyges*. These opinions doe also come to strengthen that of *Iunius*. For *Magog* saith he; that part of *Asia* the lesse, which *Helyattes* obtained, and after him his sonne *Cresus*; who (as *Iunius* further notes) having maistr'd all those Regions as farre South as *Labanus* in that border built the Citie *Gigarta* or *Gogkarta* (which in the Syrian signifieth the Citie of *Gog*) seated in *Calefryia*, whose people were the ancient enemies of the *Jews*.

Strabo lib 13.

Suid.col.207.

Iun.in.Eg. lib. 38.

Now that *Magog* is found in *Calefryia*, *Plinie* affirmeth saying; *Calefryia habet Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syria verò Magog. Calefryia habet in Bambyce, quibz by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrian Magog*. He further telleth vs that the monitrous Idoll *Atergatis*, called by the *Greekes* *Derecto*, was
20 here worshipped, *Lucian* makes mention here of, saying that the Citie had anciently another name, which yet he expresth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as founding nothing elegantly in the Greeke. But if we may beleue *Strabo*, then was *Edessain Mesopotamia* the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*; where the same Idoll was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of these Authours did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough bee that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palestina*, and were both subiect vnto the Kings of the race of *Selencus*. Now I doe not condemne the opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Iosephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might also bee the Father of the
30 *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Magog*, the nations of *Calefryia* and the North partes adioyning bee meant by *Magog*: for by alatter plantation from these partes they might bee propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to bee denied, that the *Scythians* in olde times comming out of the North-east waited the better part of *Asia* the lesse, and possit *Calefryia*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the Syrian call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog* *Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plaine: for this Citie *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Iudea*, according to the wordes of *Ezechiel*, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelities* were the *Ptolomies* Kings of *Egypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the successours of *Alexander*, the successour of

Strabo lib. 16.

Alexander Macedon. *Gulielmus Tyrinus* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the storie of *Tobias*. *Plinie* takes it not onely to have beene called *Bambyce*, as we haue said, but also *Edessa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but in the old of the same name; now the known name is *Allope*: for so *Belonius* exposeth this *Hierapolis* for *Magog*. This Citie had the title of sacred as the sacred Citie, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatrie; and wherein was worshipped the Idoll of the Mermaide *Atergatis*, or *Atargis*, according as *Plinie*, which the *Greekes* call *Derecto*.

Lib. 4. cap. 6.

belli Sacra.

If then we compare the wordes of *Ezechiel* in the third verse of the thirty eighth chapter, wherein he ioyneth together *Gog*, *Mesoch*, and *Tubal* with the remnant
40 ber that *Hierapolis* was the Citie of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Iudea*: with whome also *Ezechiel* completh *Gomer*; and all the trades of due North quarters; we may (as I conceiue) safely conclude, that these *Rebwar* and *vassals* of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in respect of *Iudea*) were not the

any of France, nor the Tubalines of Spaine, but a people of the lesser Asia, and Caleyria: and therefore that the opinions of Berofus, Iosephus, and whoseuer else hath followed them therein are to be reiected. But if Iosephus referre himselfe to later times, and thinke that some Colonie of the Tubalines might from Iberia and Asia passe into Spaine (to wit from that peece of land betweene Colchis (or Mengrelus) and Albania: (most part posselt by the Georgians) then is his iudgement of better allowance. For without any repugnancie of opinions, it may granted, that in proceesse of time these people might from their first habitation passe into the Countries neare the Euxine Sea, and from thence in after Ages into Spaine.

Iosephus makes mention of the Iberi, saying, that they were anciently called Thobelais, as of Tuball; from whence (sayth Iustine) they passed into Spaine to search out the mines of that Region: hauing belike vnderstood that it was a Southerlie Countrie and mountainous. For it seemeth that the Tubalines called Chalybes liued altogether by the exchange of iron, and other metalls, as Apollonius witnesseth in these following verses, telling how the Argonautes did visit them.

*Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:
Mercedibus hæc mutuat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant.*

The Chalybes plough not their barren foile,
But vndermine high hilles for iron Veines:
Changing the purchase of their endlesse toile
For merchandize, which their poore liues sustaines.

But it is more probable, that Spaine was first peopled by the Africans, who had euer since an affection to returne thither, and to repeople it anew. This appeared by the Carthaginians of old, who were easily drawne to passe ouer the Streights into that Countrie; and after by the Moors: who held Granada, and the South parts eight hundred yeares, till the time of Ferdinand and Isabel. And either of these opinions are more probable, then that in the twelfth yeare of Nimrods raigne, Tubal past into Spaine, and therein built St. Paul: a poore Towne, and a poore deuice, God knows. Certaine it is that we must finde Mesoch or Mesech, and Tubal neighbours, and Gomer and Togorma not farre off, or else we shall wrong Ezechiel: for he called Gog the Leader or Prince of Mesech and Tubal, and maketh Gomer and Togorma their assistants. And that Mesech inhabited Asia, Eunicius (though he followed Berofus) confesseth, for these be his wordes. MESACVS, qui à MOSE MESECH, prescos Mesius ab Adula monte vsq; ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio posita Cappadocia dicta est, in qua vrbis Mazica, &c. hæc est terra MAGOO principalis. MESACVS, whom MOSES calleth MESECH, placed the ancient Mesians from the mount Adula, vnto the coast of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Mazica, &c. this is the principall Countrey of MAGOO. And this doth Ammian also anow, and yet forgets that Gog was Prince both of Mesech and Tubal: and therefore, that the one was a Nation of Spaniards, the other of Cappadocians, is very ridiculous; Spaine lying directly West, and not North from Iudæa. Also Ezechiel in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the destruction of Tyre, nameth Mesech and Tubal ioynlie. And for a small prooff, that these Nations were of a Northerne neighbour land (how farre fouer stretched) Ezechiel in the 38. Chapter makes them all horsemen. Thou, and much people with thee; all shall ride vpon horses, euen a great multitude and a mightie. Then if any man belecue that these troupes came out of Spaine ouer the Pyrenes, and first passed ouer a part of France, Italie, Hungarie, and Sarmatia, and imbarqued againe about the Hellespont, or else compassed all Pontus Euxinus, to come into the lesser Asia, which is halfe the length or compass of the then knowne world, he may be called a strong beleueer, but he shall neuer be iustified thereby. But on the contrarie it

is knowne, that *Seleucus* was a Province neighbouring *Palestina* or *Judea*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) joyned vnto it: whose Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asia* the lesse, (namely the *Seleucide*) and held it, till *Scipio Asiaticus* overthrow *Antiochus* the great: after which they yet posselt *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Mesopotamia* be in *Cappadocia*, or vnder *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First hee seated himselfe with *Togorma*, not farre from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward hee proceeded further into *Asia* the lesse; and in long tract of time his valiant issue filled all
 10 *Germanie*, rested long in *France* and *Brittaine*, and possessed the vtmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as *Melancton* well notes) the signification of their parents name, which is *Primus* bordering. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherinto they might exonerate their swelling multitudes, that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they returne vpon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our antiquities, *M. William Camblen* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old language doth signifie robbers; necessitie enforcing them to spoile their neighbours, to whom in their original they were as neare joyned, as after wardes in
 20 the seates which they possessed. For that the warlike Nations of *Germanie* were in elder ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Galles*, the authoritie of *Cæsar* affirming it is prooue sufficient. But in times following they pursued richer conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into *Asia* the lesse, and occupied those partes, which had formerly bene held by their progenitors. I say not that they claimed those lands as theirs by descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne pedigree. Neither can any man therefore denie, that they were of old seated in *Asia*, because in late ages they returned thither; vnlesse hee will thinke, that all those Nations which from farre partes haue invaded and conquered
 30 the land of *Shinar*, may by that argument be prooued not to haue issued from thence at the first.

Now concerning *Samothes* for his excellent wisdoms surnamed *Dû*, whome *Annius* makes the brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which brother *Moses* neuer heard of, who spake his knowledge of *Japheths* sonnes) they must finde him in some old Poet: for *Functius* a great *Berosian* confesseth. *Quis hic Samothès fuerit incertum est*, Who this *Samothes* was it is vncertaine; neither is their any prooue that he was that same *Dû*, whome *Cæsar* sayth the *Gauls* suppose to be their Ancestour; yea and *Viguer* confesseth with *Functius*. *Mais on ne sçayt qu'il eût. no man knowes who he was.*

In Chron.

Cæsar Comment.
 vltim. pars 1.
 Cæren.

§. V.

Against the fabulous *BEROSUS* his fiction. That the Italian
 IANVS was NOAH.

B

Vt before I goe on with *Noah* his sonnes, I thinke it necessarie to disproue the fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himselfe: an inuention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrested) by those Authours of whom himselfe hath commented: as the fragmen of *Berosus*, *Eubius Picior*, *Cato*, *Launimus* and others.

For *Annius* seekes to perswade vs, that *Noah* (surnamed *Ianus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italie*, wherein he liued 92. yeares. This to disproue, by *Moses* silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disproue it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Gall*, *Chalme*

Ann. de Hist. G.
 Pict. de ant. Jap.
 Cato. de orig.
 Laun. de ill. de
 Gall.

Ioseph. l. x.

Chaldean and Nimrod, Noah was a man of too great make to be forgotten, with all the actes he did in 92. years. But it were a needlesse labour for me to disprove the authority of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned men have so demonstratively proved that fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Assyrian* in his oration against the Greeks awoeth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote onely 3. Bookes, dedicated to *Antiochus* the successour of *Seleucus Nicator*: but *Annius* hath deuised 5. Bookes, wherewith hee honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled onely the estate of the *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this fragment with the businesse of all the world. And if we may beleue *Eusebius* better then *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *La-* 10
Tines (before *Aeneas*) consumed but 150. years: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Aeneas* arriual into *Italie* there past 1126. (after the least rate of the Hebrew account) and (after *Codomen*) 1291. For *Ianus* (who was the first of their Kings) liued at once with *Ruth*, who married *Booz*, in the worldes year (as some reckon) 2717. after the flood 1064. and *Noah* died 350. years after the flood: and so there past betwene *Ianus* of *Italie* and *Noah* surnamed *Ianus* 704. years. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Ianus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Faunus* after *Picus*, and *Latinius* followed *Faunus*: which *Latinius* liued at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Assyria*: with *Pelasmus* of *Peloponnesus*: with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* Iudge of *Israel*. Now all these five Kings of the *Latines* hauing consumed but one hundred and fifty years; and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning vpwards for one hundred and fifty years, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Ianus* liued.

Ezech. 17. 13.
 & so the place
 of Ezei. 66. 19.
 (for *Leuer*) *Sith*
ladi: and (for
 the Plural) *gama*
uasin *Hellene*.

True it is, that the Greeks had their *Ianus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they too the sonne of *Ruthus*, the sonne of *Isaculion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Iaan*, the fourth sonne of *Iapheth*. For the vulgar Translation (where the Hebrew word is *Iaan*) writes Greece, and the Septuagint *Heller*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the sonne of *Medea*, whom they make the parent of the *Medes*; though they were descended of a farre more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third sonne of *Iapheth*.

Lastly we see by a true experience, that the *Brittish* language hath remained among us about 2000. yeares; and the *English* speech cuer since the inuasion of the *Angles*: and the same continuance haue all Nations obserued among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Ianus*) had left in *Italie* his grandchild *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spaine*, that no plaine resemblance of the Hebrew, Syrian, or Scythian (which no time could haue quite extinguished) should haue bene found in the languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personall plantations of *Ianus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. in *Italie*, *Spaine*, or *France*, are meere ly. 40
 fabulons. Let the Nations therefore content themselves with the same Grecian *Ianus*, which commaunded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. yeares, (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinius* the fifth King: which also *St. Augustine* and *Iustine* confirme; and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this bee not sufficient to dispropose this vanitie, I may out of themselves adde thus much: That whereas some of them make *Veſta* (others *Camsens*) the wife of this *Ianus*; who instituted the holie Fire of the *Veſtal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Ianus* all their idolatrous and heathenish ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to beleue that *Noah* himselfe (who is said by *Moses* to haue walked with God, to be a iust man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God; or so wicked and vngratefull, to set vp or deuise any Heathen ſhalue; or idolatrous adoration, or haue instituted any ceremonie, contrarie to that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfe. 50

§. VI.

That GOMER also and his Sonne TOGORMA of the posteritie of IAPHETH were first seated about Asia the lesse: and that from thence they spread Westward into Europe: and Northward into Sarmatia.

TO turne now to the Sonnes of Noah, and the worlds plantation after the flood: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessity taught them; so, when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as they might repaire to each other, and keepe intelligence by River: because the land was yet Desart and overprest with woods, reedes, bogges, and rotten marshes. As when Nimrod seated in *Babylonia*, Chus took the South part of *Chaldea*, downe the River of *Gehon*, by which he might passe too and fro from *Babylon* to his owne plantation: those also, which were of the race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Eror* or *Orchane* neare the Lakes of *Chaldea*, might by the same River get vp to *Babylon*, and receive succour from thence. All which Tract of land vpon *Gehon* Southward, as *Moses* in the description of *Paradise* calleth the land of *Chus*: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Cushite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for a while oppressed, till God afterward by the seede of *Abraham* made them his owne nation and victorious. *Hamilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and sonne of *Cush*, tooke both banks of *Tigris*, especially on the East side of the River: by which river his people might also passe too and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperiall seat of which Region of *Hamilah* or *Susian*, was anciently called *Chusian*, or *Chusan*, afterward *Susa*. *Cush* himselfe tooke the banks of *Gehon*, and planted those Countries Westward, and South-westward towards *Arabis* the situate, and the Desart, where *Ptolomee* placeth the Cittie of *Chusida*, first *Chusia*. *Seba*, and *Sheba* with the rest that planted *Arabis* felix, had *Tigris* to convey them into the *Persian* Gulf, which walseth the banks of *Arabis* felix on the East side: so as those sonnes of *Cush* might take land downe the River as they pleased. Also the Cittie of *Ninive* was by *Nimrod* founded on the said River of *Tigris*; and from thence a Colony past to *Chorran*, standing also vpon a nauigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Iapheths* sonnes settle themselves together, and tooke their seats in *Asia* the lesse: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the *Isles of the Gentiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, late downe first of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Palestina* and *Phenicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his children past on into *Asiatic* the lesse, as those of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* spread themselves into *Theria*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatia*. The first *Gomerians*, and first planters in *Asia* the lesse, held the Countrey of the *Cymmerians* (witnesseth *Herodotus*) the same Region which was afterward by the *Gallio-greekes* called *Galatia*, to whom *St. Paul* wrote his Epistle so intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the inuincible *Scythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first plantations) gave names to diuers places; as to the mountains about *Albania* (called *Cymmerus*) and to the Cittie of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: also *Bosphorus* *Cymmerius* tooke appellation from this nation, in the outlet whereof was also a Cittie of that name called *Cymmerian*, which *Plinie* kith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of *Corberion*; but *Corberion* was a Towne in *Campania*, so called of the vnhealthfull waters, flourishing of brimstone: which *Augustus* caused to be cleaned by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucrinus*.

The

The children of *Tubal* ranged as farre as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moschei* were neighbours, which others write *Mosbech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Mosbech* and *Tubal*. For these *Moschi* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Moschi*) inhabit *Syracena* a Prouince of *Armenia*, directly South from the mountaines *Moschei*, in the Valley betwene the mountaines *Moscheia*, and the mountaines *Paryarides*: out of whose North part springeth the Riuer *Phasis*; from the East part *Araxis*; and from the West *Euphrates*: and of this *Mosbech* are descended also the *Moscovians* (saith *Melanchton*), and it may bee, that in proceesse of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For *Mosbech* (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth *extending, enlarging or stretching forth*. *Togorms* also at first did inhabit amongst his parents and kindred. The *Togormians* were also called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydanians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchie* of *Phenicia*, the same which *Plinie* calleth *Gabon*: from whence *Salomon* had his most excellent *Masons*, which hewed stones for the Temple of *Hierusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the lesse *Armenia*, whose Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokarta*: of which Cities *Tigranes* subdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hierosolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbarie*: forgetting the Prophecie of *Ezechiel* against the *Tyrians*. They of the house of *Togorma*, brought to thy *Faues* horses, and horsemen, and mules, which could not well be driven ouer the whole length of the *Mediterran* Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Iosaphus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*, which I doe not denie, but they might bee in the ensuing ages: and so might the *Tubalnes* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred years after the twelfth of *Nimrod* draigne. The *Iewes* conceiue that the *Turkes* came of those *Togormians*, because their Emperour is called *Togar*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laonicus* affirms that the *Turkes* descended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Asusconia*. But for these subdivisions it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the flood is the matter which I labour to discover; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this wee must Note, that those grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet spirit, or (perchance) of lesse vnderstanding, and had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* sent out, their proper habitations can bee hardly knowne: only reason hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the rest, and were couered with the same of others, who tooke on them the conduction and dominion ouer the rest.

Note.

From *Madai* the third Sonne of *Iapheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Græcians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the Sonne of *Medea*.

§. VII.

Of *IAVAN* the fourth Sonne of *IAPHETH*: and of *MESCH*, of *AAAM*, and *MESHECH* of *IAPHETH*.



IF *Iauan* the fourth Sonne of *Iapheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greekes*: and so the *Latine* and *Greeke* Interpreters for *Iauan* write *Greece*, as in *Esai*; *Et mittam ex ijs qui saluati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam*. And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in *Italie* and in *Greece*. The *Genea* here vñth the word (*Tarshich*) for *Tarsus*, a Cittie in *Cilicia*, though *Tarsis* in many places bee taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Genea* vse the names *Tubal* and *Iauan*, and not *Italie* and *Greece*: keeping the same *Hebrew* wordes. Of these *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dreame that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Ancestours, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe: who abounding in people sent *Colonies* into *Asia* the lesse, of whom came the *Iones* of those parts.

parts. Others deriue the *Athenians* from *Ion* the sonne of *Xuthus*, the sonne of *Dionysius*; but the antiquite of *Iunon* marres the fashon of that supposition, who so many yeares preceded *Xuthus*, *Ien*, or *Dionysius*. *Pausanias* tels vs that *Xuthus* stole out of *Thebes* with all his Fathers treasure, and his brothers portions, and arriuing at *Athen*, he was gratioously received by *Erichon*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage; of whom hereceived two sonnes, *Ien*, and *Achani*, the supposed Ancestours of the *Athenians*. For *Attica* was called *Ionia* (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theseus*) who, when he had ioyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a piller in that *Isthmus* or Strait, which fasteneth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these wordes. *Hæc non sunt Peloponnesus, sicut Ionia*. These Countries are not of *Peloponnesus*, but of *Ionia*; and on the other side which looked towards the South and into *Peloponnesus*, this. *These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia*.

Strabo out of *Heecatus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Asia* into *Greece*, which is contrarie to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* transporting certaine companies into *Asia* the lesse, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof then he learned of the *Greekes* themselves, yet I finde this coniecture of *Heecatus* reasonable enough. For though it were to him vnkowne, yet sure I am that *Asia* the lesse had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Iunon* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but tooke *Asia* the lesse in his passage; and from thence past over the nearest way, leaving his owne name to some maritimate Prouince on that side, as he did to that part of *Greece* so called. But yet *Strabo* himselfe beleueed, that *Ionia* tooke the name from *Ien* the sonne of *Xuthus*: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times cast themselves into that part of *Asia* the lesse, opposit vnto them, which they held for diuers yeares. And howsoeuer the *Greekes* vaunt themselves to be the Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approued Historians (not their owne) deride and disproue their pride, and vanitie therein. For this dispute of Antiquite (among prophaned Writers) rested betwene the *Scythians* and the *Agyptians*, as Iustine out of *Trogus*; in the warr betwene *Pecoris* of *Agypt*, and *Tamas* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded far the raigine of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was euer heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cæcrops* time the *Greekes* were all saluages without law or religion, liuing like brute beasts in all respects: and *Cæcrops* (saith *St. Augustine*) liued together with *Atafes*.

The sixth sonne of *Iapheth* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosoch* (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*). But this we must remember, that betwene *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosoch*) the sonne of *Iapheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by diuers interpreters diuersly written. *Montanus* with the *Vulgar* writeth *Meshech*, the sonne of *Aram*; *Mes*; the *Genius* *Mash*; *Iunius* *Meshech*. But it may be gathered out of the 120 Psalm, that either *Meshech* the sonne of *Iapheth*, was the parent of those people, or gaue name to that Prouince wherein *Darius* hid himselfe: or else (which may rather seeme) that it tooke name from *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*. For *David* bewailing his exile (while he liued among a barbarous and irreligious people) vnto these wordes. *Woe is me that I remaine in Meshech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Iunius* conuerteth thus. *Hæmibi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Scenita Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* giues it this sense. *Woe is me because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar*; with which this of the Latine agreeth. *Hæc mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitans cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldees* otherwise, and in these wordes. *O memiseram, quia peregrinatus sum Assiris, habitans cum tabernaculis Arabum*. O wretch, that I am, for I haue trauielled among those of *Asia*: I haue dwelt in the *Tabernacles* of the *Arabs*. But howsoeuer or which focuser conuerſion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Prouince

of Arabia petraea; and the Chaldaean putteth *Ara* in stead of *Mefech*; but the Hebrew it selfe hath *Mefech*. And if it beeto be taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, because it answeres to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) seeing *Mefech* the sonne of *Arani*, 1. *Chron.* 1. 7. is called *Mefech*, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from *Mefech* or *Mefi*, both bordering *Judas*, and like other to be commanded by one Prince; for so *Ezechiel* makes *Mefech* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Mefech* out of the word *Mofech* (given by the *Septuagint*), to be the *Musconian*: sure they presume much vpon the affinity of names, as aforesaid. And sure I am that *David* neuer trauailed so farre North; (for to him *Musconia* was vnterly vnknowne) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a Cittie on the mountaines of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arianus Montanus* makes *Mofech* the Father of the *Musconians*: and herein also *Melancthon* runnes with the tide of common opinion, and sets *Mefech* in *Musconia*, though with some better aduise of iudgement; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence trauailing Northward: expounding the places of the 120. Psalmes, *Uti mihi quid exulauit in Mefech* to signifie, *gentis eius fortiter in signem esse*; that the feritie of that nation exceeded: which ferience or brutallitie of the *Musconians*, *David* neuer proued, or (perchance) neuer heard of. But the same feritie or crueltie which those Northerne *Musconians* had, may aswell bee ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarans*. For this Countrie tooke name of *Kedar* the second sonne of *Ismael*, of whom a people of equal ferience to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, euen to this day, (if the *Arabians*, *Ismaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people:) the same being foretold by the speech of the Angell to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16. v. 12. And he shall be a wild man: his hand shall be against euery man, and euery mans hand against him. Now Arabia the Desart (saith *Plinie*) confronteth the *Arabians* *Cochi* on the East, and the *Cedreai* Southward, both which ioine together vpon the *Nabathai*. So it appeareth (as before) that *Mefech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Israel*, and that *Kedar* also did ioine to *Mefech*: all which were Regions of Syria, or of Asia the lesse, commanded by the successeurs of *Seleucus*, enemies of the reestablishment of *Israel* and *Juda*. But (as I haue already said) it might well be, that long after the first plantation the issue of *Mefech* (or *Mofech*) might passe into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and giue names, both to *Mazegai* in the one, and to the mountaines *Mofchici* in the other, and from thence might send people more Northerly into *Musconia*: and so all opinions faued. But all language Nations ouergrowne and vncultiuated, doe (for the most part) shew a little plantation, euen as ciuilitie, letters, and magnificent buildings, withesse antiquite.

Tiras, the seuenth sonne of *Japheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the sonnes of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authours (worthie the examination) affime. *Iosephus* was the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the world *Tiras* people, the coniectures are indifferent, and giue no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speake of the Sonnes of *Gomer*, which were three:

{ *Ascaner,*
{ *Ripbath,*
{ and
{ *Togorma.*

Þ. VIII.

of ASCANEZ and RIPHATH, the two elder Sonnes of GOMER.



SCANEZ was the Father of those which the Greekes call *Regini*, (saith *Iosephus*) but he giues no reason why.

Eusebius makes *Ascanes* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Iewes* in their *Thargum* make him the roote of the *Germane Nation*, but their expolitions are commonly veridicall.

10 Plinie findeth *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, neare the Riuer of *Hylas* and *Cius*: *Nelanchian* being of the same opinion, that the *Taisfones* were descended of the *Ascanes*, (for *Taisfones*, saith he, is as much to say, as of the *Ascanes*, *proprio articulo die Ascanes*) and that the word signifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the tombs of Martyrs. Not farr from *Phrygia* was the Lake *Ascanis*, known by that name in the *Romanes time*. And among the Kings which came to the succour of *Troy*, was *Ascanius* (*Deo similis*, saith *Homer*) like vnto God: because he was beautiful and strong: for in the same manner doth *Virgil* grace *Æneas*, *Os humerisq; Deo similis*, in face and body like one of the Gods. *Virgil* also remembereth such

Nelanchian, *h. m. cat. l. 4.*

Homer, *Ilad. 2.*

20 a Riuer together with the hilles *Gargara*: as, *Illos ducit amor trans Gargara, transq; Iosanthem Ascanium*. Appetite leades them both ouer the mountaines *Gargara*, and the riuing *Ascanius*. But this *Plinie* maketh more plaine in the description of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the Cittie of *Brilbon* vpon the Riuer *Ascanius*, which is adioyning to *Milia*, and is neare the border of the *Troian Empire*: and the Lake *Ascanes* he direct's vs to finde by the description of *Prusfa*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lyeth farr within the Countreies of *Bithynia*: and then from *Prusfa* to *Nices* are accounted fiftie and twentie miles, in which way this Lake lyeth, euen betwene *Prusfa* and *Nices*. And so *Iunus* (as I conceiue him) takes them of *Ascanes*, to be the inhabitants of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and those North parts of *Asia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus*

Virg Georg. l. 3.

30 makes it a Cittie of *Troas*, built by *Ascanius* the sonne of *Æneas*: saying, that there was another of that name in *Myfia*. Of *Ascania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolomie* witnesseth: and *Strabo* giueth *Ascania* both a Lake, a Riuer, and a Towne in *Myfia*, neare vnto *Cio*; which also agreeth with *Plinie*. For *Plinie* findeth *Prusfa* (before spoken of) neare *Cio*, and calleth the Ilands before *Troy* *Ascanes*.

Now, whether these places tooke name of *Ascanes* the sonne of *Gomer*, or of *Ascanius* the sonne of *Æneas*, it might bee questioned: sure it is, that *Ascanius* which brought succour to the *Troians*, could not take his name from *Æneas* sonne, who was then either exceeding young, or rather vnborne: and it seemeth that the countreies whence those succours came were not out of part of *Phrygia* or *Myfia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Asia* the lesse, which by *Heremie* is called *Ascanes*, by the figure *Synchdoche*, as *Iunius* thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which decieue not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Heremie* we shall learne of what Nation the *Ascanes* were, whose wordes are these. See: up a Standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the Nations against her, call 40 up the Kings of *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ascanes* against her, &c. meaning, against the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most interpreters consent, so called of the mountaines of *Ararat* which runne through it: *Minni* the lesser *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name: (saith *Iunius* and others before him) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which continued all that *Tract* from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phenicia* and *Palestina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a Prouince of *Syria* the Scriptures difference it in the storie of *Isaac* and *Esau*, and call it *Aram-padam*. Then if these two Nations were of the *Armenians* and *Ascanes* ioyned with them (who altogether vnto 50 vnder *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the spoile of the *Babylonian Empire*) we shall erre much

C. 51. 2. 27.

much to call *Askenaz*, Germanie or *Amaine*, for we heare of no *Smart Ruttiers* at that lidge. But the *Askenaz* were of those Nations which were either subiect or allied to the *Medes*: of which, if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the disperſion of Nations was in aſertimes without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Iosephus*, who calls them *Abegimis*, or of the *Iewes*, who will haue them to be *Almaines*; when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe.

Of *Riphat* the ſecond ſonne of *Gomer* there is mention in the firſt of *Chronicles*. *Berodinus* and *Perennis* thinke that hee wandered farre off from the reſt of his brothers, and therefore no memorie of his plantation. But I ſee nothing to the contrary, but that he might ſeate himſelfe with the reſt of his familie: for there wanted no room or ſoile in thoſe dayes for all the ſonnes and grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to bee well vnderſtood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphat*, which the *Greekes* afterwards (according to *Iosephus*) called the *Paphlagones*: and *Riphei* (ſaith *Melanchton*) ſignifieth Giants. Theſe people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the moſt of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima* *Heneti*, The greateſt number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*; who ſpake the ancient *Palae*: which being firſt called *Riphei* (for the loue of ſome of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a cuſtome exceeding common in thoſe times) and dwelt firſt in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witneſſeth, and ſo doth *Apollo-* 20
nius in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when theſe *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) fought new Regions, they came along the ſhores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North part of *Europe*, containing *Ruſſia*, *Lituania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they croſt thwart the Land, and peopled *Illyria*, delirous (ſaith *Melanchton*) of a warmer ſoile of fruit and Wine. Theſe *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled all that land betweene the *Baltick* and *Adriatick* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulfe *Venedicus* is found in *Ruſſia*. This Nation, after they were poſſeſt of *Lituania* and *Polonia*, diſturbed the plantation of the *Boj* and *Hermondurj*. Therefore, it ſeemeth to me, that of *Riphat* came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and ſo thinketh *Arius Montanus*, firſt ſeated in *Paphlagonia*, but in courſe of time Lordes of *Sarmatia*, and thoſe other 30
parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Riuer of *Viſtula* and *Albia*. The name (ſaith *Melanchton*) ſignifieth wandering or wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which liued by white meates and fruits, as (indeede) all Nations did in the firſt Ages.

Of the third Sonne of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I haue ſpoken already; now therefore of *Iauan*'s children, which were foure:

{ *Elifa*,
{ *Tharſis*,
{ *Cethim*,
{ *Dodanim*, }

42

§. IX.

Of the foure Sonnes of *IAVAN*: and of the double ſignification of *Tharſis*, either for a proper name or for the Sea.

OF *Elifa* or *Elipha*, came the *Aeoles*: and of this *Elifa* all the *Greekes* were called *Hellenes*, ſaith *Montanus*. *Melanchton* makes *Elifa* the Father 50
of the *Aeoles* in *Aſia* ſide: others of *Elis* in *Peloponneſus*, or of both. And ſeeing the *Greekes* were deſcended in generall of *Iauan*, it is probable that the *Aeoles* and the *Elei*, tooke name of *Elifa*, his eldeſt Sonne. *Ezechiel* in the 27. ſpeaking of *Tyre*, nameth the *Iſſes* of *Elifa*. *Hyacinthus* &

Et purpura de insulis Elisfa facta sunt operimentum tuum, blew silke and purple, brought from the Isles of Elisfa, was thy covering: The Chaldeans for Elisfa write *Sila*: but the Vulgar, the Tigurine, the Geneva, and Iovius, keepe the word *Elisfa*. and so I thinke they might doe with reason. For there was not found any such purple Dye in *Indie* in those dayes, nor since, that I can read of: but those *Isles of Elisfa*, were by a better conjecture the *Isles of Greece*; and the best purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it selfe: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the coast of *Getulia*.

Tharhis, the second Sonne of *Ianan* inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharhis* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Tharhis* in *Cilicia*, vnderstands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reserving the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The Chaldean *Paraphrast* puts *Carthage* for *Tharhis*, but it hath no authoritie, nor warrant of reason therein. Solikewise, where it is written, that the ships of *Salomon* went euerie three yeares to *Tharhis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the Chaldean *Paraphrast* translates *Tharhis* (Africa). But *Salomon*s ships were prepared in the Red Sea at *Ezion Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elend*, neare vnto *Aden*, where *Ielbro* (*Moses* Father in law) inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petrea*, *Iammas*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sailed to the higher part of the East *India*. For it had bene a strange nauigation to haue spent three yeares in the passage betwene *India* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might haue bene sailed in fixe or ten daies. And if so great riches might haue bene found within the bounds of the *Mediterranean* Sea, all other neighbouring Princes would soone haue enterdaynted that trade also. But this enterprize of *Salomon* is in this sort written of in the first of Kings. *Asa King SALOMON made a Naue of ships in Ezion Gaber, which is beside Elath and the brinke of the Red Sea in the land of Edom: and Iijuan sent with the Naue his seruants, that were mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the seruants of SALOMON: and they came to Ophir, and set from thence 420. talents of gold, &c.* But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the world like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that only (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word vsed for the Sea in generally) so, because the *Israelites* and the *Phariseans* knew no other Sea then that of the *Mediterranean* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharhis* had the greatest ships, and were the first nauigators in those parts with such vessels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharhis* vsed often for the Sea. And whereas it is said that the ships of *Salomon* went euerie three yeares to *Tharhis*, that phrase is not strange at all: for we vse it ordinarily where soeuer we nauigate, (namely) that the Kings ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out euerie yeare, or euerie three yeares to the Sea, and therefore *Tharhis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but vsed for the Sea it selfe. But in this place *Tharhis* is truly taken for *Tharhis*, the chiefe Citie in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharhis* the second sonne of *Ianan*, or by his successours in memorie of their first parent. To this Citie arrued *Alex. Macedon*, before he gaue the first overthrow to *Darius*, and calling himselfe into the River to bathe and wash his bodie, he fell into an extreme feuer, and great danger of death: and in this Citie of *Tharhis* was *St. Paul* borne. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other sonnes inhabiting *Asia* the lesse, and that part of *Syria* adioyning) *Ianan* who was to passe ouer the Sea into *Greece*, tooke the edge of the same coast, and first planted the *Iones* on that shore: gaue the Islands betwene *Asia* the lesse and *Greece*, to *Elisfa*, and left *Tharhis* vpon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that Citie tooke name.

The third sonne of *Ianan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, so faith *Berwaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plurall (saith he) and signifieth *percussor* though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Esa* 23. (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*. *Hac calomias ab Esa i predicta est, qui capite vicefimo tercio inquit, venturos*

uenturos esse everfos Tyræ terra Cettim, This calamitie (saith MELANCHTON) was foretold by *ESAI* the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of Tyre were to come out of Cettim. And although the children of *Israel* esteemed all men *Islanders*, which came vnto them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also Cettim might be taken for *Isle*, saith Hieronimus) yet we must take the first performance of the former prophetic, which tooke effect with the destruction of the *Tyrans* by *Alexander*: who after seven Moneths siege entred that proude Cettie, and cut in peeces 7000. principall Cittizens; slanged 2000. and changed the freedome of 13000. others into bondage and slauerie. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for Cettim, it appeareth plainly in the first of the *Maccabees*, in these wordes. After that *ALEXANDER* the *Macedonian*, the Sonne of *PHILIP*, went forth of the land of Cettim, and slue *DARIUS* King of the *Persians* and *Medes*. *IOSEPHUS* sets Cettim in the Ile of Cyprus, in which (saith he) there remaineth the Cittie *Gition*, the Countrie of *Zeno* the Philosopher (witnesseth *Laertius*) which Cettie *Pintus* vpon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that it flood in *St. Iheromes* time. So it may be that all the *Islandes* in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the *Islandes of Cettim*: and in that sense might Cyprus bee so called also; and yet because *Tharſis* was the very next Port to Cyprus, and directly ouer against it, it is also very probable, that Cettim dwelt by his brother *Tharſis*: and finding that Island too freight for his people after they were increased, and that the rest of the coasts, both on *Asia* side and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he sent Colonies ouer the *Aegean* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodonim the fourth sonne of *Iauan*, and the youngest brother (by the most opinions) fate downe at *Rhodes*, as neare Cettim, *Tharſis*, and *Elisa*, as he could. For *Dodonim* and *Rhodonim* are vied in differently by many translators: the Hebrew (*D*) and the Hebrew (*R*) are so like, as the one may easily bee taken for the other, as all Hebricians affirme. There is also found in *Epirus* the Cittie of *Dodona*, in the Province of *Molossia*. And as Cettim, when he wanted soile in Cyprus: so *Dodonim* (sated in a firtle lesse Island) did of necessity send his people further off; and keeping alongh the coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elisa*, he passed a little farther on the Westward, and planted in *Epirus*. And though the Cittie of *Dodona* was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as *Dodonim* himselfe, yet his posteritie might giue it that name in memorie of their first parent, as it hapned all the world ouer. For names were giuen to Citties, Mountaines, Riuers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noahs* children, and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successors many yeares after: euery of their families being desirous to retaine among them by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerors newly named, and the greatest Citties often fired and demolished: therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gaue their owne names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountaines and Riuers, as to things (after their iudgements) free from any alteration.

Thus then did *Iauan* settle himselfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the lesse, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the *Islands*, and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Iapheth* their Father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Iauans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madaï*, *Tubal*, *Mesech*, and the rest round about him. And in like fort did *Chus* (the sonne of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, and the borders thereof towards the West and Southwest: and the sonnes of *Chus* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* itselfe) traualled Southward in *Arabia Felix*, and Southwestward into *Arabia petraea*: the rest of his children holding the Regions adioyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chus* in like manner tooke the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palestina* adioyning. The Sonnes of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the enemies both to the Hebrewes, and to those of the sonnes

sonnes of *Shem*, which spred themselves towards the West, and the borders of the *Mediterran* Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sonnes of *Cham* or *Ham*, which were four:

{ *Chus*,
Misraim,
Phut, and
Canaan. }

§. X.

That the state of *CHUS* the eldest sonne of *HAM* was in *Arabia*, not in *Aethiopia*: and of strange fables, and ill translations of Scripture, grounded upon the mistaking of this point.

†. I.

20 Of *IOSEPHUS* his tale of an *Aethiops* wife to *MOSES*, grounded on the mistaking of the state of *CHUS*.



That *Ham* was the Father of the *Aegyptians*, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Psalm *v. 51*. Then *ISRAEL* came to *Egypt*, and *JACOB* was a stranger in the land of *HAM*: and in the 78. Psalm. He sate all the first-borne in *Egypt*, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of *HAM*. There is also found a great Citie in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramis*; (as it were the Citie of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* also discouers an Island in the same Region. But because *Chus* is the elder sonne of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to speake first of him. Now though I haue already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and (I hope) proued that *Chus* could not be *Aethiopia*: yet seeing it cometh now to his turne to speake for himselfe, I will adde some farther proofe to the former. For the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very eroked constructions, and senselesse interpretations. Surely, how fouler the *Septuagint* and *Iosephus* haue here failed, yet it is manifest that *Chus* could not be *Aethiopia*, but *Arabia*: (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petras*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happie and the Desert: which Regions *Chus* and the *Chusites* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first sate downe altogether. And there is nothing which 40 well cleareth this controuersie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Nam. 12. v. 1*. where *Moses* his wife is called a *Chusite*, together with some places which speake of *Nabuchodonosors* conquests. For whereas *Iosephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place; *Nam. 12. v. 1*. as also elsewhere, vnderstand *Chus* for *Aethiopia*, we must giue credit to *Moses* himselfe herein; and then it will appeare that *Iosephus* was grossly mistaken; or vainely led by his owne inuention. For *Iosephus* presuming that *Chus* was *Aethiopia*, and therefore that the wife of *Moses* (which in Scripture *Nam. 12. v. 1*. is called a woman of *Chus*) was a woman of the land of *Aethiopia*, saith that *Tharbis* the daughter of the King of *Aethiopia*, fell in loue with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her Fathers Citie; and to the end to obaine *Moses* for her husband, she practised to betray both her parents. Countre, and friends, with the Citie it selfe, and to deliuer it into *Moses* hands. The tale (if it bee worth the reciting) lyeth thus in *Iosephus*. After he had described the strength of the *Aethiopian* Citie *Meroe*, which he saith at length *Cambyses* called so from the name of his sister, (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these wordes. *Hic cum MOSES de-*

fidere exercitum otiosum agere ferret, hoste non audente manus conferere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Aethiopum regi filia, nomine THARBIS, &c. which tale hath this sense in English. When MOSES was grieved that his Armie lay idle, because the enemy besieged, durst not sallie and come to handie strokes, there hapned this accident in the meane while. The Aethiopian King had a daughter called THARBIS, who at some assaults given beheld the person of MOSES, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that MOSES had not only up-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Aethiopians to the very brinke of subversion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daylie encreased, shee made meanes to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants to offer her selfe unto him, and become his Wife; 19 which MOSES on this condition entertained, that shee should first deliuer the Cittie into his possession: whereunto shee condescending, and MOSES having taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

†. II.

A dispute against the tale of IOSEPHVS..

THIS tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Iosephus* fashioned, and therein also vtterly mistaken himselfe, in naming a Cittie of Arabia, for a Cittie of Aethiopia: as he names Aethiopia selfe to haue beene the Countrie of *Moses* his Wife, when (indeed) it was Arabia. For Saba is not in Aethiopia, but in Arabia, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne teach vs, saying that the Sabaeans are Arabians, and not Aethiopians; except *Iosephus* can perswade vs, that the Queene of Saba which came from the South to heare the wisdome of *Salomon*, were a Negro, or Black-Moore. And though *Dominicus a Goes* speake of certaine letters to the King of Portugall from *Prefter Iohn*, of the Abissines: wherein that Aethiopian King would perswade the Portugals that hee was descended of the Queene of Saba, and of *Salomon*; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that *Salomon* had any Sonne by that great Princeesse: which had it beene true, it is likely that when *Sihac* King of Egypt invaded *Roboam*, and sackt *Iherusalem*, his brother (the sonne of Saba and *Salomon*) who ioyned vpon Egypt, would both haue impeached that enterprize, as also giuen aide and succour to *Roboam* against *Ieroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it any thing against our opinion of *Moses* his wife, to haue beene an Arabian, that the Scriptures teach vs, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Iethro* Priest of Midian or Madian: which standing on the North coast of the Red Sea, ouer against the body of Egypt, and neare *Ezion Gaber*, where *Salomon* prouided his Fleet for India, in the Region of Edom, may well be reckoned as a part of Arabia, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumaea* ioyneth to the Tribe of Iuda by the North, to Arabia Petraea by the East, to the Mediterranean by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South-east. And if we marke the way which *Moses* tooke when he left Egypt, and conducted Israel thence, it will appeare that hee was no stranger in Arabia: in the border whereof, and in Arabia selfe, hee had formerly liued fortie yeares; where it seemeth, that besides his careful bringing vp in Egypt, hee was instructed by *Iethro* in the Egyptian learning. For *Iosephus* confesseth, and *St. Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisdome of the Egyptians. But on the other side this Text makes much against *Iosephus*, where it is written in Exodus the second. Therefore MOSES fled from PHARAO, and dwelt in the land of Madian or Midian, and not in Aethiopia. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as wordes can expresse, in what Region Madian was, where it is written. When MOSES kept the sheepe of IETHRO his Father in law, Priest of Madian, and drave the flocke to the Desert, and came to the mountaine of GOD in Horeb. Now that mount Horeb is not in Aethiopia, euery Infant knoweth. And if wee may beleuee *Moses* himselfe, then was not the Wife of

Moses

Moses purchased in that manner which *Iosephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countie and friends) neither had shee the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was shee a *Negro*, but a *Madianitish*. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest means: so it pleased him from a sheepheard to call *Moses*, and after him *Dauid*, and by them to deliuer his people first and last. For *Moses* sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of *Reghel* from the other sheepheards, and drew them water to water their sheepe: vpon which occasion (by God ordained) hee was entertained by *Iethro*, whose daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries.

- 10 From hence also came *Iethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not farre from *Idumaea*, and finding the insupportable gouernement of such a multitude, hee aduised him to distribute this weightie charge, and to make Gouernours and Iudges of euery Tribe and Familie. And if *Iethro* had bene an *Ethiopian*, it had bene a farre progresse for him to haue passed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to haue found *Moses* in the border of *Idumaea*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moses* and all that fauoured him. But the passing of *Moses* through *Arabia Petraea* (which ioyneth to *Madian*) proueth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts: in which the second time he wandered fortie yeeres, and did by these late traualles of his seeke to instruct the children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true God, before hee brought them to the land of plentie and rest. For he found them nourished vp with the milke of Idolatry, and obdurate in the Religion of the Heathen, and finding that those stiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, hee ware them out in the deserts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those hee might receiue fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and Gods Commandments.
- 20 them to the land of plentie and rest. For he found them nourished vp with the milke of Idolatry, and obdurate in the Religion of the Heathen, and finding that those stiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, hee ware them out in the deserts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those hee might receiue fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and Gods Commandments.
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Lastly, this opinion of *Iosephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrysamenis*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who auowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His owne wordes haue this beginning. *Menstruationem APOLLINARIS duas uxores habuisse MOSEN, &c.* *APOLLINARIS* also lyeth in affirming that *MOSES* had two wives: and who doth not perceiue these things faied by them? for it is manifest that the wife of *MOSES* was *ZEPHORA*, daughter to the Priest or President of *Madian*: and that *Madian* cannot be taken for *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt*; being the same that ioyneth to *Arabia*: So saith *Chrysamenis*.

†. III.

CHVSII ill expounded for *Ethiopia*, *Ezech. 29. 10.*

- NOW as *Chusii* is by the *Septuagint* conuerted *Ethiopia*, and the wife of *Moses* therefore called *Ethiopiſſa*: so in the conquest of *Nabuchodonosor* is *Ethiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the wordes of *Ezechiel* it is manifest that *Nabuchodonosor* was neuer in *Ethiopia*. Behold (saith *Ezechiel*) it is manifest that this great *Assyrian* I come vpon thee and vpon thy Rivers, and I will make the land of *Egypt* utterly wast and desolate, from the Tower of *Senenub*, even to the borders of the Black-moares: which last wordes should haue bene thus conuerted: From the Tower of *Senenub* to the borders of the *Chusites* or *Arabians*: betwene which two is situated all *Egypt*. Forto say, from the borders of *Senenub* to the *Ethiopiſſians*, hath no sense at all. *Senenub* it self being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and ioyning to *Ethiopia*, or the land of the Black-moares. So as if *Nabuchodonosor* conquest had bene betwene *Senenub* and the border of *Ethiopia*, it were as much to say, and did expresse no other victorie then the conquest of all that land and Countrey lying betwene *Middlesex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries ioyned together; or all the North parts of *England*, betwene *Barnick* and *Seagland*: for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man sought to expresse by these two bounds, the conquest of *England*.
- 40
- Ezech 29. 10.

England : *Barryck* being the North border of England, as *Senenb* or *Syene* is the South bound of *Aegypt*, seated in *Thebaida* which toucheth *Ethiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonosor* neuer entred into any part of *Ethiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Yulgar*, the *Genes*, and all other (in effect) haue written *Ethiopia* for *Chus*.

† IIII.

An other place of *EZECHIEL*. C. 30. v. 9. in like manner mistaken.

And as the former, so is this place of *Ezechiel* mistaken, by being in this fort concurred. In die illa egredientur muney a facie mea in triceribus ad conterendum *Ethiopia* confidentiam : Which place is thus turned in English by the *Geneuans*. In that day shall there messengers goe forth from mee in ships to make the careless *Moors* afraid. Now the Latine for (ships) hath the Greeke word *trieres* for *trivemes* which are Gallies of three bankes, and not ships. But that in this place the translation should haue bene (as in the former) amended by vling the word *Chus*, or *Arabia* for *Ethiopia* or the black *Moors*, euery man may see which meanly vnderstandeth the Geography of the world, knowing, that to passe out of *Aegypt* into *Ethiopia* there neede no gallies nor ships, no more then to passe out of *Northampton* into *Leicester* : *Ethiopia* being the conterminat Region with *Aegypt*, and not diuided so much as by a riuer. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Aegypt* *Nabuchodonosor* should send gallies alongst the coast of the Red sea, by which an Army might bee transported into *Arabia* the happy and the stony (sparing the long wearisome march ouer all *Aegypt* and the deserts of *Pharon*) which Army might thereby surprisethem vnawares in their security and confidence. For when *Nabuchodonosor* was at *Senenb* within a mile of *Ethiopia*, hee needed neither Galley nor Shippe to passe into it: beeing all one large and firme land, with *Aegypt*, and no otherwise parted from it, then one Inland thire is parted from another ; and if hee had a fancy to haue rowed vp the riuer but for pleasure, hee could not haue done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling ouer high and steepy mountaines) called *Catadupa Nilus* were at hand.

Lastly, as I haue already obserued, the sonnes of euery father seated themselves as neere together as possibly they could ; *Gomer* and his sonnes in *Asia* the lesse ; *Iauan* and his sonnes in *Greece* and the Islands adioyning ; *Shem* in *Persia* and Eastward. So the sonnes and Grand-children of *Chus* from the riuer of *Gehon* (their fathers first seat) inhabited vpon the same, or vpon some other continuat vnto it, as *Nimrod* and *Hauilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the Hebrewes had neuer any acquaintance or fellowship, any warre, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Ethiopian* blacke moores, as is already remembred in the Chapter of *Paradise*.

† V.

A Place E S A Y 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted by taking *Chus* for *Ethiopia*.

And as in these places before remembred, so in diuers other is the word *Ethiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chus*, which puts the story (where it is so vnderstood) quite out of square, one kingdom being taken for another. For what sense hath this part of Scripture *Esay* 18. *Va terra Cymbalorum alarum quae est trans flumina Ethiopie*, or according to the *Septuagint* in these words. *Va terra nauium alarum quae est trans flumina Ethiopie* ? Wo to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the riuers of *Ethiopia*, sending Ambassadors by sea, seen in vessels of reeds vpon the waters, *Va terra Cymbalorum*

emlof a ora: Wee to the land of the shadow cast, faith Iustus. The former translators vnderstand it in this sense. That the waters are shadowed with the sailes, which are significantly called the wings of the ships, the other, that the Coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the land.

But to the purpose: That this land heere spoken of by the Prophet *Ezay* is *Egypt* no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that sent this message to the *Israhelites* which *Ezay* repeateth, and by the former translation euery man may see the transposition of Kingdomes: for heereby *Egypt* is transported vnto the other side of *Ethiopia*, and *Ethiopia* set next vnto *Iudaea*, when it is the land of *Chus* and *Arabia*: in deede that lieth between *Iudaea* and *Egypt*, and not *Ethiopia*, which is seated vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line. And of this *Berodatus* asketh a materiall question, (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the riuers of *Ethiopia*: *Quam de ignota agi regione dici nequit. Forti non bee said that hee reateb of an unknowne region.* Now if *Ethiopia* it selfe be vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line, with whom the *Iewes* had neuer any acquaintance, why should any man dreame that they had knowledge of Nations farre beyond it again, and beyond the riuers of *Ethiopia*? except wee shall impiously thinke that the Prophet spake hee knew not what, or vied an impertinent discourse of those nations, which were not discovered in 2000. years after, inhabiting as farre south as the

20 Cape of good hope, commonly knowne by the name of *Bona esperanza*.

7. VI.

That upon the like mistaking, both *TERRAHAKA* in the story of *SENA-CHERIB*, and *ZERA* in the story of *ASA* are vndoubtedly made *Ethiopianes*.

AND by this translation is the story of *Senacherib* utterly mistaken in the cause of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was first repulsed at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance
30 of *Egypt* from *Iudaea*: when hauing certaine knowledge that *Thirrhakeb*, (which all the interpreters call King of *Ethiopia*) was on the way to set on him, he beganne to withdraw himselfe, and fearing to leaue his Army in two parts, he sent threatening messengers to *Ezechia* King of *Iuda* perswading him to submit himselfe: the tenour whereof is set downe in the second of *Kings*: in these words. *Haue any of the Gods of the Nations deliuered his land out of the hands of the King of Assur? Where is the God of Hama* &c. By which proud Ambassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Hierusalem*, hee then meant to haue vnted that great Army before *Hierusalem* commanded by *Rabsakeb* with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great City vpon the branch of *Iudaea* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those
40 Cities in *Iudaea* and *Beniamin* with a third Armie, (which himselfe commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But vpon the rumour of that *Arabian* Armie led by their King *Thirrhakeb* (whom *Iosephus* calls *Tharaces*) *Rabsakeb* halted from the siege of *Hierusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lebna* and set down before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthereopolis* as some haue supposed. But while hee had ill successe at *Pelusium* and feared *Thirrhakeb* God himselfe whom he least feared brooke his Army before *Hierusalem* by the Angell of his power, so as 185000. were found dead in the place as in the life of *Ezechia* is heereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Tirrahakeb* was from *Arabia*, *Iosephus* himselfe makes it plaine. For he confesseth in the tenth booke the first Chapter of the *Iewes* antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*'s knowledge, that the Army which was a foote
50 (both to relieue the *Egyptians* and the *Iewes*) marched towards him by the way of the Desert: Now the Desert which lay indifferent betweene *Hierusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sar* which also toucheth on the three *Arabies*, to wit the stony, of which it is a part: the Desert, and the Happy; and by no other way in deede

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Ioseph. l. 10. c. 11.

Kings. 2. 19.

Antiq. l. 10.

Kings. 2. 19.

Lev. 24.

deede could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Ierusalem*. But, that there is any Desert betwene *Pelusium* and the South part of *Aegypt*, hath neuer yet bene heard of; or described by any *Cosmographer* or *Historian*. So then this Scripture of the second of Kings, verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For herethe word (*Chus*) is also translated *Ethiopia*; and in this sense have all the Interpreters, (but *Iunius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth verse. *He heard also men say of Thirrhakeh King of Ethiopia*, &c. whereas it should have bene thus conuerted with *Iunius*. *Audienti autem de Thirrhakeh Rege Chusis*, *He heard also of Thirrhakeh King of the Chusites*. For they were the *Chusites* and *Arabians*, whose houses and Citties were next the fire, and vpon whom the very smoke of *Iuda* flaming was blowne, being their nearest neighbours: and so were not the *Ethiopian* Black-Moores vnder the *Aequinoctial*, whom neither warre nor peace (which discouereth all Regions) euer found out, saith *Plinie*. For this King was no more King of *Ethiopia* then *Zerah* was, who invaded *Afa* King of *Iuda*, with an Armie of a Million and 3000. Chariots. Indee, how such an Armie and those Chariots should passe through all *Aegypt*, (the Kings of *Aegypt* being mightie Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how farre distant, iudge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to runne through them; neither was there euer any such strength of Black-Moores heard of in that part of the world, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Ethiopians* such traitors or conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* also called King of *Ethiopia*. But the word *Chus* being first so conuerted for *Ethiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the Seats of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or inuasions) followed one another in the former mistaking.

Tbal. §. c. 9.

157 Chron. c. 12.

†. VII.

A farther exposition of the place. ESAI. 18. 1.

Concerning these wordes in that eighteenth Chapter of *Esai*, *Nanum alarum*, winged fowls, (so the *Septuagint* turneth) or *Cymbalum alarum* (according to the Latines) sailes whistling in the winde, or *terra umbræ ora* (after *Iunius*) the land of a shadowed coast, or the land shadowing with wings, as our English *Geneva* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and *S. Hierome* haue one sense in effect. For the failes are commonly called the wings of a ship; and we vse to say ordinarily when our ships saile slowly, that they wanteth wings: (that is) when her failes are either worne or too narrow; and we also vse the same phrase of the winde whistling in the failes. And it may be that the *Egyptians* employed so many of those small ships, as their failes were fad to giue a shadow ouer the Red Sea. Euen to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (vpon *Esai*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth signifie both to shadow and to gingle (which is) to make a kinde of Cymbaline sound: so as the meaning of this place (saith *Pintus*) is this. *Woe to thee, O Aegypt*, which dost promise to others safeguard, under the shadow of thy wings, which (indeede) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Esai*: and this phrase is often elsewhere vsed, as in the sixteenth Psalm, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegeme*, *Defend me under the shadow of thy wings*. The Boats of reede spoken of are of two kinds; either of basket, willow couered with hides (as anciently in *Brittaine* or a tree made hollow in the bottome, and built vpon both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I haue seene in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

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157-5

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§. XI.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of *Aegypt*.

¶. I.

That *Mizraim* the chiefe planter of *Aegypt*, and the rest of the
 Sonnes of *HAM*, were seated in order, one
 by another.

10



He second Sonne of *Han* was *Mizraim*, who (according to the place
 of a second brother) was sent somewhat further off to inhabite. For
Chus first possit *Chaldea* on the West side of *Gebon* chiefly: and from
 thence, as hee increased in people, so hee centred *Arabia*, and by time
 came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the Southeast-side of *Inde*.
Mizraim his brother (with *Phut*) past over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Aegypt*:
 and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* tooke
 the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palestina*: and these foure brothers possit all
 that Tract of land, from *Gebon* in *Chaldea*, as farre to the West as the *Mediterran*
 Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petras*, all *Canaan* which embraceth
Galilee, *Samaria*, and *Judea*; with the two *Aegypts*, whereof the nether is bounded
 by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida*
 (called the vpper *Aegypt*) stretcheth it selfe toward the South as farre as *Syene*, the
 border of the *Ethiopsians* or Black-Moores. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* West-
 ward *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other nation or familie that dwelt
 betweene them. And in the same manner did all their Sonnes againe, and all the
 sonnes of the rest of *Nachs* children, sort themselves.

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¶. II.

Of the time about which the name of *Aegypt* beganne to be knowne: and of the
Aegyptians Lunarie yeares, which made their antiquities 76. 255.
 some the more fabulous.

His flourishing Kingdome possit by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and
 became *Aegypt*, at such time as *Aegyptus* (otherwise *Rameses*, as some thinke)
 the sonne of *Belus* chased thence his elder brother *Danau*, thrusting him into that
 part of *Greece* now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Dana*, abandon-
 ning their proper names: which happened 877. yeares after the flood, in the time
 of *Iofua*, as *S. Augustine* coniectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homers Odyssey* it ap-
 peareth that the *Aegyptians* were so called at the time of the *Troian* warre. And be-
 fore this, *Aegypt* was knowne by diuers other names, as *Oecana*, *Asia*, *Osriana*, &c.
 And *Manethon* (whom *Iosephus* citeth in his first booke against *Apion*) numbred all
 the Kings of *Aegypt* after *Moses* departure, who consumed 392. yeares. By which
 other men coniecture, that the *Aegyptians* tooke on them that name 330. yeares af-
 ter *Iofua*, and about 1000. yeares after the flood. But where *Iosephus* in the same
 booke taketh *Israel* to be those *Iffus*, which he also calleth *Pastores* or Sheep-herds,
 which are said to haue reigned in *Aegypt* 511. yeares: whom also he calleth his An-
 cesters, (meaning the Ancesters of the *Iewes*) in this I am sure he was grossly decei-
 ved, or that he vainely boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon*
 saith: nor abode in *Aegypt* so long a time by many yeares.

Of the *Aegyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*,
Diogenes, *Mela*, and others. For they affirme (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had
 reigned in *Aegypt* 330. Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporarie with *Cyrus*;
 and

and that they had memorie and storie of 13000. yeares; and that the starres had foure times changed their course, and the Sunne twice set in the East. These riddles are also rise among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirme that they are more ancient then *Jupiter* and the *Moone*, whereof *Ouid*:

De Fall. 1.

Ante Iouem genitum terræ habuisse seranus
Arcades: & Lunæ gens prior illa fuit.

The *Arcadians* the earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moone* did shine, or *Ioue* was bred.

10

But for those 13000. yeares it may well bee true: seeing it is certaine that the *Egyptians* reckon their yeares by *Moneths*, which makes after that account not above 1000. or 1100. yeares, whether wee take their *Moneths* or *Lunarie* yeares to haue bene of the first kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres, or otherwise 29. dayes and twelue houres; or after any other of those fiue diuerities of their *Lunarie* yeares.

†. III.

Of certaine vaine assertions of the Antiquitie of the
Egyptians.

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GERARDVS MERCATOR in his *Chronologie*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* antiquitie in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynastie* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the generall flood: and that therefore the first of the other fiftene reached the creation, or soone after it. To which coniecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer. That therein *Mercator* was first deceiued, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie* was at once with the generall flood: which *Eusebius* maketh 292. yeares after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the thirteenth *Dynastie* (being in number the 17.) in the time of their first King, *Saltis*, to haue bene in the yeare of the world 1846. which *Eusebius* findeth in the worlds age 2140. For the 16. *Dynastie* was begunne but in the 292. yeare after the flood, as they account, and continued 190. yeares. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh euery *Dynastie* to endure 115. yeares, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at lesse then 100. yeares: for the 28. had but 6. yeares; the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. yeares.

Now *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15. *Dynasties* lasted but 162. yeares: and that the first of the 15. beganne but in the 131. yeare after the flood: so as where *Mercator* makes all the 15. to preceed the flood, and the 16. to haue bene then in being at the time of the flood, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrarie of fallhood cannot bee hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former opinion and assertion, that it was in the 131. yeare that *Nimrod* with the sonnes of *Noah* came into the Valley of *Shinar*: so hee forgets the time which was in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confusion of speech there was no dispersion, nor farre-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conueyed *Gomer* into *Italie*, and *Tubal* into *Spaine*, in the 10. yeare of *Nimrod* s raigne: (which was ten yeares after his arrivall into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more vnadvised. For he makes *Egypt* possesse, and a gouernement established in the very first yeare of the arrivall of *Nimrod* into *Shinar*, before all partition, or any expedition farre off or neare in question: for from thence (that is, from *Babel*) did the Lord scatter them vpon all the earth.

†. IIII.

† IIII

Against PERERIVS: that it is not unlikely, but that *Ægypt* was peopled within 200. years after the creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the world were peopled before the flood.

10 **B**UT whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow this Antiquitie of the *Ægyptians*, touching their *Dynasties*, (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I doe not finde any great strength in this opinion of *Pererius*; (to wit) that it was either vnlikely or impossible that *Ægypt* should bee peopled within 100. or 200. years after *Adam*, in the first age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall flood, I doe verily beleue the contrarie; and that not only of *Ægypt*, but the better part of all the world was then peopled: *Pererius* his wordes are these. *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos ADAMI proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Ægyptum usque habitandum & complendum propagata sit, &c.* For how could the children of *ADAM* be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred years of the world, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill *Ægypt*? for allowing this (with *Pererius*) we must also confesse, that there were then
20 both the *Assyrians*, and other Nations.

Now seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saving belceif, it is lawfull for euery man to bee guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I doe not gamsay any mans opinion out of any crossing or caulling humour: for I thinke it the part of euery Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibilitie of vniou, then out of froward subtiltie, and prudiuate resolute-nesse, to maintaine factions needlesse, and dangerous contentions.

First, therefore to this opinion, that *Ægypt* was not planted so soone after *Adam*, no, not at all before the flood, I say that there is no reason why wee should giue a lesse increase to the sonnes of *Adam*, then to the sonnes of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the flood double, and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proofe of their strength and abilitie, to beget many children: and at that time they obserued no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinitie. And that there was a speedie increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appeare by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearefull that the death of *Abel* would haue bene reuenged on him) withdrew himselfe from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the land of *Nod*, and there by the helpe of his owne issues built a Citie, (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first borne. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar* with so many multitudes, as sufficed to build the Citie and Tower of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was giuen but 130. years by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly vnderstood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phaleg*) but one hundred and one year: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancie of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, euen within 130. years, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. years after (that is, by such time as the world had flood 200. years) aswell *Assyria*, *Syria*, and *Ægypt* might be posselt before the flood, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance, or true storie of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian Empire*, that all those people, which were increased in the first
30 hundred or 130. years after the flood, came into *Shinar* and *Babylonia*. For that euer *Noah* himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authoriti to proue it, so all probable coniecture and reason it selfe denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerfull numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her owne Armie of three Millions, (and these left not

all her Kingdomes emptye) doe well proue, that if the world had such plentie of people in so few years after the flood, it might also bee as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account *Ninus* gouerned *Babylonia* and *Assyria* but 92. years after the flood of *Noah*. And these troupes of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdomes, from *Media* to the *Mediterran* Sea; when there had now past from the flood to the time of this her inuasion, somewhat lesse or more then 365. years: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of *Semiramis* Armie, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be giuen. And if but the one halfe be true of that which is said, That her Armie consisted of 1300000. footmen, and 500000. horsemen, it must needs bee, that long before *Semiramis* raigne, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it selfe (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of *Semiramis* haue bene plentifully peopled, when *Ninus* having a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also be peopled. Now if we may beleue *Trogus Pompeius* (*Epitome* by *Iustine*) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was borne. For these be his owne wordes, speaking of *Ninus*. *Fière quidem temporibus antiquioribus VEXORIS Rex Aegypti, &c.* But there were in times more ancient *VEXORIS* King of *Egypt*, and *TANAI* King of the *Scythians*: of which the one inuaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the world was, the conquests of *Ninus* witness, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterwards the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole body of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbred the Armie, wherewith *Ninus* inuaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000. footmen, and 200000. horsemen: and the stories generally shew, that though *Zoroaster*'s Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater then any that those parts of the world euer since beheld. But to what end should I seeke for forraime authoritie? for no man doubteth but that *Egypt* was possesst by *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell vs. And sure to prepare and cultivate a desolate and ouergrowne ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and pollicies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few dayes: and therefore it must bee inhabited in a lesse time then 200. years after the flood; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the flood. For if so many Millions of men were found within 300. years after the generall flood, so as not only *Babylon*, and *Assyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palestina*, yea the farre-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those nations be compress, which 1656. years brought forth before the flood? euen necessitie, which cannot bee resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne world; especially, where Death forbore the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheld liuing Nations of his owne body.

†. V.

of some other reasons against the opinion of *PERERVS*.

FOR what a strange increase did the long liues of the first age make, when they continued 800. or 900. years. Surely, we haue reason to doubt, that the world could not containe them, rather then that they were not spread ouer the world. For let vs now reckon the date of our liues in this age of the world: wherein if one exceede 50. years, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we findeno want of people;

people; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by warres or pestilence they were not sometimes taken of by many thousands, the earth with all the industrie of man could not giue them food. What strange heapes then of soules had the first ages, who enioyed 800. or 900. yeares, as aforesaid. These numbers, I say, cannot bee counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which haue bene borne in *Brittaine* since 3. or 4. hundred yeares before the *Norman Conquest* (sauiug such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now aliu; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygome* might haue bene increased. For (to omit, that the *Giants* and mightie ones of the first age obserued no law of matrimonic) it is to be thought that those louers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberall time which Nature had giuen them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could flee from or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men careless of life, and feareless of death, then the little time which keeps them afunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many paines and diseases, which this cruell old age of the world minglet together, and sloweth with the feedes of mankind?

Now if that *Berosus* or *Annus* may be alleaged for sufficient Authours, whom *Petrus* himselfe in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Iosephus* confirmed, that the Citie of *Enoch* was seated neare *Lybanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I see no cause why *Palatins* (which is also a Province of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighbourth it) could bee left desolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all those times betweene his death and the flood, which were by estimation 700. or 800. yeares. And sure though this Fragment of *Berosus* with *Annus* his Comment bee very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to bee reiected. Therefore *St. Hierome* for such Authours giues a good rule. *Bona eorum elegimus, vitium contraria, Let vs choose what is good in them, and reiect the rest.* And certainly in the very beginning of the first Booke, *Berosus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moses*, touching the generall flood: and in that first part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mightie Men and *Giants* which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded ouer all Nations, and subiected the vniuersall world: and though that phrase (*of all the world*) be often vsed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the *Acts*. *That there were dwelling at Hierusalem Iewes, men that feared God of euery Nation vnder heauen:* yet by wordes which follow in *Berosus*, it is plaine that his wordes and sense were the same: for hee addeth from the Sunnes rising to the Sunnes setting, which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely coniecture, that *Nash* did not part and proportion the world among his sonnes at aduenture, or left them as discoverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had bene inhabited.

40 And it cannot be denied that the earth was more passable and easie to trauiell ouer before the flood, then after it. For *Petrus* himselfe confesseth, that *Atties* (by reason of mudd and slime which the water left vpon the earth) was uninhabited 200. yeares after *Ogyges* flood, whereby wee may gather that there was no great pleasure in passing into farre Countries after the generall deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) incorped for 100. or 130. ycares together. And therefore was the face thereof in all coniecture more beautifull, and lesse cumberfome to walke ouer, in the first age then after the generall ouerflowing.

†. VI.

Of the wordes of MOSES, GEN. 10. v. ultimo, wherein PERERIUS grounded his opinion.

Lastly, whereas Pererius draws this argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of *Genesis*. And out of these were the Nations divided after the flood; *Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium*, By which it appeareth (saith Pererius) that there was no such division before the flood; which he also seeketh to confirme out of the eleventh of *Genesis*, because the division of tongues was cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, *quo significatur*, &c. seemeth to me very weak: the text it selfe rather teaching the contrarie: for out of these (saith MOSES) were the Nations divided in the earth after the flood; inferring, that before the flood the Nations were divided out of others, though after the flood out of these only. But whatsoeuer sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the flood, or to any plantation or division in that age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could be divided after the flood, but Noahs Sonnes, wherein doth that necessarie division controle the planting of the world before it? And whereas it is alleged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion, it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had neuer beene built, nor any confusion of languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and generall plantation: as *Berosus* saies well, that when mankind were exceedingly multiplied, *ad comparandum sedes necessitas compellebat*, They were driven by necessity to seek new habitations. For we finde (as is before said) that within 300. yeares after the flood, there were gathered together into two Armies, such multitudes as the valley about *Babylon* could not have sustained those numbers with their increase for any long time: all *Asia* the greater and the lesser; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palestina*, and *Aegypt*, with *Greece*, and the Islands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Lybia* being also at that time fully peopled. And if we beleue *Berosus*, then not only those parts of the world, but (within 140. yeares after the flood) *Spaine*, *Italie*, 30 and *France* were also planted: much more then may wee thinke, that within 1656. yeares before the flood, in the time of the chiefe strength of mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly seeing all the world was overflowne, there were people in all the world which offended.

†. VII.

A conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian antiquities: with somewhat of ΠΗΥΤ (another Some of ΗΑΜ) which peopled *Lybia*.

Therefore, for the Antiquite of the Egyptians, as I doe not agree with *Mercator*, nor iudge with the *Vulgar*, which giue too much credit to the Egyptians antiquities: so I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceiue it. But I rather incline to this, That *Egypt* being peopled before the flood, and 200. or 300. yeares, more or lesse after *Adam*, there might remaine vnto the Sonnes of *Misraim* some monuments (in Pillers or Altars of stone or mettall) of their former Kings or Gouvernours: which the Egyptians hauing added to the list and rolle of their Kings after the flood, in succeeding time (out of the vanitie of glorie, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memorie of antiquite was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldeans*, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the yve of Letters and the Art of Astronomie was knowne to the *Babylonians* 3634. yere before *Alexanders* conquest: and this report *Annus* findeth to agree

agree and reach to the time of *Enosh*, who was borne 1034. years before the flood, and wrote of the worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christ* his comming in judgement, as *St. Iude* hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgements, and every man to his owne reason, I will conclude this plantation of *Aegypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it tooke the name of *Aegypt* from *Aegyptus* the sonne of *Belus*, as aforesaid. Being diuided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterran* Sea, was called the inferiour *Aegypt*; surnamed also *Delta*: because the severall branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the River, gaue it the forme of the Greeke letter *Delta*, which is the forme of a *Triangle*. That branch, which ranne toward the North-east and embraced the Sea, next unto the Deserts of *Sur* and *Pharus*, had on it the Cittie of *Pelusium*, where *Senacherib* was repulsed: The other branch, which yielded it selfe to the salt water towards the North-west, is beautified by that famous Cittie of *Alexandria*: The vpper part of *Aegypt* is bounded betwene *Memphis* and *Syene* neare *Ethiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaïda*, of that ancient Cittie of *Thebes*, which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*; and by the Greekes *Diospolis*; in the Scriptures *Nophon*, which signifieth multitudes of inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. *Ioseph* calls *Aegypt* *Mersin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirms that it had once the name of *Thebaïs*.

*Ioseph. l. 1. c. 1.
cap. 7.
Herod. Enterp.*

L. 5. c. 1.

But the third sonne of *Ham* tooke the next portion of land to his brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whose people were anciently called *Phutici*; (sayth *Iosephus*) and *Plinius* mentioneth the river *Fut* in *Mauritania*: which river from the mountaine *Atlas* (knowne to the inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chush* and *Lud* were *contermini* and associates with the *Aegyptians*.

§. XII.

Of the eleven sonnes of CANAAN, the fourth sonne
of HAM.

†. I.

Of the bounds of the land of CANAAN: with the names of
his eleven sonnes.

40



ANAAH (the fourth sonne of *Ham*) posselt all that Region called by the *Romanes* *Palaestina*; in the Scriptures *Galilea*, *Samaris*, and *Iudaea*; in the later times knowne by the name of the Holy Land and *Iure*: the limits whereof are preciselie set downe by *Moses*, *Genes. 15* the tenth. Then the border of the *Canaanites* was from *Zidon* as thou goest to *Gerar* untill *Aschub*, and as thou goest unto *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, and *Admah*, and *Zebaim*, even unto *Lafha*. Now howsoever these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be converted, *Moses* meaning was that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan* and *Zidon* the North; *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* the East, and the other Cities named stood on the frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right line from *Gaza* in the way of *Aegypt*, the vetermost territorie of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the land of *Canaan*.

Now the sonnes of *Canaan* which posselt this Countrey, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven:

P 3

1. *Zidon*

1. Zidon.
2. Heth or Chethus.
3. Jebusi or Jebusau.
4. Emari or Emareus, or Amoreus.
5. Gergeshi or Gergesew.
6. Heni or Chineus.
7. Arki or Harkens.
8. Seni or Sinaw.
9. Araadi or Aruadens.
10. Zemari or Samareus, or Tzemareus.
11. Hamathi or Hamathens, or Chamathaus.

Of which the most renowned were the Hethites, Gergesites, Amoriters, Henites, Jebusites, and Perizzites: which Perizzites were descended of Zemari or Samareus, or from some of his.

¶ II.

Of the portions of ZIDON and HETH.

ZIDON the first borne of Canaan, built the famous Citie of Zidon in Phenicia, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of Aser: for Aser, Zabulon, and Nephthali had a great part of the ancient Phenicia distributed among them; but the Asserites could neuer obtaine Zidon it selfe.

The second sonne of Canaan was Heth or Cethus; of whom came the Hethites, or Hittites, one of those seuen principall Nations (commanders of Canaan) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the Gergesites, the Amoriters, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, and Henites, and the Jebusites. The Hittites inhabited about Bersabee, and towards Hebron neere the Torrent Besor, and about Gerar, which Moses maketh the vttermost limit of Canaan, hauing the Desert of Pharan to the South: for about Bersabee (otherwise Putens in aramenti) foure miles from Gaza dwelt Heth and his posteritie, as farre to the Northeast as Hebron, and Mamre; and of Ephraim the Hittite did Abraham buie the field of Sarahs buriall. Of which Nation Rebecca bewailed her selfe to Isaac, saying, *That shee was wearie of her life for the daughters of Heth*. The Giants Anakim were of these Hittites, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of Israel against them the Syrians greatly feared: as in the fourth of the Kings; *Israel hath hired against vs the Kings of the Hittites*.

¶ III.

Of the Jebusites and Amoriters.

JEbusus, the third sonne of Canaan, of whom came the Jebusites, and whose principall seat was Jebus, (afterward Hierusalem) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their Citie and the Countrey neere it, till such time as David by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the Jebusites extinguished, but were Tributaries to S. Adonon.

Amoreus was the fourth sonne of Canaan, of whom the Amoriters tooke name, who inhabited that land to the East of Iordan below the Sea of Galilee, having Arnon and the mountaines of Galaad on the East, and Iordan on the West: of whom Og (King of Basan) and Sihon (ouerthrowne by Moses) were Princes.

The Amoriters had also many other habitations dispersed within the boundes of Canaan: as behind Libanus in the edge of Calesyria, or Syria Libanica. They had also their

their being in the mountaines of *Iuda*, and in *Idumaea* neere the Metropolis thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometime called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fiftenth, for the wickednesse of the *Amorites* is not yet full. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet *Amos* : Yet destroyed I the *Amorite* before them, whose height was like the height of a *Cedar*, and he was strong as the *Oake*.

† IIII.

Of the Gergesites, Henites and Harkites.

THE fift sonne of *Canaan* was *Gergesew* or *Gergefon*, (otherwise *Girgasi*) who inhabited on the East side of the lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolome* sets the *Cittie Gersafa*, which *Iosephus* calles *Gesera* in the territorie of *Decapolis*. Here it was that *Christ* dispossessed the possessed with *Diuels*; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their coastes: because their swine filled with the euill spirits drowned themselves in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergesew* also built *Beryus* (sometime *Geris*) afterward *Felix Julia*, three miles from the riuier *Adonis* in *Phenicia*: in which the *Romans* held a garnison: and to which *Augustus* gaue manie large priuiledges.

Henus the sixth sonne; and Father of the *Henites*; inhabited vnder *Libanus* neere *Emath*. These *Henites*, howeouer the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomie* the second is remembered) yet many of them remained all the warre of *Iosua*, and afterward to the time of *Salomon*. For God was not pleased vntill they roote out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times serued (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written *Iudges* the third, They remained to proue *ISRAEL* by them, whether they would obey the Commandements of God.

The seventh sonne was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who betwene the foote of *Libanus* and the *Mediterran* Sea, (ouer against *Tripolis*) built the *Cittie of Arches*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

† V.

Of Sini and Aruadi.

SINEUS the eighth Sonne *Hierosolymitanus* sets at *Caparorfa*, which *Ptolome* finds in *Iuda* not farr from *Iebus*; to the South thereof, saith *Iunius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sim*, which *S. Hierome* calls *Sim*; *Ptolome* *Simyra*: *Me-la* and *Plinie* *Smyrus*: *Brocard* *Syeon*, (called *Synochis*) neere *Arca*. *Peterius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the Deserts of *Sinai* or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certaintie then the report of *Brocard*, who tooke view of all these places, affirming that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini* (written with the letter *C*. otherwise *Kenai*) who descended of *Hobab* the Sonne of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israelites* in their conduction through the wildecnesse of *Pharan*. But these *Cinai* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephthalims*, beside their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinai* *Balaam* prophesied, that they should be destroyed by the *Asyrians*.

The ninth Sonne was *Aradeus* or *Aruadeus*, who in the Isle of *Arados* built the *Cittie Arados*: opposite against which Island on the maine of *Phanicia*, they founded another *Cittie* of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this *Cittie* came *S. Peter* (saith *Clement*) and in this Isle preached the Gospel: and founded a Church in honour of our Ladie: but wee finde no such worke of

c. 7. v. 8.

of his in the Acts of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous: and places of skillfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembereth in his prophecies against the *Zyrians*. The inhabitants of *Zidon* and *Arad* were thy *Marriners*.

¶ VI.

OF ZEMARI.

Beroal, in Chron.
16. 4.

1 Kings 16. 38.

o Beroal

OF *Samarus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth Sonne, there are diuers opinions. Some thinke that he first inhabited in *Calesyria* at *Edeffa*, and founded *Samaraim*, 10 which in *Iosua* is placed in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. There is also *Samaraim* (of the same Orthographie) vpon the mountaines of *Ephraim* (saith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chronicles* c. 13. v. 4. which the Latine conuerteth amisse (saith hee) by *Semerom*. The Hierosolymitan Paraphrast makes *Samarus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emissiani*, which *Plinie* calls the *Hemisseni*, in *Calesyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they after wards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samarai*, both the Hebrew Orthographie, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omer*) disproueth. And he bought the mountaine *Samarai* or *Semerom* of one *SHEMER*, for two talents of silver, and built in the mountaine: and called the name of the Citie which he built, after the name of *SHEMER*, Lord of the mountaine *Samarai*. But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of *Israd*. Of whom soeuer the *Samaritanes* were defended, sure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the *Iewes* stood vp, they alwaies called themselves *Iewes*: when it suffered or sank, they then vtterly denyed to be of that Nation or Familie; for at such time as they were returned from their first captiuitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the *Colemies* of the *Assyrians*; and partly of the naturals.

¶ VII.

OF HAMATHI.

39

THE last of *Canans* Sonnes was *Hamathus*, or (according to the Hebrew) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*: (saith *Beroaldus*) of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, wherof *Hamathus* was parent. *Iosephus* and *S. Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*, not that *Antioch* which standeth on the Riuer *Oronites*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, betwene the mountaine *Castus* and the Province of *Pieria*, and *Selucia*, of which *S. Peter* was Bishop, and in which *S. Luke* and *Ignatius* were borne: but *Antioch*, turnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth betwene *Apamea* and *Emesa* in *Cabotia*. Yet, indeede, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* vpon *Oronites*, and that which neighbourth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canan*, then euer any of those Nations stragled. And whereas *S. Hierome* setteth *Emath*, which hee confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephthali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emesa*, hath all the Prouince of *Laodicea*, betwene it and any part of the land diuided. And if *Libanon* it selfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong vnto them: for both the Prouinces *Laodicea* and *Libania*, are betwene *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land. and therefore *Emath* so taken could not be a part of *Nephthali*, in the thirteenth of *Iosua* is directly proued. 50 For *Iosua* counting the lands that remained vnpoffest, reckoneth all mount *Libanon* towards the Sunne-rising, from *Babagad* vnder mount *Herman*, vntill we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is vied, that *Emath* was not in *Nephthali*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israd*: because *Dauid* accepted the presents of

Tehu

w. 5. m. 8. g.

Tolm King of *Emath*, and (therewithall) conditions of peace : which hee would not haue done, if that T^eritoric had euer belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would haue recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promise which God made be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomie*, then might *Emath* bee comprehended, though seated altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Iosua* : for *Emath* is indeede situate on the other side of the mountaine of *Hiermon*, which ioyneth to *Libanus* : and is otherwise called *Itures*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Iosua* the 19. v. 35. and written in the 10th Latine conuersion *Emath*, therein (saith *Beroaldus*) was *S. Hierome* mistaken. *Emath* or *Itureis* that ouer the mountaines, and the Citie in *Nephthim* should bee written *Hamath* : and so the *Septuagint* (vnderstanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the same which indeede belonged to the *Neophthalmis*, seated on the south side of *Libanus*, to the East of *Affedim* : which *Cittie S. Hierome* writes *Emath*, *Iosephus* *Hamath*, others *Emathin*, or *Amathos*, and the people *Amathin* ; of which (as I take it) *Rabshakeh* vaunteth in the second of *Kings*. *Where is the God of Hamath.* c. 11. v. 24. c. 18. v. 17.

§. XIII.

20 of the Sonnes of *CHUS* (excepting *NIMROD*) of whom hereafter.

The sonnes of *Chus* were,

{	<i>Seba,</i>	}	And the sonnes of <i>Raama</i> were, {	}	<i>Sheba,</i>						
	<i>Hauila,</i>					}	<i>and</i>				
	<i>Saba,</i>							}	<i>De dan.</i>		
	<i>Raama,</i>									}	
	<i>Sabteca,</i>										}
	<i>Nimrod.</i>										

†. I.

30 That the moſt of the Sonnes of *CHUS* were seated in *Arabia* the *Happie* : and of the *Sabaans* that robbed *ION* : and of the *Queen* that came to *SALOMON*.

40 **S**ESA or *Saba* was the eldest Sonne of *Chus*, the eldest Sonne of *Ham*, to make a difference betweene him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the Sonne of his brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Ragna* after *Montanus*) his name is written with a single (*S*) *Sanche*, and *Sheba* the Sonne of *Regma* with an (*S*) aspirate, which is the Hebrew *Schin*. *Seba* the eldest Sonne of *Chus*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the Sonne of *Regma* posselt both the shores of *Arabia Felix*. *Saba* tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as nearest his Father *Chus*, and the land of the *Chusites* : *Regma* and *Sheba* the East coast of the same *Arabia* which looketh into the *Gulfe of Persia*, of which *Plinie*. *Sabai Arabum populi propter thuracrarissimam utrag, maria porrectis gentibus habitant*, The *Sabaans* people of *Arabia*, famous for their *Frankincense*, extending their Nations dwell along both the Seas (to wit) the *Persian*, and the *Arabian*, or Red Sea. This Countrey was afterwards called *Arabia*, à populi mixtione, saith *Postellus*. To this agreeth *Plomie*, who setteth the Citie of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or Red Sea, and the Citie *Rhegama* towards the *Persian*, with whom also wee may leaue *Saba* : for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Plomie*, because he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabai*) near the *Persian* Sea ; and *Massabatha* which defended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him *Rabmus*) for *Carmania*, for which I see no reason. *Iosephus*, who only attended his owne fancies, hath banished *Saba* : or *Seba* to the border of *Æthiopia*. But

But *Beroaldus* thinks it strange, that the *Sabai*, which stole away *Iob's* Cattle, should runne through all *Egypt* and all *Arabia Petraea*, and finde out *Iob* in *Tracenis* betwene *Palaestina* and *Calefrya* 1200. miles off. Now as this coniecture was more then ridiculous, so doe I thinke, that neither the *Sabai* on the Red Sea, nor those toward the *Persian* Sea, could by any means execute the stealth vpon *Iob*, which locuer *Beroaldus* shall take for nearest. But these were the *Sabai* of *Arabia* the Desert, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the *Cittie Sabai* is seated: the same which *Ptolomee* calls *Sane*, now *Semifesac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the Desert, came those *Magi* or *Wise men* which worshipped *Christ*, saith *Melchior*, whose wordes are these. The *Magi* came neither out of *Mesopotamia* (as *Chrysostome*, *Hierome*, and *Ambrose* supposed) nor out of *Arabia* the *Happie*, as many wise men doe beleue, but out of *Sabain Arabia* the Desert: which *Cittie* when my selfe was there was (as I iudged it) called *Semifesac*. And to approue this opinion of *Guilandinus* it appeareth that these *Shabai* were neighbours to *Iob*, and lay fit to inuade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the *Persian* Sea, as those on the Red Sea) are so distoyned with large Deserts, as theris no possibilitie for strangers to passe them, especially with any numbers of Cattle, both in respect of the mountaynes, of the sands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts. *Poi nec homines nec bestia videntur, nec aues, imò nec arbores, nec germen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosif, altissimi, asperissimi*. Where there are found neither men nor beasts, no not so much as birds, or trees, nor any pasture or grasse, but only sharpe, and high stonie, and craggie mountaynes. *Beroaldus* and *Petrus* conceiue, that the *Queene of Saba* which came to visite *Salomon*, was of the *Sabai* on the East side of *Aravia Felix*; but the contrarie seemeth more probable, and that there was *Queene of Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Salomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, twixt *Idumaea* and the Red Sea, as farre downe as *Madian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this *Queene of Saba* which inhabited the West part of *Arabia Felix*, being his neighbour, might without any farre trouble enter his Territories, free from all danger of surpris by any other Prince or Nation.

But to auide tediousnesse, it is manifest that *Saba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Rasna*, or *Regma*, with his Sonnes *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the possesseurs of *Arabia* the *Happie* and the Desert: only *Hauilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the East side of *Cush*, who held *Arabia Petraea*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the *Cittie of Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the same *Arabia*: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptolomee*, who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the wals whereof there were sometimes found sixtie Temples. *Ezechel* ioyneth the Father and the Sonne together, *The Merchants of Sheba* and *Rasna* were they Merchants. And that they were the Easterne *Arabians* their merchandise witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradise*. For *Iosephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Asteroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopians* *Asbaris*; they be not worthe any farther answer then hath already bene giuen: especially seeing these *Citties* preserving the memorie of the names of *Saba* and of *Sabta* in *Arabia* were yet remaining in *Ptolomees* time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adioyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of *Cush*, with little alterations are preferred. In *Arabia* the Desert is found the *Cittie Saba* or *Sane*, (now *Semifesac*) with the *Cittie of Rhegma* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolomee* himselfe called *Rasbeni* of *Rasnah*. In *Arabia* the *Happie* is found the *Cittie of Rhegma*, and *Rasna*, which also keepeth the sound of *Rhegma*, the *Cittie of Sapha* or *Saptah*, not far from the East coast of *Arabia*: as also the *Metropolis* and chiefe citie, in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the West of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea the great Citie of *Saba*; and the Nation adioyning, *Sabai*: and to the south thereof againe toward the freight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Saba*. To all these his Brothers and Nephewes which were seated on the East side of *Arabia*, *Hauilah* by the passage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom he might passe by boate

euen

cuen vnto *Rhegma* the Cittie of *Rama*, or *Rhegma*, set neare the Riuer of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Persian* Sea, which stood in *Ptolemies* time.

†. II.

IOSEPHVS his opinion of *DEDAN*, one of the issue of *CHUSH* to haue bene seated in the West *Ethiopia*, disproued out of *EZECHIEL* and *HIEREMIE*.

- 10 **A**ND whereas *Iosephus* (whom in this *S^t Hieronne* followeth, as not curious heronely) sent *Dedan* the sonne of *Taanah* into West *Ethiopia*, it is strange that *Ezechiel* should couple *Sheba*, *Ramah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. verse, and *Sheba* and *Ramah* in the 22. verses to be the merchants of *Tyre*; if *Dedan* had dwelt in West *Ethiopia*, which is distant from *Ramah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) about 4000. miles. Besides which the Merchandise that the *Dedanians* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked Black-mores. For they of *Dedan* (saith *Ezechiel*) were thy merchants in pretious clothes for thy charriots; and these West *Ethiopians* neuer saw cloth, till the *Portugals* seeking those Coastes traded with them: the merchandise of the Countrey being Hides, Elephants teeth, some Gold and Amber, Ciuet eates, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for linnen, or iron cheffy.

But in those daies the West part of *Africa* within the body of the land was known onely by imagination: and being vnder the burnt Zone was held vnhabitable. And therefore that the *Negros* of the West *Ethiopia*, which inhabit about *Serra Lions*, or *Niger*, could either passe by Sea or Land to *Tyre* in the bottome of the *Mediterran* Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancie. Now to put it out of dispute that *Dedan* also dwelt by the rest of the children of *Chush*, which seates they held by that name in the time of *Hieremie* the Prophet lets heare *Hieremie* his own words. *Flie yee inhabitants of Dedan, for I haue brought, the destruction of Esau upon him.* Hereby it appeareth that *Dedan* was a neighbour to the *Idumians*: and *Idumee* is a Prouince of *Arabia Petrea*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Felix*, joyned in that part to *Petrea*, the seat of his Grand-father *Chush*, which neighborhood and fellowship of *Dedan* and the *Idumians* is also confirmed by *Ezechiel*. *Ezechiel* 25. *I will stretch out mine hand vpon Edom, and destroy Mon and Beisai out of it, and I will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.*

§. XIII.

Of the issue of *MIZRAIM*: and of the place of *HIEREMIE* Chap.

9. Vers. 7.

AFter *Chush* it followeth to speake of *Mizraims* sonnes, whose names (saith *Saint Augustine*) were plurall, to signifie the Nations, which came of them. *Ludim* the eldest sonne of *Mizraim* was the father of the *Lybians* in *Africa*: and the rest of his brothers dispersed themselues into all Regions adioyning. Among the sonnes of *Shem* there is also *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the sonne of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the sonne of *Shem* being written *Lud*, the sonne of *Mizraim* *Ludin*: and yet these names and nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of names and nations. For that *Ludin* the sonne of *Mizraim* was the parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that hee was seated not farr from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremie*, who joyneth them in this sort together. *Come vnye Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moors, and the Lybians which beare the shield: for those Nations assisted the Egyptian* beeing of one

The termination in the Hebrew, is commonly a signe of the plurall number, as you of the *Heb.*

CA. 6. 27. 9.

one parent descended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are ioyned together. *Ethiopia* (or *Chus*) saith *Ezechiel* c. 30. v. 3. And *Phut* and *Lud*, and all the common people, and the men of the land that are in league shall fall with them by the sword; which is as much to say, as the sonnes of *Chus*; (which were the *Chusites*) the Sonnes of *Misraim*, (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Lybians*, (descended of his sonne *Lud*) with other the inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa* shall fall together. *Herodotus* finds also in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lydians*. And I beleue it: because *Herem* ioyneth the *Lybians* and *Lydians* together in the place before remembered. But *Lybia* in *Africa* is by the Hebrew called *Ludim* (saith *Arias Montanus*) though 2. *Chron.* 12. 3. they seeme to be called *Lubim* or *Lubai*, a name somewhat nearer the word *Lybies*, and by which it may seeme that the truer writing is, not *Liby*, but *Lybie*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (vpon the thirtieth of *Ezechiel*) vnderstandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of *Lud*, not to be meane of the *Lybians* at all: for he will haue this threatening to be meant against the people of *Lyda*, a Citty (saith he) betwene *Egypt* and *Palestina*, which opinion I could not mislike if the Citty of *Lyda* were so seated. But *Lyda* (which should be written *Lydda* with a double *D*, and is the same Citty which was afterward *Diopsolis*, in which *S. Peter* cured *Aeneas* of the palsy) standeth neare the Torrent *Gaz*, not farre from Ioppe the Port of *Iherusalem*. Yet it is not impossible but that this Citty might haue *Lud* for the Founder. For there are many Cittyes of one name founded in all the Regions of the world, and farre asunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cittyes called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*, so of diuers others. *S. Hierome* maketh *Lehabim* to bee the Father of *Lybia* who was the third sonne of *Misraim*: and so doth *Poissellus*; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of *Misraim*s Sonnes haue no proper Countries giuen them in the Scriptures, sining *Cafluhim* and *Caphorim*, of whom came the *Philistims*, whom the Scriptures call *Pelset*.

These *Cafluhim* inhabited *Casiot*, a region lying in the entrance of *Egypt* from *Palestina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis* and the mountaine *Casius* are found: not farre from whence *Pempey* was buried.

Caphorim seated neare *Cafluhim* in that Tract of *Egypt* called *Sethroitis*, not farre from *Palestina*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethroitis*; *Stephanus* and *Plinie* *Sethroites*, of the Citty *Pethron*: which *Orellius* takes to be the same which *Ptolomie* calls *Hercules parus*. Of the *Cafluhim* and *Caphorim* came the *Philistims*, which are called by the *Septuagint* *Allophylis* (which is) *Alienigena*, strangers, or of a strange kindred. These *Philistims* inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards *Egypt*, of whom *Palestina* tooke name. For the Hebrews (saith *Isidore*) doe not vse the letter (*P*) but in stead of it (*ph*). Their principall Cittyes were *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gasei*, *Ascalonite*, *Azotij*, *Gethai*, and *Accaronite*. *Isidore* affirms that *Ascalon* was first called *Philistim*: and of that Citty the Countrey adioyning. But where *Isidore* had it, I know not.

The first knowne King of the *Philistims* was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abrahams* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a couenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeede at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written that hee was also King of the *Philistims*, in these wordes. *Wherefore* *Isaac* went to *Abimelech* King of the *Philistims* vnto *Gerar*. Now in regard that this or some ancient *Abimelech* gouerned the commonwealth greatly to his glorie, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The *Philistims* commanded that Tract of land vpon the *Mediterranean* Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of *Philgrims* (otherwise *Casarea Palestina* or *Tarvis Stratonius*) which was the fourth border of *Phoenicia*, to *Gaza* or to the Riuer of *Egypt*. The *Anakims* or strong Giants were of these *Philistims*: and *Goliath* was of *Geth* one of the five Cittyes aboue named. They had sometimes five Kings, saith *Liranus*. They mastered the *Israelites* at severall times aboue 150. yeares, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampson* and *Samuel*, but

Esai vpon the
33. Psalm.
Hierome vpon
the 29. of E-
zechiel.

in the end this yoke was taken off by DAVID, and layed on themselves.

It is objected, that because these Cities and the Countries adjoining were held by the sonnes of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispossesse the sonnes of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this faith *Percius*, that although the *Palestims* or *Philistims* held it in the time of *Iosus*, yet at the time of the promise it was possesse by the *Canaanites*; as in the second of *Deuteronomie*. The *Hebrews* dwelt in the Villages vnto *Gaza*. And what manerall if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistims* were of *Caphor*, and so of *Mizraim* and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses* the Prophet *Hieremie* witnesseth. The Lord will destroy the *Philistims*, *Hierem. 47. 4.* the remnant of the issue of *Caphor*: and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistims* are said to be the reliques of *Caphorim*; have not I brought up *ISRAEL* out of the land of *Egypt*, and the *Philistims* from *Caphor*, and *ARAM* from *Kir*? so I reade this place with diuers of the learned. For whereas the *Vulgar* translation, to which *Percius* calls *Caphorim* *Cappadocia* according to the *Vulgar* translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he meane *Cappadocia* in *Palestina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Asia* the lesse. For whether they inhabited *Selbreiter*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palestina*, it is not certainly knowne. And sure in this manner hee may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Teglephalser* King of the *Assyrians* carried away the inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir*: and so *Iosephus* seemes to vnderstand this *Kir*, for *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene Media superior*: for it was the manner and pollicie of the *Assyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-media*: because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captiued.

Of which see in the second Booke, chap. 7. §. 3. & 5.

C. 16. v. 9.

§. XV.

Of the issue of *SEM*.

1. I.

Of *ELAM*, *ASSYR*, *ARPHAXAD*, and *LYD*.

It remaineth lastly to speake of the Sonnes of *Sem*, who were these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*.
2. *Assur*.
3. *Arphaxad*.
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

He posteritie of *Sem* *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them hee proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and storie of the *Hebrews*. For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.

Of these fiue Sonnes the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him and *Aram*, the rest

are



are barely spoken of by rehearfall of their names, saying that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Ninneh*) was also said to be the Father of the *Assyrians*, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham* instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obeyed, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth vs, that all the East parts of the world were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (saying *India*) which I beleuee *Noah* himselfe first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Flauilab* the sonnnes of *Ishtar* afterward repaired. *His filij Sem ab Euphrate flumia partem Asia vsque ad Oceanum Indicum tenebant*. These sonnnes of *Sem* (saith *S. Hierome*) held all those Regions from *Euphrates* to the *Indian Ocean*.

259b. an. l. 1. c. 7

Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred *Asht* the 2. v. the 9. and the Princes of *Persia*; which name then beganne to bee out of vse and lost, when the *Persians* became Masters of *Babylonia*: the East Monarchie being established in them. Some prophane writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the Scriptures call *Susian*) in *Elam* was the Kings seat of *Persia* (witnesseth *Daniel*). And I saw (saith he) in a vision, and when I saw it I was in the Palace of *Susian*, which is in the Province of *Elam*. This Citie embraced by the *Riuer Eulaus* (according to *Ptolome*) in *Daniel*, *Ylai*: and seated in the border of *Susiana*.

c. 8. v. 2.

Psal. Asia. lab. 5.

Dan. 8. 2.

Assur (as most Historians beleuee) the second sonne of *Sem*, was Father of the *Assyrians*, who disdayning the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Nine*, of equall beautie and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath bene in this Storie, and therefore I shall not neede herein to speake much: for the *Assyrians* so often invaded and spoiled the *Israclites*, destroyed their Citties, and led them Captiues, as both in Diuine and Humane letters there is large and often mention of this nation.

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But howsoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the *Assyrians* of any such power, after such times as *Sardanapalus* lost the Empire. For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfullst Princes among them, had yet the mountaine *Taurus* for the vtmost of his Dominion toward the North-east, and *Syria* bounded him toward the West, notwithstanding those vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Ezra* the 37. Have the Gods of the Nations deliuered them whom my Fathers haue destroyed? as *GOZAN*, and *HARAN*, and *RESEPH*, and the Children of *EDEN* which were at *Telasar*. Where is the King of *Hamath*, and the King of *Arphad*, and the King of the Cittie *Sepharuam*, *Hena* and *Isab*? All these were indeede but pettie Kings of Citties, and small Countries; as *Elar* in *Mesopotamia*: *Reseph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Itura* vsunder *Libanus*: the Isle of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this sort. Yea *Nabuchodonosor*, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of *Egypt* had but *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palestine* and *Phoenicia* parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose plantation I haue omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because hee established the first Empire: from whom the most memorabell storie of the world taketh beginning.

V. 11.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, saith *S. Hierome*, and *Iosephus*, but it must bee those *Chaldeans* about *Pr*: for the sonnnes of *Cham* posselt the rest. It is true that hee was the Father of the Hebrewes: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela* *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud* the fourth Sonne of *Shem*, gaue name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the lesse, is the common opinion, taken from *Iosephus* and *S. Hierome*; but I see not by what reason he was moued to straggle thither from his friends.

50

t. II.

Of ARAM, and his Sonnes.

ARAM the fifth and last Sonne of *Shem* was the parent of the *Syrians*; of which *Camelus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Arames* by *Syrus* (Ain *Ebn* *Chus* out of *Iosephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moses* was borne, at the time which others call the fenne of *Apelo*. *Meopotamia* also being but a Province of *Syria* had the name of *Aram Nabarijars*: which as muchto say, as *Syria duorum fluviorum*, *Syria* compounded with two Rivers: (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Meopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the *Greekes* *Meopotamia* simply.

Arise and get thee to Israhel Aram (saith Isaac to Jacob) to the house of BETHUEL thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife. Strabo also remembereth it by the ancient name of Aram or Arame, as thence his owne wordes conuerted with idle. Quos nos Syros vocamus, s;pl Syr Aramensis & Arameus vocant, Thofe which we call Syrians: (saith he) theminicus call Aramenian and Arameans.

Against this opinion that *Aram* the fonne of *Sem*, was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in general; (and not only of thole in *Syria Inter-amnis*, which is *Mejopotamia*) I omereade *Gen. 22. 21. Kemuel*, the father of the *Syrians*: where othor out of the original reade *Kemuel*, the fonne of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconuenience for vs to vnderland the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of no^t; rather, becaufe in the Hiftorie of *Abraham* and *Iſaſe* (which was in time long before *Kemuel* poſteritic could be famous) we finde *Mejopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: ſometimes with *Naharajyn*, and ſometimes of *Padan*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Aram*, which (as it ſeemes) then alſo was called *Aram*. For whereas *Ianius* thinks in his note vpon *Gen. 25. 20.* that *Padan Aram* ought to be refrained to ſome part of *Mejopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolome* calls *Anabartitis* (ſo called from the River *Chaboras*, which diuiding it runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiſſuous vſe of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharajyn* (which latter appellation queſtionleſſe comprehends the whole *Mejopotamia*) may ſeeme to refute this opinion: eſpecially ſeeing the ſignification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it ſignifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this Region: becauſe the two Riuer (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The reliques of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two Cities in *Ptolome*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Ianius* bath well noted) the one vpon *Chaboras*, the other vpon *Euphrates*.

40 The Sonnes of *Aram* were, } *Vz* or *Ihs*,
Hul,
Gether, and
Mefch or *Mes*.

Vz or Hus inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that Citie, faith *Iosephus* and Saint *Hierome*. But *Toletus* milking this opinion, both in *Hezer* and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Iosephus*, affirmeth that *Abraham* Steward *Eliker* was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus* the eldest sonne of *Aram* dwelt neare vnto his father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the fame, adioyning to *Arabia* the Desert, and to *Batanea* or *Tracometis*: whereof the Prophet *Hieremie*, *Ricey* and hee glad daughter of *Edom* that dwellst in the land of *Hus*. *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Tracometis*, adioyning to *Bajan*, hauing *Batanea* *Gaulonitis*, and the mountaine *Seir* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Jordan* West: hauing in it many Citiees and people, as may also be gathered out of *Hieremie*: And all sorts of people: and all the Kings of the land of *Hus*.

7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844.

Enfeksiyonlar

Gen 38:1 See

Gr. 25.10. Alf

DENVER, 22-A.

Index 2.

Paul, 3, 19.

Psalm 59.

Hebrew, in trad.
Hebraic.

Нісень. Зап'я.
С. А. У. 21.

C.25.V.10

In this Region dwelt *Iob*, descended of *Hus*, the sonne of *Nabor*, the brother of *Abraham* (saith *S^t. Hierome*) and married *Dina* the daughter of *Isach*, saith *Philo*.

Hul the second Sonne of *Aram*, *S. Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the third Sonne, parent to the *Armenians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (becausel I finde not where to set him) I doe not disprove, though I know reason why *Gether* should leaue the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among strangers in *Asia* the lesse. *Ianius* giues *Hul* (whom hee writes *Chul*) the Desert of *Palmyrena*, as farre as *Euphrates*, where *Ptoleme* setteth the Cittie of *Cholle*.

Gether (saith *Iosephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Iosephus* gaue all *Noahs* children segethers, to carry them furre away in all hattle. For mine owne opinion I alwaies keepe the rule of neighbourhood, and thinke with *Ianius*: (to wit) That *Gether* seated himselfe neare his brothers, in the body of *Syria*, and in the Prouince of *Casatias*, and *Seleucus*, where *Ptoleme* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Phnie* called *Gindareni*.

Ianius also giueth to *Met* or *Mesib* the North part of *Syria*, betwene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, neare the mountaine *Mafius*. The certainty of those plantations can no otherwise be knowen then by this probability, that *Aram* the Father (of whom that great Region tooke name) planted his sonnes in the same land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territorie for himselfe and them; neither then when the world was newly planted, nor in many hundred yeares after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them into the desert parts of the world, so farre asunder. And as necessitie and pollicie held them together for a while: so Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children let them asunder. For although these sonnes of *Aram*, and the sonnes of the rest of *Noahs* children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdome; yet therein every one also sought a Prouince a part, and to themselves; giuing to the Citties therein built their own names, thereby to leaue their memorie to their posteritie: the vse of letters being then rare, and knowen to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Prouinces: euery one emulating and disdayning the greatnesse of other, as they are thereby to this day subiect to inuasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Nova Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, becaus those Countries are vnaccessable to strangers) an easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Mes the fourth Sonne is made the parent of the *Meonians*: of whom something hath bene spoken already. *Arphesad* the third Sonne of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two sonnes, *Phalegh* and *Ischan*: and in *Phaleghs* time was the earth diuided.

†. III.

Of the diuision of the earth in the time of *Phaleg*, one of the Sonnes of *Heber*, of the issue of *SEM*.

THE many people which at the diuision (at *Phaleghs* birth) were then liuing, and the through plantation of all the East part of the world (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the earth were diuided at either. The *Hebrewes* (saith *Pererius* out of *Se-dar Holan*, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the yeare after the flood 101. and liued in all 239. yeares, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it so many yeares after the flood, ere the children of *Noah* leuered themselves. But to this opinion of the *Hebrewes*, and the doubt they make how in so few yeares as 101. (the time of *Phaleghs* birth) so many people could be increased, *Pererius* giues this answer, that if 70. persons of the familie of *Isach* increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeares, (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much more

more is it likely, that so soone after the flood the children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, having receiued the blessing of God. *Increase and multiply, and fill the earth?* What strength this answer hath, let others iudge: for the children of *Israel* were 70. and had 15. yeares time to the birth of *Phaleg*: the children of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceit that *Phaleg* took that name after the diuision, in memorie thereof: as *Iaphetus* and *St. Iuaculin*, who reason in this manner. If the diuision were at *Phaleg*'s death (which happened in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12. years before his birth) then was the diuision 38. years after *Ninus*, who gouerned 52. years: in the 43. year of whose reigne *Abraham* was borne. But when *Ninus* beganne to rule the *Assyrian* 80. years before this diuision (as this diuision is placed by the Hebrewes, *therein* and *Chrysostome*) then was the earth so peopled in all the East and Northern parts, as greater numbers haue not bene found at any time since. For *Ninus* associated to himselfe *Arius* King of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (saith *Diod. Siculus*) plurimum opibus atque armis præstant, Excecidit ibi in riches and bodies of men, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*; receiued *Beranis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnes* the King thereof, with his wife and seuen children; vanquished all those Regions betwene *Agus* and *Tanis*; the *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, the Kingdomes of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Euxine* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembered out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoroaster* and others: and *Zoroaster* on the other side, who made resistance with foure hundred thousand, proue it sufficiently, that if the diuision had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diuision at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions as they fought to be Masters of all, yea greater Armies were there neuer gathered then by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit that if the diuision had bene made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was neuer meant that the earth could be filled euery where at the infant, but by times and degrees: And surely whatsoever mens opinions have bene herin, yet it is certaine, that the diuision of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the worke at *Babel*: and that the enterprise of *Babel* was left off instantly vpon the confusion of languages, where followed the execution of the diuision; and so neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was borne in the year 101. after the flood, which was the year that *Nimrod* came into *Shinar*, or 10. years after he attired, saith *Berosus*.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the Etymologic of whose name signifieth
 40 the time of this confusion and partition : to this objection it may be answered, That
 the change of names vpon diuers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Iacob*
 was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*;
 and *Edom* *Esfau* : and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this diuision had his first
 name vpon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly whereas the Hebrewes *S. Hierome* and *Chrysostome* account *Heber* a great Prophet, if that by giving his sonne the name of *Phaleg*, he foretold the diuision which followed: to this I say, I doe not finde that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his sonne: for diuision and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this propheticke (if any such had bene) might also haue referenceto the diuision, which afterwardest fell among the Hebrewes themselves.

But if we giue a reafonable time to the building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, by which time many people (by reafon and by demonstratiue prooffe) might be increased: and that vpon the fall thereof the confufion and diuifion followed (where-

vpon Phaleg tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous

†. IIII.

of the sonnes of IOCTAN, the other sonne
of HEBER.

The sonnes of Ioctan were

1. Elmodad.
2. Saleph, or Selep, or Sheleph.
3. Samath, or Chatzar.
4. Iare, or Iarah, or Ierath.
5. Hadaram.
6. Vzal, or Vzal.
7. Dicklach, or Diela.
8. Obal, or Ebal, or Hobal.
9. Abimack.
10. Sheba, or Seba.
11. Ophir, or Opir.
12. Hauila, or Chaula, and
13. Iobab.

10

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ALL those sonnes of Ioctan (according to S. Hierome) dwelled in the East partes of the world, or India, euen from the riuer Cophe or Chous, which is one of the branches or heads of Indus.

Gen. 10. v. 30. But the certaine places of those thirteene Sonnes cannot bee gathered out of the Scriptures, the wordes of Moses being generall. And their dwelling was from Mesia

as thou goest vnto Sepher a mount in the East. Of all these thirteene Sonnes, there were only three memorabell, (to wit) Sheba, Ophir, and Hauilah. Concerning whose

names to auoide confusion it is to bee obserued, that among the Sonnes of Chus, two of them had also the names of Seba and Hauilah. Abraham had also a third Saba

or Sheba, his grand-child by his wife Keturah. But Seba the sonne of Chus, and Sheba the sonne of Rhexma his Nephew, wee haue left in Arabia Felix: and Hauilah the sonne of Chus vpon Tigris. Saba the grand-child of Abraham was (as some haue

Gen. 25. v. 6. thought) the Father of the Sabaens in Persia: of which Nations Dionysius de Orbis situ maketh mention. Primum Sabæi; post hos sunt Passagardæ, prope verò hos sunt Tasci,

The first are Sabaens: after these be Passagardæ, and neare these the Tasci. And whereas it is written: But vnto the Sonnes of the Concubines which ABRAHAM had, ABRAHAM

gaue gifts, and sent them away from ISAAC his sonne (while he yet liued) Eastward to the East Countrie: hereupon it is supposed, that this Saba the sonne of Abraham wandered into Persia: for Persia was accounted the furthestmost East Countrie

Mem. 1. in respect of India; which also Ouid setteth vnder the Sunne-rising. Yet seeing the rest of Abrahams Sonnes leated themselves on the borders of India, I rather choose to leaue Saba the sonne of Abraham in Arabia the Desert, where Ptolomee setteth a

Cittie of that name.

But Saba the sonne of Ioctan, the sonne of Heber, (as I conceiue) inhabited India it selfe. For Dionysius Afer in his Periegesis, (or description of the world) which hee wrote in Greeke verse, among the Regions of India findeth a Nation called the Sabæi. Taxilus hos inter medios habitatur, Sabæus, In the midst of these dwell the Sabæi, and the Taxili, saith this Dionysius.

Gen. 10. v. 30. But the certaine places of those thirteene Sonnes cannot bee gathered out of the Scriptures, the wordes of Moses being generall. And their dwelling was from Mesia

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†. V.

†. V.

... of OPHIR one of IOCTANS sonnes and of PERU and of that
voyage of SALOMON

OPHIR also was an inhabitant of the East India, and as (St. Hierome vnderstands it) in one of the Isles plentifull of gold, which are now known by the name of *Molucca*. *Iosephus* vnderstands *Opbir* to bee one of those great head-landes in *India*, which by a generall name are called *Chersonesi*, or *Peninsula*: of which there are two very notorious; *Calicut*, and *Malacca*. *Ptolemy* takes it rightly for an Island, as St. Hierome doth, but he sets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Opbir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther East.

Arias Montanus out of the second of *Chronicles*, the third chapter and sixt verse, gathers that *Opbir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur* or the South Sea; by others *Mare pacificum*. The wordes in the second of the *Chronicles* are these, And hee overlaid the house with precious stones for beautie; and the gold was gold of *Paruaim*. *Iunius* takes this gold to bee the gold of *Hauilah*, remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradyse*: And Gen. 2. 11 & 12 the gold of that Land is good: finding a towne in *Characene* a Prouince of *Susiana* *Plin.* l. 6. c. 8, called *Barbatus*, so called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Paruaim*: from whence those Kings subiected by *Dauid* brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which *Dauid* praeserued for the enriching of the Temple.

But this *Empire* of *Peru* hath decieued many men, before *Montanus*, and *Plessis*, who also tooke *Opbir* for *Peru*. And that this question may bee a subiect of no farther dispute; it is very true, that there is no Region in the world of that name: sure I am that at least *America* hath none, no not any Citie, Village, or mountaine so called. But when *Francis Pizarro* first discovered those landes to the South of *Panama*, arriuing in that Region which *Atabalpa* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, riches and Dominion inferiour to none) some of the *Spaniards* vtterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signes (as they could) the name of the Countrey, and pointing with their hand atwart a ruer, or torrent, or brooke that ran by, the *Indians* answered *Peru* which was either the name of that brooke, or of water in generall. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiuing that the people had rightly vnderstood them, set it downe in the Diurnall of their enterprise, and in the first description made, and sent ouer to *Charles* the Emperour, all that West part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued euer since as diuers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* assured me; which also *Acosia* the *Iesuite* in his naturall and morall Historie of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* also findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Iucatan*) tooke that name of *Iolitan*, who as hee supposeth navigated from the vtmost East of *India* to *America*: it is most true, that *Iucatan*, is nothing else in the language of that Countrey, but [What is that?] or [What say you?] For when the *Spaniards* asked the name of that place (no man conceiuing their meaning) one of the *Saluages* answered *Iucatan* (which is) What aske you, or what say you? The like hapned touching *Paria*, a mountainous Countrey on the South side of *Trinidad* and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men doe) the names of those new Regions which they discovered, pointed to the Hilles asfarre off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much to say; as high hilles or mountaines. For as *Paria* begins that meruitous ledge of mountaines, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*: from 8. degrees of North latitude to 52. of South; and so hath that Countrey euer since retained the name of *Paria*.

The same hapned among the *English*, which I sent vnder Sir *Richard Greeneile* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when some of my people asked the name of that Countrey, one of the *Saluages* answered *Wingondacon*, which is as much to say, as, you were good

Virginia

good clothes, or gay clothes. The same hapned to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Island *Trinidade*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that selfe place which the Sea incompassed, they answered *Caeri*, which signifieth an Island. And in this manner haue many places newly discovered bene intituled: of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we must leaue *Ophir* among the *Moluccas* whereabout such an Island is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in *Arabia* it selfe (towards *Persia*) in *Hanulab*, now *Sufiana*, and all along that East *Indian* shore; yet the greatest plentie is taken vp at the *Philippines*, certaine Islands planted by the *Spaniards* from the West *India*. And by the length of the passage which *Salomons* ships made from the Red Sea, (which was three yeares in going and coming) it seemeth they went to the vttermost East, as the *Maluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeepe these that now goe from *Portingall*, or from hence, finish that nauigation in two yeare, and sometimes lesse: and *Salomons* ships went not aboue a tenth part of this our course from hence. But wee must consider, that they euermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vse of the *Compass* was knowne, it was impossible to nauigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomons* ships could not finde *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themselves (had it not bene for the plentie of gold in the East *India* Islands, farre aboue the mines of any one place of *America*) to faile euery yeare from the West part of *America* thither, and there to haue strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those Islands: wherein they haue built a Citie called *Manila*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to haue gone farther off then *Ophir* in the East, to haue sped worse: neither could hee nauigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to haue guided him:

Totius also gathereth a fantasticall opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Countrie, whose mountaines of gold are kept by *Griffins*: which mountaines *Solinus* affirmeth to be in *Sythia Asiatica*, in these wordes. *Nam cum auro & gemmis effluent, Griffes tenent vniuersa, ditcs ferocissime, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c.* For whereas these Countries abound in gold, and rich stone, the *Griffins* defend the one and the other: a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other; with which *Griffins* a Nation of people called *Arimaspi* make warre. These *Arimaspi* are said to haue bene men with one eye only, like vnto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes* *Herodotus* and *Aristeus* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third Booke: and *Valerius Flaccus*: and *D. Scudus* in the storie of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine owne opinion) I belecue none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it that this name signifying *One-eyed* was first giuen them by reason that they vsed to weare a vizard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serue both eyes; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Plinie*, who speaks of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Gislatron*, or the Caue of the North-east winde. For there, as all fables were commonly grounded vpon some true stories or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receiue this Morall. That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this world, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of halfe their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and vnderstanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subiect themselves to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be faired in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the world, where wild beasts or Serpents defend mountaines of gold, it might be auowed. For there are in many places of the world, especially in *America*, many high and impassable mountaines which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited only with *Tigers*, *Lyons*, and other rauinous and cruell beasts: into which if any man ascend (except his strength bee very great) hee shall bee sure to finde the same warre, which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of gold,

Flaccus l. 6.
Dud. Sicul. l. 6.

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gold, of Steele to defend that mettall, but being disquieted, or made afraid of the felices or their young ones, they grow irraged and aduentionous. In like sort it may be said that the *Alegartos*, (which the *Aegyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they diue for the pearle. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearle, yet they finde sauiour in the flesh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they deuoure.

†. VI.

OF HAVILAH the sonne of IOCTAN, who also passed into the East Indies: and of MESH and SEPHAR named in the bordering of the families of IOCTAN: with a conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the world.

OF Havilah the sonne of *ioctan*, there is nothing else to be said, but that the general opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East *India* in the Continent, from which *Ophir* pass into the Islands adioyning. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water Havilah, it is meant by Havilah in the East *India*, which tooke name of Havilah the sonne of *ioctan*: but Havilah, which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of Havilah, the sonne of *Chus*, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture. *SauL smote the Amalekites from Havilah, as thou comest to Shur, which is before Egypt.* But that *SauL* euer made warre in the East *India*, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirtene sonnes of *ioctan*, these three *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, though at the first seated by their brethren about the Hill *Masius* or *Mesb*, *Gen. 10. 30.* (to wit) between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet at length either themselves or their illicits remoued into East *India*, leauing the other families of *ioctan*, to fill the Countreys of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to haue beene from *Mesb* into *Sephar*. And although *S. Hierome* take *Mesb* to bee a Region of the East *India*, and *Sephar* a mountaine of the same (which mountaine *Montanus* would haue to be the *Andes* in *America*) those fancies are farre beyond my vnderstanding. For the word (East) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Iudas*, is neuer farther extended then into *Persia*. But *Mesb* is that part of the mountaines of *Masius* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaboras* springeth which runneth by *Charan*: and in the same Region we also finde for *Sephar* (rememberd by *Moses*) *Siphara* by *Ptolomie*, standing to the East of the mountaine *Masius*; from whence *ioctan* hauing many sonnes, some of them might passe into *India*, hearing of the beautie and riches thereof. But this was in processe of time.

The other fashion of planting I vnderstand not, being grounded but vpon mens 40 imaginations, contrarie to reason and possibilitie. And that this mountaine in the East was no farther off then in those Regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is vsed: as in *Numbers 23. BALAC the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountaine of the East*, which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Bala* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia*, (witness this place of *Deuteronomie*.) Because they hired *Balaam* the sonne of *Beor*, of *Pethor* in *Aram Naharayim*, to curse thee: for *Aram Naharayim* was *Syria* *thuniorum*, which is *Mesopotamia*, as aforesaid.

This plantation of the world after the flood doth best agree, (as to me it seemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these bee the reports of 50 reason and probable coniecture; the guides which I haue followed herein, and which I haue chosen to goe after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies: be they ancient or moderne. Neither haue I any end herein, priuate, or publique, other then the discouerie of truth. For as the partialitie of man to himselfe hath disguised all things: so the factious and hireling Historians

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1. Sam. 17.

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of all Ages (especially of these latter times) haue by their many volumes of vntre reports left Honour without a Monument, and Vertue without Memorie: and (in steade thereof) haue erected statues and Trophies to those, whom the darkest forgetfulness ought to haue buried, and couered ouer for euermore. And although the length and dissoluing nature of time hath worne out or changed the names and memorie of the worlds first planters after the flood (I meane the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the footsteps of Antiquitie (as appears by that which hath bene spoken) are not quite worne out nor ouergrowne: for Babylon hath to this day the found of Babel; Phoenicia hath Zidon, to which Cittie the eldest Sonne of Canaan gaue name; so hath Cilicia Tharsis; and the Armenians, Medes, Iberians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, the Syrians, Idumaeans, Libyans, Moores, and other Nations, haue preferred from the death of forgetfulness some signes of their first Founders and true Parents.

CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and establishing of
Gouernement.

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Gouernement vnder the eldest of families to Regall, and from Regall absolute to Regall tempered with Lawes.



I followeth now to entreate how the world beganne to receiue Rule and Gouernement, which (while it had scarcitie of people) vnderwent no other Dominion then Paternitie and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (Elder) was alwaies vsed both for the Magistrate, and for those of age and grauitie: the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For in the eleuenth of Numbers God commanded Moses to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Gouernours ouer them: the Hebrew bearing the same sense, which the Latine word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susanna*, Then the Assembly beleued them, as those that were the Elders and Iudges of the people. And so in the words of those false Iudges and witnesses to Daniel, Shew it vnto vs, seeing God hath giuen thee the office of an Elder. Demosthenes vseth the same word for the Magistrate among the Gracians. Cicero in *Ca* giueth two other reasons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedaemonios qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, et sunt, sic etiam appellantur Senes*. Among the Lacedaemonians the chiefe Magistrates, as they are, so are they called Eldermen: and againe, *Ratio et prudentia nisi essent in senibus non summum Concilium maiores nostri appellassent Senatum*, If reason and aduisement were not in oldmen, our Ancesters had neuer called the highest Councell by the name of a Senate. But though these reasons may well be giuen, yet we doubt not but in this name of (Elders) for Gouernours or Counsaillers of State, there is a signe that the first Gouernours were the Fathers of families; and vnder them

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THE SONES OF IAVAN WICH PLANTED
THRACE MACEDON EPIRVS AND
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his second
plantation

ELISA
planted
MODREA and
the Islands of
GIBRALTAR

ASIA

MAGOG from Hircania
a SYRIA Island LYDIA

LAVAN planted IONIA
and then GRECE

THARSIS called
IAVAN'S s^{on}

CYPRVS

CYPRVS s^{on} of
CETHIM & s^{on} from thence
peopled MACEDON

THE MEDITERAN SEA

THE APHRICAN SEA

THE GREAT
SIRIS

PHVT the father
of the MORITANIANS
Whose Isles were peopled
the rest^{er} advancing as their
numbers increased

LYDIM
The first home of
MISRAIM who the
parent of the LY
BIANS

The passage of
LYDIM

AFRICA

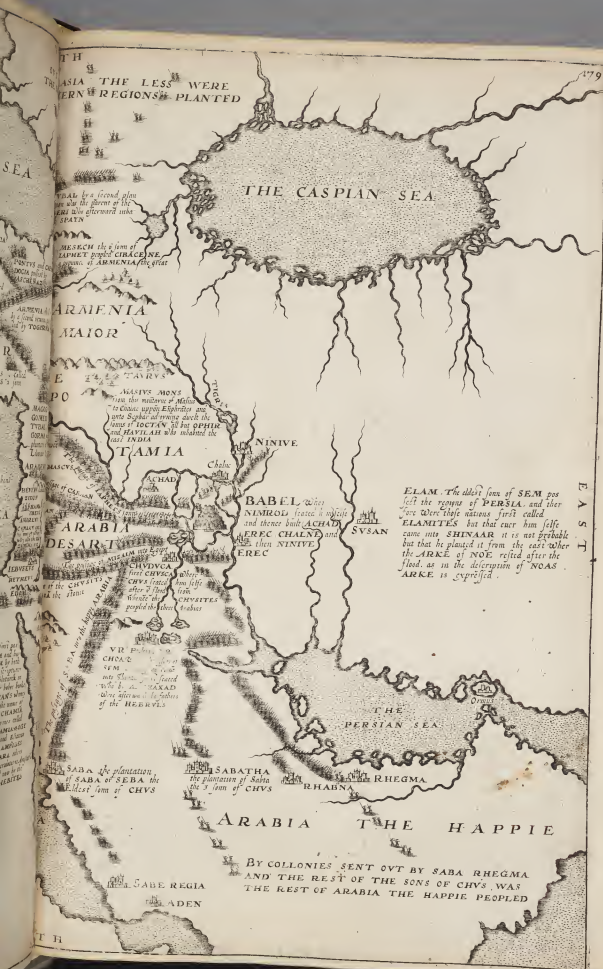
EGYPT
EGYPT first peo-
pled by CHAM and his
sons MISRAIM by him
which were the first
house of old Aegyptus
Capitals out of the belly borne
of the EGYPTIANS whose
Toll that it had the name of
CHEMIA for CHAMIA
it was in aftertimes called
AERIA TOTANIA or TOT
GIA Stephanus and Eusebius
travelling in AETHIOPIA
Apollonius NABA refers
THEBAE as Merodach's Kingdom
the Egypt and now by the
Turks EL CHEBBE

LIBYA INTERIOR

LIBIA INTERIOR
AND ETHIOPIA RE-
PLED IN PROCESS OF
TIME BY LYDIM PHVT
AND THEIR ISSUES

AETHIOPIA





THE CASPIAN SEA

ARMENIA
MAIOR

ARABIA

TAMIA

BABEL
NINIVE
CHALDEA
ERECH
ERECH

SVSAN

EAST

ELAM. The eldest son of SEM pos-
selt the region of PERSIA and ther-
fore were these nations first called
ELAMITES but that ever him selfe
came into SHINAAR it is not probable
but that he plantd it from the east rather
the ARKE of NOE rested after the
flood, as in the description of NOAH
ARKE is expressed.

THE
PERSIAN SEA

RHEGMA

RHABNA

ARABIA THE HAPPIE

BY COLONIES SENT OVT BY SABA RHEGMA
AND THE REST OF THE SONS OF CHVS WAS
THE REST OF ARABIA THE HAPPIE PEOPLED

SABA REGIA
ADEN

[illegible]

them the eldest Sonnes. And from thence did the French, Italian, and Spaniard take the word (*Signar*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Leycau*) puissance in proprietic, or proper power. The kindes of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two: the one, *Potestas aut imperium*, Power or command: the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*, Proprietic or mastership: the correlative of the one is the subiect, of the other the slave. *Ad Casarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet*, ad singulos proprietatis. *Cesar hath power over all; and every man proprietie in his owne*; and againe, *Cesar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio*, *Cesar holdeth all in his power, and every man possesseth his owne*. But as men and vice beganne abundantly to increase:

10 to obedience, (the fruit of naturall reverence, which but from excellent seede seldome ripeneth) being exceedingly overshadowed with pride, and ill examples vterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternall persuasions (after mankind beganne to neglect and forget the originall and first giuer of life) became in all our weakes, either to resist the first inclination of euill, or after (when it became habitual) to constrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were only guided and stered by their owne fancies, and too too and too on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wisdom was severed from power, and strength from charity; Necessitie (which bindeth every nature but the immortal) made both the Wise and Foolish vnderstand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become farre more miserable then that of beasts, and that a generall flood of confusion would a second time overflow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion prevent it. For the Mightie, who trusted in their owne strengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mightie then themselves; the feeble fell vnder the forcible; and the equall from equall receiued equall harmes. In so much that licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a libertie vpon the first acquaintance) proued vpon a better triall, no lesse perillous then an vniurable bondage.

These Arguments by Necessitie propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to subiect themselves 30 to a Master, and to Magistracie in some degree. Vnder which Gouvernement, as the change (which brought with it lesse euill, then the former mischiefes) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wise that obserue it) found some imperfection and corollue in this cure. And therefore the same Necessitie which inuented, and the same Reason which approoued soueraigne power, bethought themselves of certaine equall rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundlesse) might also discern their owne limits. For before the inuention of Lawes, priuate affections in supreme Rulers made their owne fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this yard, and weighing in this ballance both good and euill.

For as wisdom in Eldership proceeded the rule of Kings: so the will of Kings fore-went the inuentions of lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenetur: arbitria principum prolegibus erant*, The people were not governed by any other lawes then the wills of Princes: Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to bee good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deform them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt*, *Loue sees one while too much, another while seerke nothing*. Hence it came to passe, that after a few yeares (for direction and restraint of Royall power) Lawes were established: and that gouernement which had this mixture of equalitie (holding in an euen ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall: the one God established in 50 fauour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regall authoritie, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues only: so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (saith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia iusti erant, & religiosius deo, iure habiti* Princes were called Gods, because they were iust and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods. And

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to reason and necessity; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they saw that they could not liue and bee preferred without a Ruler and Conductor: God himselfe by his eternall prouidence hauing ordained Kings; and the law of Nature leaders, and Rulers ouer others. For the verie Bees haue their Prince, the Deere their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne safetie. *The most High beareth rule ouer the Kingdoms of men; and appointeth ouer it whom he pleaseth. By me (saith I Wisdom) spoken by the Son of God) Kings raigne; by me Princes rule; and it is God (saith Daniel) that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings; and that this power is giuen from God, Christ himselfe witnesseth, speaking to Pilate. Thou couldest haue no power at all against mee, except it were giuen thee from above.*

It was therefore by a threefold iustice that the world hath bene gouerned from the beginning, (to wit) by a iustice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of families gouerned their children, and nephewes, and families, in which gouernment the obedience was called naturall pietie: againe, by a iustice diuine, drawne from the lawes and ordinances of God: and the obedience herunto was called conscience; and lastly by a iustice ciuill, begotten by both the former: and the obedience to this we call dutie. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded: and that the rule in general was paternall, it is most euident: for *Adam* being Lord ouer his owne children, instructed them in the seruice of God his Creatour; as wee reade, *Cain and Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had bene taught by their Parent, the Father of mankind.

¶ II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane societie.



Hat other policie was exercised, or state founded after such time as mankind was greatly multiplied before the flood, it cannot bee certainly knowne, though it seeme by probable coniecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first age: it being possible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembered among their antiquities) were before the generall flood; and very likely, that the cruell oppressions in that age proceeded from some tyrannic in Government, or from some rougher forme of rule, then the paternall.

Berosus ascribeth the rule of the world in those dayes to the Giants of *Libanus*, who mastered (saith he) all Nations from the Sunne-rising to the Sunne-set. But in the second age of the world, and after such time as the rule of Eldership failed, three severall sorts of Government were in severall times established among men, according to the diuers natures of places and people.

The first, the most ancient, most general, and most approued, was the Government of one, ruling by iust lawes, called *Monarchie*: to which *Tyrannie* is opposed; being also a sole and absolute rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or obseruation of the lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the keeper of right and equitie: and of this condition ought euery Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word. *Judges and Officers shalt thou make thee in thy Cities: And these shall iudge the people with righteous iudgement.*

The second Government is of diuers principall persons established by order, and ruling by lawes, called *Aristocracie*, or *Optimum potestas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and vsurpation of a few great ones) is opposed: as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The

The third is a State popular, (or Gouvernement of the people) called *Democratie*, to which is opposed *Oligarchie*, or the turbulent vsualltrouling of the confus'd multitude, seditiously swaying the state, contrarie to their owne lawes and ordinances. These three kinds of *Gouernement* are briefly exprest by *Poliojanus*; *Primi, paucorum, & multorum, of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of policie since the second increase of mankind, the same grew in this sort: First of all, euery Father, or eldest of the familie, gaue lawes to his owne issues, and to the people from him and then increased. These as they were multiplied into many households (man by nature louing societie) ioynted their Cottages together in one common field or Village, which the Latines call *Vici*; of the Greeke *κωμ*, which signifieth a house, or of the word (*Πα*) because it hath diuers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first house grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a societie of diuers Villages) so called of the Greeke *αἶμα*, which signifieth a fountaine: because many people (hauing their habitations not farre asunder) drinke of one spring or stream of water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some thinke) Shires answereth not vsually.

But as men and impetie beganne to gather strength, and as emulation and pride betweene the races of the one and the other daylie increased: so both to defend themselves from outrage, and to preferre such goods as they had gathered, they beganne to ioyne and sit together diuers of their Villages, maironing them first with banks and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being so compell'd were then called *Oppida*; either *ab oppositu*, *se hostibus*, because wals were opposed against enemies, or *ab opibus*, because thither they gathered their riches for safetie and defence: as also they were called *Vrbes*, *ab urbe*, because when they were to build a Citie, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith *Varro*) the crewt with measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although *Vrbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Vrbs* signifieth no other then the very wals and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*; and that, *ab eo quod multitudine civium, of coming together*. But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citizens, but only such as are called *Free-men*: who bearing proportionably the charge of the Citie may by turnes become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest goe vnder the name of subiects, though Citizens by the same generall name of subiects are also knowne. For euery Citizen is also a subiect, but not euery subiect a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chiefe Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens) is no subiect; but of this we neede not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken of *Magistro*, from a *Master*, and the word (Master) from the Aduerbe *Magis* (as also *magisteris*, precepts of art) or else from the Greeke word (*Μεγιστορ*): and as the Greekes call them *Μεγισταν*, whom the Latines call *Magistres* or *Magistrum*.

The office and dutie of euery Magistrate *Aristotle* hath written in few wordes. *Etia, 5.* A Magistrate or Prince (saith he) is the keeper of right and equitie; but the same is best taught by *St. Paul*, who expresth both the cause efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordayned, together with their duties and offices. A Magistrate is the minister of God for thy wealths, but if thou doe euill, beware for he beareth not the sword for naught. For he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth euill. He also teacheth in the same place, That euery soule ought to be subiect to the higher powers, because they are by God ordayned; and that whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giuer and fountaine thereof: and shall not only be therefore subiect to the iudgement and condemnation of Man, but of God: For ye must be subiect (saith he) not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.

The examples are not to be numberd of Gods punishments vpon those that haue resisted authoritie, by God ordayned and established. Neither ought any subiect therefore

- called the golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times bee truly called golden. for be it that men affect honour it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deservings haue commonly the least impediments: and if euer Liberalitie ouerflow her banks and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policie and example. But Age and Time doe not only harden and shrinke the openest and most *toutal* hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it layeth Princes torne estates before their eyes and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there bee no Kings vnder the Sunne whose meanes are answerable vnto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by their owne respects, doe no sooner finde their appetites vnanswered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times ininuous and yron. And as this faileth out in the raigne of euery King, so doth it in the life of euery man, if his dayes bee many: for our younger years are our golden Age; which being eaten vp by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeede) the grievous alterations in our selues, and the paines and diseases which neuer part from vs but at the graue, make the times seeme so differing and displeasing: especially the qualitie of mans nature being also such, as it adoreth and extollet the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how iust focer. *Fit humana malignitas vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, presentia in fastidio sint. It comes to passe (saith Tacitus) by the vice of our malignitie, that we alwaies extoll the time past, and hold the present fastidious: For it is one of the errors of wayward age. Quod sint laudatores temporis acta, That they are praisers of forepast times, forgetting this aduise of Salomon. Say not then why is it that the former dayes were better then these? for thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing: to which purpose Seneca. *Miores nostri quæsitæ sunt, & nos querimus, posteri querentur, cuersos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum, & in omnes as labi, Our Ancesters haue complained, we doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse doth raigne, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all euill. These are the vntuall discourses of Age and misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of Arnobius. *Neuare quandoq; vetus* shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they take beginning were also new and sodaine. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times haue made golden, this wee may let downe for certaine, That as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gaue them Crownes: so the loue of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gaue the obedience of subiects to Princes: so (relatiuely) he gaue the care and iustice of Kings to the Subiects; hauing respect, not only to the Kings themselves, but euen to the meannest of his Creatures. *Nunguam particulari bono seruit omne bonum. The infinite goodnesse of God doth not attend any one* for he that made the small and the great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings haue of all theirs, which makes them beloued of all theirs; and by a generall loue it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience: For *Potestas humana radicitur in voluntatibus hominum, All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.***

What calamitie is wanting (saith BERNARD) to him that is borne in sinne, of a pos-
sibly and barren minde? for (according to the same Father.) Dele secum fugacis hono-
ris huius, & male coronat a nitentem gloria, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting hon-
our, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glorie, that thou thou missest consider thy
self nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Canst thou thence with
thy Myter, or glistering with levels, or garnished with filkes, or adorned with feathers,
or stuffed with gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certain
morning cloudes, which doe or will soone passe over, thou shalt meete with a naked, and poore,
and wretched, and miserable man, and a blessing, because he is naked, and weeping because
he is borne, and repining because he is borne to labour, and not to honour.

For as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and dust:
which if thou dost not beleene (saith S. CHRYSOSTOME) looke into the Sepulchers
and Monuments of thy Ancesters, and they shall easily perswade thee by their owne example,
that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seeme more Noble and be satisfied then dust, this
proceedeth not from the diversitie of his nature, but from the cunning of his Creator.

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade
Of vertuous life; not in the fleshly line:
For blood is brute, but Gentrie is diuine.

And howsoever the custome of the world haue made it good, that Honours be cast
by birth upon winthorthy illues: yet Salomon (as wise as any King) reprehendeth
the same in his fellow-Princes. There is an euill (saith he) that I haue seene under the
Sunne, as an error that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Folie is set in great
excellencie.

CHAP. X.

Of NIMROD, BELVS, and NINVS: and of memo-
rable thinges about those times.

§. 1.

That NIMROD was the first after the flood that raigned like soueraigne Lord: and
that his beginning seemeth to haue bene of iust authoritie.



He first of all that raigned as soueraigne Lord after
the flood was Nimrod the Sonne of Cush, distinguished
by Moses from the rest (according to S. Augustine)
in one of these two respects: either for his eminencie,
and because he was the first of fame, and that tooke
on him to command others: or else in that he was be-
gotten by Cush, after his other children were also be-
come Fathers; and of a later time then some of his
Grand-children and Nephewes. Howsoever, seeing
Moses in expresse wordes calleth Nimrod the Sonne
of Cush, other mens coniectures to the contrarie
ought to haue no respect. This Empire of Nimrod, both the Fathers and many
later Writers call tyrannicall: the same beginning in Babel, (which is) confusion.

But it seemeth to mee that *Melancthon* conceived not amiss hereof: the same exposition being also made by the Author of that worke called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirmeth that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator, A bitter or severe Gouverneur*, because his forme of rule seemed at first farre more terrible then Paternall authoritie. And therefore is he in this respect also called *a mightie hunter*: because he tooke and destroyed both beasts and theewes. But *S. Augustine* vnderstands it otherwise, and conuerts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mightie hunter against God. *Sic ergo intelligendus est Gigas ille, venator contra Dominum, So is that Giant to be vnderstood a hunter against the Lord.* But howsoever this word (*a mightie hunter*) be vnderstood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into *Shinar*: so, this charge was rather giuen him, then by him vsurped. For it is no where found that *Noah* himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troupe into *Babylonia*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the yeares of his life excepted) in the succeeding storie of the Hebrewes: nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient troupe, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by diuers ancient Historians, that *Nimrod, Suphne, and Ischan* were the Captaines and leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himselfe so farre West as *Shinar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his sonnes Nephew *Heber*, the name and nation of the Hebrewes (according to the generall opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chaldea* about the Citie of *Ury*, from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea* were no partners in the vnbelieving worke of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retain the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*, and *Noah* to *Sem* and his issues. *In familia HEBER remansit hac lingua, In the family of HEBER this language remained* (saith *S. Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*); and this language *Abraham* vied: yea it was anciently and before the flood the generall speech: and therefore first called (saith *Cælestinus*) *lingua humana*: the humane tongue.

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret, Rabbi Moses, Egyptians, Vergara*, and others, is of an other opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probabilitie resolve, that none of the godly seede of *Sem* were the chiefe leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by iust authoritie, then by violence of vsurpation.

§. II.

That *NIMROD, BELUS, and NINUS* were three distinct persons.

BENZO, and out of him *Nauderus* with others make many *Nimrods*, *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*, and so doth *S. Hierome* upon *Ose*: and these words of *S. Augustine* seeme to make him of the same opinion. *Ibi autem NINVS regnabat post mortem patris sui BELI, qui primus illic regnauerat 65. annos. There did NINVS reigne after the death of his father BELVS, who first gouerned in Babylon fixtie five yeares.* But it could not be vnknewento *S. Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plaine and direct therein. For the beginning of *NIMRODS* Kingdome (saith he) was *BABEL, ERECH, ACCAD, and CHALNE, in the land of Shinar*: Wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *NINUS* time the world was marueilously replenished. And if *S. Augustine* had

De Babil. Doi.

had vndoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would haue giuen him the name which the Scriptures giue him, rather then haue borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of *S. Augustine* (*qui primus ille regnauit, who was the first that reigned there*) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words doe not disprove that *Nimrod* was the founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Iulius Caesar* overthrew the libertie of the *Romane* Commonwealth, making himselfe a perpetual Dictator, yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperour: and the first that reigned absolutely by soueraigne authoritie ouer the *Romanes*, as an Emperour. The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and paternitie, laying the foundation of soueraigne rule, as *Casar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. *Peterius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeares after the flood (as they account) that *Belus* reigned: but such agreement of times proues it not. For so *Edward* the third, and his grand-child *Richard* the second, were Kings both in one year: the one dyed; the other in the same year was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is farre more probable then that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdome was *Babel*, and the Townes adioyning: but the first and most famous worke of *Ninus* was the Cittie of *Ninive*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth that *Ninus* ouercame and suppresseth the *Babylonians*, the same rather proueth the contrarie, then that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seate of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recouered againe by strong hand; which was easie, *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

— Dicitur aliam
Coffitibus muris cinxisse SEMIRAMIS Urbem.

SEMIRAMIS with wals of bricke the Cittie did inclose.

Further where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mightie: so *Iustine* hath the fame of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercators* arguments; It may be answered, that such an addition might haue beene giuen to many other Kings aswell. For if we may beleue *Iustine*, then were *Vexoris* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanis* of *Scythia* mightie Kings before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the wordes of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the vndertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference betweene them. For whereas *Mercator* conceiteth, that it was too early for any that liued about the time of the confusion of languages, to haue inuaded and mastered those Citties so farre removed from *Babel*, namely *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalde*: which worke he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest vndertaking; and consequently would haue *Nimrod* to haue beene long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make loose answer. First, I doe not finde that supposition true. That euer *Nimrod* inuaded any of these Citties; but that hee founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the flood, that conducted the children of *Noah* in to those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Citties in many mens opinions are found to stand farre away from *Babylon*, I finde no reason to bring me to that beleefe. The Cittie of *Accad* which the *Septuagint* calls *Archard*, and *Epiphanius* *Arphal*; *Iunius* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the Region thereabout the *Cosmographers* (saith he) call *Acabene* for *Accadene*. Others vnderstand *Nisibis* and *Ninive* to be one Cittie: so doe

doe *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charan*; but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charan* are distinct places. Though I cannot denie *Accadene* to be a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus* out of *S. Hierome* calls *Achad*: and so doe the Hebrews also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the Cittie of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*, *S. Augustine* *Oreg*, and *Pagninus* *Eree*, this place *Iunius* vnderstands for *Aracee* in *Susiana*: but there is also a Cittie in *Comagena* called *Arace*: and indeede likelihood of name is no certaine proofe, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Lib. 23.

Concerning the third Cittie (called *Chalneh*) some take it for *Calinis*: of which *Am. Marcellinus*. *S. Hierome* takes it for *Selencia*; *Hierosolymitanus* for *Citephom*: others doe thinke it to be the *Agrani* vpon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Iudge of this dispute, who reacheth vs directly, that these Citties are not seated in so diuers and distant Regions; for these be his wordes. And the beginning of his Kingdome (speaking of *Nimrod*) was *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalneh*, in the land of *Shinar*: so as in this Valley of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldea* (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with *Piterbensis*, that these foure made but one *Babylon*, then that they were Citties farre remoued, and in seuerall Prouinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalne* from *Babylon*. Goe you (saith *Amos*) to *Chalne*, and from thence goe you to *Hamath*, and then to *Gath* of the *Philistims*. The Geneuistranlation fauouring the former opinion, to set these Citties out of *Shinar*, hath an marginall note expressing that *Shinar* was here named: not that all these Citties were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldea*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*; but I finde little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod*'s Empire there was no such *Babylon*, nor any Cittie at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great Cittie of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farre from the place where stood *Memphis* the ancient Cittie, but not so ancient as *Babylon* vpon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is situate in the Valley of *Shinar*, it hath bene formerly proued in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Citties from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successiue Kings.

§. III.

That *NIMROD*, not *ASSUR*, built *Ninive*: and that it is probable out of *ESAY* 23. 13. that *ASSUR* built *Pr* of the *Chaldees*.

Now as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great state of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controuersie wearily disputed without any direct proofe, conclusion, or certaintie. But to me (of whome, where the Scriptures are silent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Iunius* is most agreeable; who besides all necessary consequence doth not disioyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confute the vnderstanding thereof. For in this sort he converteth the Hebrew Text. *Erat enim principium regni Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaar; & terra hac processit in Assuriam ubi edificauit Ninuen:* (which is) For the beginning of this Kingdome was *Babel*, and *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalneh*, in the land of *Shinaar*: and hee went forth of this land into *Assyria*, and built *Ninive*. So as *Iunius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any person, but for the Region of *Assyria*: the land being so called in *Moses* time, and before it. For certainly the other construction, (where the word (*Assur*) is taken for *Assur* the Sonne of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* obserueth through all the Bookes of *Genesis*, but is quite contrarie vnto it. For in the beginning of the tenth

tenth Chapter he setteth downe the Sonnes of *Noah* in these wordes. Now these are the Generations of the Sonnes of *Noah*: *SEM*, *HAM*, and *JAPHETH*, unto whom Sonnes were borne after the flood: then it followeth immediately. The Sonnes of *JAPHETH* were *GOMER*, &c. so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noah's* sonnes, bee he eldest or youngest: because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (having last named him) hee proceeds and sets downe his issue, and then the issue of his sonnes: first, the issue of *Gomer*, *Japheth's* eldest sonne; and then speaks of *Saxen* and his sonnes: for of the rest of that familie hee is silent. Anon after hee numbred the Sonnes of *HAM*, of which *Cush* was the eldest: and then the sonnes of *Cush* and *Mizraim*; and afterward of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the last, because he would not disioyne the storie of the Hebrewes. But after hee beginneth with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, unto *Abraham*, and so to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the Sonnes of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *HAM*, had beene against order: neither would *Moses* have past over so slightly the erection of the *Assyrian* Empire, in one of the sonnes of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning: it being the storie of *Shem's* sonnes which he most attended. For hee nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the Sonnes of *Cush*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter he returns to speake of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinar*. And as hee did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleventh he maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then hee beginneth with the issue of *Shem*, which hee continueth to *Abraham* and *Israel*. And of *Iunius* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Caluin*: to which I conceive that *P. Commestor* or in his *Historia Scholastica* gave an entrance, who after he had delivered this place in some other sense, he vseth these wordes. *Vel intelligendum non est de Assur filio Sem, &c. sed Assur (id est) Regnum Assyriorum inde egressum est, quod tempore SARGI proavi ABRAHAMIS factum est, (which is) Or else it is not to be understood of Assur the Sonne of SEM, &c. but Assur (that is the Kingdome of the Assyrians) came from thence (videlicet from Babylon) or was made out of it: which happened in the time of SARGI the great grand-father of ABRAHAM.* After which he reconcileth the differences in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first erecter of the *Assyrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true quantum ad initium, respecting the beginning; but others conceive that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true quantum ad regni ampliationem, regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to be the sonne of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbiensis*, *S. Hierome* and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly *Tornilius*: who saith hee tooke vpon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africani* after his conquest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psalme 81. Esay 10. Of 5. &c.* but to helpe the matter he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the sonne of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Arch-Bishop of *Mentz* in the year of *Christi* 854. an ancient and learned writer, vnderstands this place with *Commestor*, or *Commestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of *Iunius*: to which wordes of *Moses* hee giueth this sense. *De hac terra Assyriorum pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine NINI, BELUS, Ninum considerunt, urbem magnam, &c.* Out of this land grew the Empire of the *Assyrians*, who built *Ninus* the great Citie, so named of *NINVS* the sonne of *BELVS*. On the contrary *Caluin* obiectioneth this place of *Esay*. Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, this was no people, *ASSUR* founded it by the inhabitants of the wilderness; then which there is no one place in the Scriptures that hath a greater diuerfity in the translation and vnderstanding: in so much as *Michad de Palatio* vpon *Esay* (though in all else very diligent) passeth it ouer. But *Caluin* seemeth hereby to inferre, that because *Assur* founded the state of the *Chaldeans*, therefore also *Assur* rather

Tornell. Annot.
[sic, in Gen. 10.]

23. 13.

ther then *Nimrod* established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Nimre*: contrarie to the former translation of *Iunius*, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the *Fulgur*, (called *therames* translation) it may bee gathered that *Assur* both founded and ruined this estate or Citie of the *Chaldeans*, by *Esay* remembered: vnto which Citie, people or state, hee plainly telleth the *Tyrians* that they cannot trust, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of *Chaldea*, and that estate, an example vnto those *Phanicians*, whom in this place hee foretelleth of their ruine: which Citie of *Chaldea* being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Assyrians* utterly waisted and destroyed: whereby he giueth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Citie of *Tyre*, 10 (inuinible, as themselves thought) should also soone after bee ouerturned by the same *Assyrians*: as (indeede) it was by *Nabuchodonosor*. And these be the words after *Hierome*. *Ecce terra Chaldaeorum, talis populus non fuit, Assyrus fundauit eam, in captiuitatem traduxerunt robustos eius, suffoderunt domos eius, posuerunt eam in ruinam,* (which is) Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, such a people there were not (or this was no people, after the *Geneca*) *Assyrus* (or the *Assyrians*) founded it, they carried away their strong men captiue, they vndermined their houses, and ruined their Citie. The *Septuagint* expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these wordes. *Et in terra Chaldaeorum, & hac desolata est ab Assyrijs, quoniam murus eius corruit,* making the sense perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus vnderstood. If thou goe ouer 20 to *Chittim* (which is *Macedon* or *Greece*) yet thou shalt haue no rest, (speaking to the *Tyrians*) neither in the land of the *Chaldeans*, for this is made desolate by the *Assyrians*, because their walles fell together to the ground. *Pagninus* and *Vatablus* conuert it thus. *Ecce terra Chaldæim, iste populus non erat illuc olim; nam Assyrus fundauit eam nauibus, erexerunt arces illius, contrinuerunt ades eius, posuit eam in ruinam:* which may bee thus Englished. Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for *Assyrus* built it a harbour for ships, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houses thereof, and ruined it. *Iunius* in the place of ships sets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, for the *Barbarians*: and the *Geneca*, by the *Barbarians*. But this is vndoubted that the Prophet *Esay* (as may be gathered by all the sense of the chapter) 30 did therein assure the *Tyrians* of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) hee maketh choice to note the calamities of those places, Cities, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatnesse of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharsis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Gracians* vnder the name of *Cittim*; also by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans*, and the rest. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Towne of the world most renowned. And (as it appears in our discourse of *Paradise*) not the least part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Citie *Fr* or *Vechea* in *Chaldea*, where the body or chiefe streame of *Euphrates* (euen that streame which runneth through *Babylon* and *Orris*, which now falleth into *Tigris*) had his passage into the *Persian Gulf*: though now 40 it be stopped vp. For (as we haue heretofore noted) the *Arabians* (that descended from *Sheba* and *Ramah*) dwelling on the East bankes of the *Persian Gulf*, trading with the *Tyrians* (as those of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) transported their merchandise by the mouth of *Tigris*, that is, from *Teredon*, and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Fr* or *Vechea*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by *Riuer* and ouer Land they conueyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre*: as they doe this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Fr* of the *Chaldea* was a Port Towne, and one of those Cities which had intelligence, trade, and exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it stood by the great Lakes of *Chaldea*, through which that part of *Euphrates* ranne, which passage is now stopp'd vp. *Eius cursum vicius aboleuit* (saith *NIGER*). And *Plinie*, locus ubi *Euphratis* est iunium fuit, flumen salsum, 50 Time hath worne away the channell of *Euphrates*: and the place where the mouth thereof was is a Bay of salt water. These things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) wee may expound the Citie of the *Chaldea*, whose calamities *Esay* here noteth for terrour of the *Tyrians*, to be the Citie anciently called *Fr*; and (by *Hecatanus*)

CANCERINA:

Camerius, by *Protonie Pychoa*: and by the Greeks *Chaldopolis*, *The Cittie of Chaldaa*: which the *Sonnes of Shem* vntill *Abrahams* time inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that *Assur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be vnderstood, that *Assur* the Founder was the sonne of *Shem*; and *Assur* the deltrouers the *Assyrians*, by whom those that inhabited *Vr of Chaldaa*, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-seeing commanded *Abraham* thence to *Charran*, and so into *Canaan*. And if the Hebrew word by *Vatubla* and *Pagninus* conuerted (by ships) doe beare that sense, the same may be the better approved; because it was a Port Towne: and the River so farre vp as this Cittie of *Vr* was in ancient time nauigable, as both by *Plinie* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no lesse manifest, that the most barbarous *Arabians* of the Desert were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vnto it. For *Chaldaa* is now called *Arachaldar*, which signifieth desert lands, because it ioyneth to that part of *Arabia* so called: and *Cicero* (calling those *Arabians* by the name of *Iturians*) addeth that they are of all other people the most salvage; calling them *hemines omnium maxime barbaros*.

So as this place of *Eisay*, which breedeth some doubt in *Caluin*, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of *Iunius*, nor the interpretation of *Comeistor* and *Rabanus*. For though other men haue not conceived (for any thing that I haue read) that *Assur* is in this place diuersly taken (as for the sonne of *Sem*, when he is spoken of as a builder of *Vr*; and when as a delstruer thereof, then for the *Assyrian* Nation) yet certainly the euidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this founding of the Cittie of the *Chaldees* by *Assur* (into which the most of the posteritie of *Sem* that came into *shinar*, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the *Chusites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to proue that the same *Assur* built *Ninive*, or that the same *Assur* was all one with *Ninus*; except wee will make *Assur*, who was the sonne of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the sonne of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious sacrificer to Idols; & the first that set vpa statue to be honoured as God. Now if *Assur* must bee of that race, and not of the familie of *Sem*, as he must be if he founded *Ninive*, then all those which seek to giue him the honour thereof, doe him by a thousand parts more iniurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Assur* whom they make the Founder of *Ninive* (and so the sonne of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly he was very vnworthy and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and such a Cittie, if no man haue vouchsafed to leaue to posteritie his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire againe or quitted it to *Ninus*: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farre differing from truth. It will therefore bee found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the storie of that age written by prophane Authours, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalue*, the first workes and beginnings of his Empire according to *Moses*, and that these workes being finished within the Valley of *shinar*, hee looked farther abroad, and set in hand the worke of *Ninus*, lying neare unto the same streame that *Babel* and *Chalue* did: which worke his grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to passe, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundresse of the Cittie which shee only finished: so also *Ninus* of *Ninive*. *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit insaurare, shee might repaire or renew Babylon*, saith *S. Augustine*. For so did *Nabuchodonosor* vaunt himselfe to be the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built vp againe some part of the wall ouerborne by the furie of the River: which worke of his stood till *Alexanders* time, whereupon he vaunted thus. *Is not this great Babel which I haue built?*

p. IIIL.

of the acts of NIMROD and BELVS, as farre as now they
are knowne.

BVt to returne to the storie, it is plaine in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transjugium*; and *Iulius Aspicurus* surnamed *Saturne*) was the establisher of the *Babylonian Monarchie*, of whom there is no other thing written, then that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those foure Citties before remembred, *Babel*, *Erec*, *Aceach*, and *Chabue*; and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Affysia*; and in *Affysia* built foure more Citties (to wit) *Nimue*, *Rehoboth*, *Celab*, and *Resen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it selfe and those adioyning, and that his traualles were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that worke of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Citties, and the large foundation of *Nimue*, and the other Citties of *Affysia* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie then any thing performed by his succossours in many yeares after: to whose vndertakings time had giuen so great an increase of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning so great an advancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Moopes*, & *sermanis linguarum terrarū diuisione*, by reason that the earth and the speech were then diuided.

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Iupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114. yeares; of whose acts and vndertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fenies and ouerflowne Marishes which adioyned vnto it. For any of his warres or conquests there is no report, other then of his begonne enterprife against *Sabatinus* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia* which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Sagga*, whose Sonne and Successour *Berezanes* became subiect and Tributarie to *Ninus*, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begonne.

p. V.

That wee are not to meruaile how so many Kingdomes could bee erected about
thesetimes: and of VEXORIS of *Ægypt*, and *TANAI*S
of *Scythia*.

THat so many Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the world so soone after *Nimrod*, (as by the storie of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold; (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For Opportunitie being a Princesse liberrall and powerfull bestoweth on her first entertrainers many times more benefits, then either Fortune can, or Wisdome ought; by whose presence alone the vnderstanding minds of men receiue all those helps and supplies, which they either want or with for: so as euery leader of a troupe (after the diuision of tongues and dispersion of people) finding these faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they possit, and gouerned by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be concieued, that when the Earth was first diuided, mankind e fraggled abroade like beafts in a Desert; but that by agreement they disposed themselues, and vndertooke to inhabite all the knowne parts of the world, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwife, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus* time, would not haue beene possit in many hundreds of yeares after, as then they were;

were; neither did those that were sent, and traiailed farre off (order being the true parent of prosperous success) undertake so difficult enterprises without a Conduiter or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitie resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their owne traualles: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness, either possesse the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne ministers and attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the vndertakings and conquests of *Ninus* (the sonne of *Belus*) made it apparent: for he found every where Kings and Monarches, what way soeuer his Ambition led him in the warres.

But *Nimrod* (his grand-father) had no companion King, to vs knowne, when he first tooke on him soueraigntie and sole commandement of all those the children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*: though in his life time others also raised themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his sonne and successeur) found *Sabatus* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerfull to resist his attempts: which *Sabatus* I take to be the same, which *Iustine* calls *Tantis*; and should coniecture, that *Mizraim* had bene his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error, (as *Iustine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seemes to me rightly accounted by the iudicious and learned *Reueillac* all one with the great *Sesairis*, that liued certaine ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. years, according to the common account,

See more of this, 1. 2. of this first Part. c. 2. §. 6.

§. VI.

Of the name of *Belus*, and other names affixe vnto it.

30 Hence this second King and Successeur of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, question hath bene made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) giuen by *Ninus*, then assumed by *Belus* himselfe.

Cyrius against *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus* *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a God: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence deriued. But *Bel*, as many learned writers haue obserued, signifieth the Sunne in the *Chaldean* tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Sennacherib* giue that name to their Father, that hec might be honoured as the Sunne, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a God. And as this title was assumed after-times by diuers others of the *Chaldean* Princes, and *Babylonian* Satraps: so was it vsed (in imitation) by the chiefe of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians haue conceiued.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertaine (as in affinitye) those voices of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Belphegor*, *Belschub*, and *Beelsephon*. Those that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldean* conuert the word *Baal* by the Latine *Princeps militie*, Chiefe in the warre, though *Daniel* was so called (saith *SVIDAS*) ob honorum explicationem arcamaram rerum, in honour of his expounding secrets. *S. Alerome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to haue the same signification: and saith, that the Idoll of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memorie of his Father set vp to be worshipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lyranus*) came Idolatrie, and the first vse of Images into the world. *Isidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient, adding, that as among the *Affrians* it is taken for *Saturne* and the Sunne: so in the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* language it signifi-

Etia in Osi. t. 2.

Etia in Osi. t. 2.
Salom. c. 11.
1. d. d. c. 11.

Hieron. in Ope.
c. 4. §. 9.

eth God. *Glycas* makes it an *Affyrrian* name properly; and *Iosephus* a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth that the *Idoll* which the *Assabites* worshipped (by them erected on the mountaine *Ibegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Bad*) is the same which the *Latines* call *Prisapus*, the God of Gardens; which was also the opinion of *S. Hierome*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the *Idoll* of *Ascoror*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* boundeth (God) and *Sebab* (Flies or Hornets;) by which name (notwithstanding) the *Jewes* expresse the Prince of *Devils*. But the Prophet *Ose* teacheth vs the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himselfe; And at that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me *Isihy*, and shalt call me no more *BAALIM*: for I will take away the name of *BAALIM* out of their mouths. For although the name of *Bad*, or *Behai*, be iustly to be vsed towards God; yet in respect that the same was giuen to *Idols*, God both hated it and forbad it. And the vying of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldaans* for the Sunne, was not because it properly signifieth the Sunne, but because the Sunne there was worshipped as a God: as also the Fire was, *tamquam Solis particula*. As for the wordes compounded (before remembred) as *Belpegor*, and *Belphegon*; *Belphegon* is expounded out of *FAGIVS*, *Dominus seculæ vel æsolitæ*, The Lord of the watch-tower or of the guard: the other word noteth the *Idoll*, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written *Belpeor*, or *Badpeor*: and *Peor* (they say) is as much as *Demidauti*; and therefore the word ioyned expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the sonne of *Saturne*: for it was vsed among the *Ancients* to name the Father *Saturne*, the Sonne *Iupiter*, and the grand-child *Hercules*. *SATVRNI dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regum qui cybes condiderunt sensifimi; primogeniti eorum IOVES & IVNO NES; HERCVLES vero nepotes eorum fortissimi. The ancientst of Noble families, and Kings which founded Cities, are called SATVRNES, their first borne IVPITER and IVNO NES; their valliant Nephewes HERCVLES*. But this *Belus* (saith *Plinius*) was famous by reason of his warlike sonne *Ninus*, who caused his Father to be worshipped as a God by the name of *Iupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (transported by the dreames of their antiquitie) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (say they) vpon *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus* begat this *Iupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Egyptus*. They adde, that this *Belus* carrying a *Colonia* to the Riuer of *Euphrates* there built a Citie, in which he ordained Priests after the *Egyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the sonne of *Epaphus* and *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or (with *Eusebius*) of *Telegonus*, who after the death of *Apus* married *Isis*, (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the same was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we speake, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* so much vaunted.

Afflor, de equib.
l. 3.

de 1. 19)
Diod. l. 3.

§. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images begonne from *BEVVS* in *Babel*.



AS for the *Babylonian Belus*, he was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inuentour of *Astronomie*, if *Plinie* say true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and the doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the same Author affirmeth that it remained in his time.

Strabo. l. 3. c. 3.

Of the Sepulcher of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus. Over the Riuer (saith he) there are gardens, where they say the ruines of *BEVVS* his Temple, which *XERXES* brake vp, as yet remaining. It was a square Pyramis made of bricke, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth. It appeares by *Cyral* against *Iulian*, that hee obtained diuine worship yet liuing: for so hee writes of him (calling him *Arbelvs*) *ARBELVS, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur a subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: persequerantur igitur Assyri, & finitima illis gentes sacrificantes ei.*

E. 4. cont. Indian.

ARBELVS.

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ARABELVS, a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honoured by their Idolatry with the Deities; (for with the name of God) The Assyrians therefore and the neighbouring Nations have persecuted, sacrificing to him. Euen Arims also, whom Suidas calls Thouras, who succeeded next after Ninus, was made an Idol-God among them, if we credit Suidas.

After Ninus (that is, after Ninus) Thouras reigned (saith Suidas) whom they called after the name of the Planet Mars; a man of sharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding battaile to Canasus of the flocke of Iapheth Iluc him. The Assyrians worshipped him for their God, and called him Baal (that is) Mars; thus Fatio Suidas. Neither is it vnlikely but that many among idolatrous Nations were Deified in their lifetimes, or soone after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and Statues were first erected without diuine worship, only in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as Glycerus rightly conceiueeth; and so afterward the Deuill crept into those woddren and brazen carcases, when posteritie had lost the memorie of their first inuention. Hereof Isidore speaketh in this manner. Quos autem Pagani Deos esse homines fuerunt, & pro vniu'susq. vita meritis vel magnificentia, colapud suos post mortem ceperunt: sed demonibus persuadentibus quos illi pro sua memoria honorauerunt, minores Deos existimant: ad ista verò magis excolenda accersunt Poetarum segmenta, They were men (saith he) when the Pagani affirmed to be Gods: and euery one for his merits or magnificence beganne after his death to be honoured of his owne. But at length (the Deuils perswading) they accounted them lesser Gods, whose memories they honoured: and the fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honours of the dead) much more superstitious.

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans, and Heathen Nations, it is not Isidore alone that witnesseth; but Gregorius: Gentilitas (saith hee) inuentrix & caput est imaginum, Gentilisme is the inuentresse and ground of images: and Ambrose, Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei, The Gentils adore wood as it were the image of God. Eusebius also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of images a custome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath S. Augustine against Adimantus. Et venerunt (saith LACTANTIUS) ne religio uana sit, si nihil uident quod adorent, They feare their religion would be vaine, should they not see that which they worship.

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen shifft this fearefull custome very strangely. For seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise Christian satisfie it selfe with the distinction of *Idols* and *Hyperdons*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should straine their wits to defend the vse of those things, which the Scriptures haue not only nowhere warranted, but expressely in many places forbidden, and cursed the practicers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Deuill was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither the expresse Commandement of God himselfe, *Thou shalt not make any graven image*, nor all the threatnings of Moses and the Prophets after him could remoue, weede it, or by feare, or by any perswasions leade the hearts of men from it. For where shall we finde words of greater weight, or of plainer instruction then these? Take therefore good heed to your selues (for yee saw no image in the day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) that yee corrupt not your selues, and make you a graven image, or representation of any figure, whether it be the likeness of Male or Female.

And besides the expresse Commandement, *Thou shalt make thee no graven image*, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, so it is written in the booke of Wisdome. That the inuention of Idols was the beginning of Wickednesse: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for euer.

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the worshipping

1023 X

Greg. in concilio. Ambros. in stat. 108.

Euseb. l. 7. c. 18. Aug. c. 13. Lact. l. 1. c. 2.

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shipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of images of the living God, and not of *Baal* and the rest of that nature, for you saw no image (saith *Moses*) that day that the Lord spake unto you in *Horeb*. Surely it was excellently said of *Basile*, *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua*, Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde too. Now, if the great *Basile* thought it a presumption vnlawfull to represent a patterne of the infinite God to our owne thoughts and mindes, how farre doe those men presume that put him vnder the greazie penill of a painter, or the rustie axe or other instrument of a Carpenter or Caruer?

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God beganne in *Babel*: so did the *Deuill* transport and speede this inuention into all the Regions adioyning, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romanes* for a while resisted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 170. yeares, observing therein the Law of *Numa*: who thought it impetie to resemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanitie of the *Gracians* (a Nation of all others vnder the Sunne most deluded by *Sathan*) set vp the images of their Gods; which (as *St. Augustine* witnesseth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and vtterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth. *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicat, genus posito illa adorant, & cum hac suspiciant, fabres* 20 *qui illa fecere contemnunt*, The images of the Gods are worshipped, those they pray vnto with bended knees; those they adore, and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the handi-craftsmen that made them: which also *Sedulius* the Poet in this sort scoffeth at.

*Hec miseri qui uana colunt, qui corde sinistro
Religiosa sibi sculptunt simulachra, iuuenq;
Faciorem iugunt, & qua fecere venerantur.
Quis furor est? quæ ista animos dementialudit?
Vt volucrum, iuipemq; bouem, toruamq; Draconem,
Semi-hominemq; canem supplex homo pronus adoret.*

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,
And consecrate dumbe Idols in their heart,
Who their owne Maker (God on high) despise,
And feare the worke of their owne hands and art.
What furie? what great madnesse doth beguile
Mens minds? that man should vgly shapes adore,
Of Birds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile
Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuise was barbarous, and first, and many yeares practised by Heathen Nations onely, till the *Tewes* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorn the ignorant stupiditie of his Nation: but *Iustin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sibyls* inueighed against Images: and *Hosius*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the soules of men to erect and adore those bables, *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witnesseth, that the *Persians* did not erect or set vp any Statue of their Gods. *Lycurgus* neuer taught it the *Lacedemonians*, but thought it impetie to represent immortall natures by mortall figures. *Ensebius* also witnesseth in his first booke de preparatione Euangelica, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images should be worshipped. The same do *Tacitus* and *Criminus* report of the ancient *Germanes*. Many other Authors might be remembered that witnesseth the disdain which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatrie: of which *Hosius* hath written at large in his Tract de origine imaginum.

Images of the
image (saith Mo-
scelyntes, Doctour
minded. Now,
a partem of the
ole man profume
or other inlime-

dog begn in 30
all the Regies ad-

Images, refusing
the Law of Names
things most basel:
sanie of the Gra-
sathan set up the
learned yare both
idolatri. Simulacra
us (suisant), sicut
thoſe they pray vnto
conure them, they
conue the Poet in this sort

any yeares practised by
the poe, yet it is not done
ration: but by the
and Hefianus, how so
overt and adore thoſe
not erect or ſet up
man; but thought
Enſeſus allo windeſ
denby a Law in Rome
orſhipped. The time
other Authors might
in them: ſes ſaid of the
egen his Tract de magi-

CHAP. 10. §. 7. of the Historie of the World.

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magnum. And it was truly ſaid, *Omnia mala exempla bonis imitris orta ſunt.* All ill ex-
amples haue ſprung from good beginnings. The Heathen at firſt made theſe Statues and
Images, but in memorie of ſuch remarkable men, as had deſerued beſt of their coun-
tries and commonwealths: *Effigies hominum* (saith Plinie) *non ſolebant exprimi niſi*
aliqua illuſtri cauſa perpetuatem mercentur: Men were not wont to make pictures, but of
men which merited for ſome notable cauſe to be perpetually remembered. And though of
the more ancient Papies, ſome haue borrowed of the Gentiles (as appeareth in *La-
ctantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulacra* are proleculentia litterarum, or per
ea diſſerent homines Deum inuifibilem cognoscere: Images (ſay they, and ſo before them
10 the Heathen ſaid) are in ſtead of letters, whereby men might learne to know the in-
uiſible God: in which vnderſtanding (perhaps) they no otherwiſe eſteemed them
then pictures indeed; yet as that of *Esai* or *Bel* ſet vp in memorie of *Belus* the Babylo-
nian became afterwards the moſt reuerenced Idoll of the world, by which ſo many
Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himſelfe) were misled and call
away: ſo thoſe very ſtockes and ſtones, and painted canuaſes (called the pictures of
Chriſt, our *Ladie*, and others) were by thouſands of ignorant people, not onely a-
dored, but eſteemed to haue life, motion, and vnderſtanding. On theſe ſtockes we call
(saith the booke of *Wiſedome*) when we paſſe through the raging flames, on theſe ſtockes
more rotten then the ſhip that carrieth vs.

- 20 This Heathen invention of Images became ſo fruitfull in after-times, breeding
an infinite multitude of Gods, that they were forced to diſtinguiſh them into de-
grees and orders; as *Dij Conſentes*, ſeu maiorum gentium; ſelecti, Patrii, inſigniores, *dy*
medij: Counſeling Gods, or Gods of the mightieſt Nobilitie, ſelect Gods, Patrian, Gods of
marke, and common Gods (which the *Romanes* called *Medioximi*) *dy inſimi*, and terre-
ſtriall Heroes, and multitudes of other Gods: of which *S. Auguſtine* hath made
large mention in his booke of *Ciuitate Dei*. But (saith *Lactantius*) among all thoſe
miferable ſoules and rotten bodies, worſhipped by men more like to their idolls, did
Epimeneides Cretenſis (by what good Angell moued I know not) erect in the *Athe-
nian* fields, Altars to the vnknowne God, which ſtood with the ſame title and dedi-
cation euen to the times of *S. Paul*: who made them firſt knowe to whom thoſe
Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might
diſcerne the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth euery man, and the ob-
ſcure and ſtinking miſt wherein the Decill had ſo many yeares led and miſled them.
And it ſufficed not that the multitude of theſe Gods was ſo great in generall, or that
euerie Nation had ſome one which tooke particular and ſingular care of them; as *Iu-
piter* in *Creete*, *Iſis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens* *Minerua*, in *Samos* *Iuno*, in *Paphos* *Venus*, and ſo
of all other parts; but euery Citie, and almoſt euery familie had a God a-part. For as it
is written in the ſecond of kings: the men of *Babel* made *Saceroth Benoth*, and the men
of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Aſiuni*, and the *Aniti* made *Nib-
haz*, and *Tarrak*, and the *Sopheraniti* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All
40 which how plainly hath the Prophet *Eſai* deſcried? Men cut downe trees, rinde them,
burne a part of them, make readie their meate, and warme themſelues by the fire thereof,
and of the reſidue bee maketh a God, an Idoll, and prayeth vnto it: but God hath ſhut
their eyes from ſight, and their heartes from vnderſtanding. It is therefore ſuffici-
ent for a Chriſtian to beleue the commandments of God ſo direct againſt Idolatrie, to be-
leue the Prophets, and to beleue *Saint Paul*: who ſpeaketh thus plainly and fee-
lingly. *My beloved ſay from Idolatrie, I ſpeake as vnto them which haue vnderſtanding,*
image yee what I ſay.

p. VIII.

Of the warres of *Ninus*: and lastly of his warre against
ZOROASTER.

VNto this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commaunded the exercise of Idolatrie, the first that iniuriously invaded his neighbour Princes; and the first that without shame or feare committed adultery in publike. But as of *Belus* there is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars) so of this *Ninus* (whose Story is gathered out of 10 prophane Authours) I finde nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that peece of *Berosus* set out and commented vpon by *Annus* hath many good things in it, and giueth great light (as *Chytræus* noteth) to the vnderstanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halycarnassæus*, and others: yet *Lodouicus Vives*, *B. Rhennanus*, and others after them haue layed open the imperfection and defects of the fragment; prouing directly that it cannot bee the same *Berosus* which liued in *Alexanders* time, cited by *Athenians* and *Iosephus*: and whose Statue the *Athenians* erected, saith *Plinie*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many haue gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Princes, euen from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Asestades*, and to the times of *Iosua*. 20 For of *Metasthenes* an Historian, of the race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certaine papers, or some fewe lines of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian Monarchies*: but hee afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* Kings is not without his errors.

Ctesias of *Cnidus* (a Cittie adioyning to *Halycarnassus*) who liued together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his History out of the *Persian* Records, and reacheth as farre vpwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and though in the Story of *Cyrus* the younger *Xenophon* approoueth him in some things, and *Athenæus* *Pausanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whome hee liued, and so incredible are the numbers which he findes in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*, as whatsoeuer his reportes were, times haue consumed his workes, sauing some very fewe excerpts lately published. 30

20 649. And therefore in things vncertaine, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of iudgement, I will passe over the acts of this third *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can expresse them. *S. Angustinus* affirms that *Ninus* mastered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he wanne it all, saue *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For hee made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his conquests, with whom he entred into a straight league of amitie; because he commaunded many people and was his kinsman, and a *Chusite*, and the nearest Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprise was vpon *Syria*, which hee might easily subdue, both because hee invaded it on the soldaine, and because it lay next him: and also because the *Arabians* and their King *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the conquest thereof. 40

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his warre against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia* hee bent himselfe that way toward the East; but that euer hee commaunded the lesser *Asia*, I doe not beleue, for none of his successours had any possession therein.

His third warre was against *Phraortes*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is said that hee ouerthrew, and cruelly murdered with his leuen children, though others affirme that they all dyed in one battaile against him. Whether hee invaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Ninive*, or after, it is vncertaine. It is said that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill successe in the first he returned, and set the worke of *Ninive* forward: and then a second time entred *Bactria* with 1700000. foote, and 200000. horse, and 10000. fixe hundred Cha- 50
riots:

riots: being encountred by Zoroaster with 400000. But Nimus prevailing, and Zoroaster slaine, he entred farther into the Countrey, and belieged the chiefe Citie thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrian* (saith *Stephanus*:) which by a passage found, and an assault given by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) hee entred and possesst. Upon this occasion *Nimus* both admiring her iudgement and valour, together with her person and externall beautie, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he tooke her from her husband, whose eyes he threatned to thrust out if hee refused to consent. He therefore yeelding to the passion of love in *Nimus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himselfe, by the strong persuasions of shame and dishonour, cast himselfe head-long into the water and died.

Aug. de Civit. Dei.
Steph. de Urb. 2. 11

CHAP. XI.

Of ZOROASTER, supposed to haue bene the chiefe
Author of Magick arts: and of the diuers kinds
of Magick.

§. I.

That ZOROASTER was not CHAM, nor the first inventor of Astrologie, or of Magick: and that there were diuers great Magicians of this name.



ZOROASTER King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincetius* supposed to be *Cham*, the sonne of *Noah*: A fancie of little probability. For *Cham* was the paternall Ancestor of *Ninus*; the father of *Chus*; the grandfather of *Nimrod*, whose sonne was *Belus*, the father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincetius* had heard of that booke which was called *Scriptura Cham*, deuised by some wicked knaue, and so intituled: of which *Sicinius Senensis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gaue the invention of *Magick* to *Cham*, the sonne of *Noah*. *Cassian. in Olla. Col. cxi.*

so did *Comestor* in his Scholasticall Historie: which Art (saith he) with the seuen liberrall sciences he writ in fouenteen pillars: seuen of which were made of brass, to resist the defacing by the waters of the flood; and seuen of bricke against the iniurie of fire. There was also another deuised discourse, which went vnder the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like vnto this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassianus* wordes. *CHAM (filius NOAH) qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super hijs memorialem librum in Arcanum profus inferre, in qua erat cum patre suo, &c. CHAM (the sonne of NOAH) who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any booke or memoriale of that nature into the Arke, wherein hee was to remaine with his godly Father, caused the precepts and rules thereof to be grauen in metall and hard stone.*

S. Augustine noteth that *Zoroaster* was said to haue taught at his birth, when all other children wepe; which prefiged the great knowledge which afterward he attained vnto: being taken for the inuentor of naturall *Magick* and other arts; for the corrupter,

corrupter, saith *Plinie* and *Iussine*. But I doe not thinke that *Zoroaster* inuented the doctrine of the Moroscopes or Natiuities; or first found out the nature of herbes, stones, and minerals, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which I know not what King of *Chaldaea*, is also made the Inuentour. I rather thinke that these knowledges were farre more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his sonnes. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster*, (*as Iosephus* reporteth) was no lesse learned herein then any other in that age, if hee exceeded not all men then liuing: differing from the wisdome of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giuer of life and vertue to nature and all naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and vniuersall power) admired the instruments, and attributed proper strength to the things themselves, (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdome, *it which being one, and remaining in it selfe, can doe all things and reneweth all.*

Wisd. c. 7.

Now whether this *Zoroaster* (ouerthrowne by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the *Magician*, *Clefius* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Plinie* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slaine by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is also the opinion of *Sealiger*.

Scalig. in Euseb.

Again *Iosephus* and *Cedrenus* affirme that *Seib* first found out the Planets, or wandring Starres, and other Motions of the Heauens: for if this art had bene inuented by *Zoroaster*, hee could not haue attained to any such excellencie therein, in his owne life time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular iudgement, hee might adde somewhat to this kinde of knowledge, and leaue it by writing to posteritie.

20

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute: and no lesse jangling about the word and art of *Magike*. *Arnobius* remembreth foure to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zoroastres* was giuen: which by *Hermedorus* and *Dion* seemeth to bee but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to say, as *astrorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Babylonian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* ouerthrew: the second, a *Chaldean* and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaster Pamphilius*, who liued in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaster Armenius*, the Nephew of *Holitanes*, which followed *Xerxes* into Greece: betwene whom and *Cyrus* there past 78. yeares. *Suidas* remembreth a fift, called *Perseus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the sonne of *Ormazdes*, which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

30

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Plinie* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Plebo*, *Ficinus* and *Steuchius* make him a *Chaldean*. But by those bookes of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldean* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldean*) was as often giuen to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinction of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldei* and *Magi* diuers; *Picus* the same. But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldean* both by nation and profession, it appeareth by his bookes, which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldean* tongue; and the Comment in the same language. Now that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be iudged by the name of those bookes of *Zoroaster*, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intitled, *Patris EZRE ZOROASTRI & MELCHIOR magorum oracula.*

50

§. II.

of the name of *Magia*: and that it was anciently farre diners from
coniuuring, and Witchcraft.



Ow for *Magike* it selfe; which Art (saith *Abrandula*) pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt, Few vnderstand, and many reprehend: Et sicut canes ignotos semper allatrant, As dogges barke at those they know not: so they condemne and hate the things they vnderstand not: I thinke it not amisse (leaving *Ninus* for a while) to speake somewhat thereof.

- 10 It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (*Magus*) because of *Simon Magus*: who being indeede, not *Magus*, but *Goez*, (that is) familiar with euill spirits, vsurped that title. For *Magike*, Coniuuring, and Witcherie are farre differing arts, whereof *Plinie* being ignorant iscootheth thereat. For *Nero* (saith *Plinie*) who had the most excellent *Magicians* of the East sent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that Kingdome by his grace, found the art after long studie and labour altogether ridiculous.

Magus is a *Persian* word primitiue, whereby is exprest such a one as is altogether conuerfing in things diuine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the art of *Magike* is the art of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epistles expounding the word (μαγικη) saith, that the *Persians* called their Gods μαγας: whence he addeth that *Magus* is either a word vnto *Wd* or *Wd* (that is) that *Magus* is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the seruice of God: in which latter sense it is taken *Matt. c. 2. v. 1*. And this is the first and highest kinde: which *Piccolominie* calleth diuine *Magike*: and these did the Latines newly intitle *Sapientes* or *Wisemen*: For the feare and worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. These *Wisemen* the *Greekes* call *Philosophers*: the *Indians* *Brachmans*; which name they somewhat nearely retaine to this day, calling their Priests *Brachmanes*; among the *Egyptians* they were termed Priests; with the *Hebrewes* they were called *Cabalistes*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*: amongst the *Babylonians* they were distinguished by the name of *Chaldeans*: and among the *Persians* *Magicians*: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hosianes*, one of the ancient *Magicians*) vseth these wordes. Et verum Deum merita musefate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sed veri, eius venerationi non assisere, idem demonis prodiu terranos, vagos, humanitati inimicos. So *STRENGTH* (for so *M. Felix* calleth him, not *Hosianes*) ascribeth the due maiestie to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his *Angels* are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath deliuered that there are *Demis* earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankind.

His *Musefite* also in his first booke of *Deuonologie* c. 3. acknowledgeth, that in the *Persian* tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much as a contemplator of diuine and heauenly sciences; but vniufully so called, because the *Chaldeans* were ignorant of the true diuinitie. And it is also tought which *His Musefite* anoweth, that vnder the name of *Magike* all other vnlawfull arts are comprehended, and yet doth *His Musefite* distinguish it from *Necromantie*, *Witchcraft*, and the rest: of all which hee hath written largely and most learnedly. For the *Magike* which *His Musefite* condemneth is of that kinde whereof the *Deuils* is a partie. *Daniel* in his second Chapter nameth foure kinds of those *Wisemen*: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, & *Chaldei*. *Arioli* the old Latine translation calleth *Sophistes*; *Vatubus* and *Paganus* *Gethibikos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatubus*) *Naturalists*: Nempe sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Gracos (scilicet) dominarum humanarum, verum scientian profitentes, for the *Magi* are the same with the *Barbarians*, as the *Philosophers* are with the *Gracians* (that is) men that professe the knowledge of things both diuine and humane. The *Greeke* and the *English* call them *Inchanters*; *Iurine* *Magicians*; *Calidion* *Coniurers*: in the *Syrian* they are all foure by one name called *Sapientes* *Babylonis*, The *Wise men* of *Babel*.

Plin. 2. lib. 8. 21

321

Plin. 2. lib. 8. nat.

Prophet. & A. 203 ad 527
Plato in Alcibi.

Piccol. de deus
Prouerb. 1. 7.
Piccol. de deus
Ioh. 1. 10. 11.
Ioh. 1. 10. 11.

In alio de
mag. & deus
Arnob. 1. 2. 3. 4.

Deuonologie. 1. 2. c. 1.

The second sort *Vatablus*, *Pagani*, *Iunius*, and our English call *Astrologers*, *Hierome* and the *Septuagint Magicians*.

The third kinde are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Hierome*, *Pagani*, and the *Septuagint* *Witches*, or *Persones*; in *Iunius* *Præfugatores*, or *Sorcerers*, as in English.

That *Witches* are also rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poysoners*; and that indeede there is such a kinde of *Malefici*, which without any art of *Magick* or *Necromancie* vſe the helpe of the *Deuill* to doe mischief, *Hic Maſſius* confirmeth in the first chapter of his second booke: speaking also in the fifth chapter of their practise, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the *Deuill* prepared; and at other times to make pictures of waxe, or clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the *Deuill* by other meanes bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all *Translators* call *Chaldaens*: who tooke vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their euents: and this they vaunted to performe by the influences of the *Starrs* by them obserued, and vnderstood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which haue made odious the very name of *Magick*, hauing chiefly fought (as is the manner of all impoures) to counterfeit the highiest and most noble part of it, yet for as they haue also crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kinde of *Magick* was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of agriculture and husbandrie: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the *Starrs* into those lower elements.

Philo Iudeus goeth farther, affirming that by this part of *Magick* or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the *Starrs* and other heauenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he liued in *Chaldaa*: *Qui contemplantur creatorum cognouit Creatorem*, (saith *Io. DAMASCEN.*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* *Iosephus* reporteth of *Abraham* that he instructed the *Egyptians* in *Arithmetike* and *Astronomie*, who before *ABRAHAM*s coming vnto them knew none of these sciences.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo* in defence of *Mirandula* against *Gastius*, *ALEXANDER* & *EVPOLEMON* dicunt, quod *ABRAHAM* sanctitate & sapientia omnium præstantissimus *Chaldaeos* primum, deinde *Pharæes*, demum *Egyptios* sacerdos *Astrologum* & diuina docuit, *ALEXANDER* (saith hee, meaning *Alexander Polyhistor*) and *EVPOLEMON* affirme that *ABRAHAM* the holiest and wisest of men did first teach the *Chaldaens*, then the *Pharæicians*, lastly the *Egyptian* *Priests*, *Astrologie* and diuine knowledge.

The third kinde of *Magick* containeth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brablings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost vertues, and draweth them out of natures hidden bosome to humane vſe, *Virutes in centro centrilatentes*, *Vertues hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa noua*, *Raymond*, *Rosen*, and many others: and before these, in elder times, and who better vnderstood the power of nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyriacus* remembered by *St. Hierome* to *Paulinus*; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*; among the *Indians* *Thebesius*; among the *Egyptians* *Hermes*; among the *Babylonians* *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamelxis*: the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians* *Petrus Aponeusis*. The *Magick*, which these men professe is thus defined. *Magice est connectio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, et inde opera procedant non solum admiratiōe qui causam ignorant, Magice* is the connexion of natural agents

and patients, asseruable each to other, wrought by a wise man to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderful to those that know not their causes. In all these three kinds which other men diuide into foure, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly leaured: especially in the first and highest. For in his *Oracles* hee confesseth God to be the Creatour of the Vniuersal: he beleueth of the *Trinitie*, which he could not intelligate

De vit. sanct.
Hieronymus, fol.
180.

See vpon his
Comment. in
Aug. de Ciuit.
Diti. li. 8. c. 2.

* Vnde in vniuerso
doctores Trinitatis
causam ad maiorem
principio, confessa
hanc perfectam
patet, & mens
tradidit fidei.

Commentaries vpon *Daniel*; where considering the difference which *Daniel* makes between these fewer kinds of wife men formerly remembered, he vseth this distinction; *Quos non hariosos; ceteri autem illi* (i.e. *id est*) incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur nihil esse qui verbis rem peragunt; Magi qui de singulis philopofoniam habuerunt; qui suntque utuntur & victimis, & lege continent corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldaea Gentilicibus significari puti, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consecrator autem communis Magos pro Maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod sint Philopofon Chaldaeorum: & ad artus huius scientiam Reges quoque & Principes eiusdem gentis omnia saluarent; & ad artus Domini saluatoris istum primum ortum esse intellexerunt, & venientes in Iam Bethleem adorauerunt puerum, stella defuper ostendente. They whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret incanters, seeme to mee such as performe things by words; & Magicians, such as handle every thing philosophically; Witches, that vse blood, and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the Chaldeans I take them to be signified by the name of Consecrators vpon naturities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custome takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their owne nation: for they are the Philopofers of the Chaldeans: yea Kings and Princes of that nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this art: whence at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour they first of all understood his birth, and coming vnto holy Bethleem did worship the Child: the Starre from above slewing him vnto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is great difference betweene the doctrine of a Magician, and the abuse of the world. For though some writers affirme that *Magus* hecile dicitur, qui ex facere facit virtutis diaboli opera ad rem quamcumque; that he is called a Magician now adades, who hauing entred league with the deuill vseth his helpe to any matter; yet (as our Saviour said of *Demius*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of *Magike* of the wisdom of nature; other artes which vndergoe that title were inuented by the fillthold, subtiltie and enuie of the Deuill. In the latter there is no other doctrine, then the vse of certaine ceremonies per malum fidem: by an euill faith: in the former no other ill, then the inueigation of those vertues and hidden properties which God hath giuen to his creatures, and how fitly to applye things that worke to things that suffer. And though by the *Iewes*, those excellent Magicians, Philopofers, and *Diuines* which came to worships our Saviour *Christi*, were termed *Measchephims*, or *Measphims*; yet had they no other reason, then common custome therein. Consecrator autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, Common custome (saith *S. Hierome*) vnderstandeth Witches vnder the name of Magicians: And antiquity (saith *Pater Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) vnderstood good and wise men. *Quidamque expuesit Magi nomen formidolatrie nomen Enuangelice gratiam, quod non maleficium & veneficium, sed sapientem sonat & Sacerdotem*; O how carefull one (saith *Fianus*) why doubtst thou to vse the name of *Magus*, a name gracious in the Gospell, which doth not signifie a Witch or Coniurer, but a wise man and a Priest? For what brought this slander to that stude and profression but only idleness; the parent of causelesse admiration? *Causa fuit misericentia quorundam operum, que re vera opera naturalia sunt: verumtamen operis procuracione demonum naturas ipsas vel coniungunt nomen, vel commiscunt, vel aliter ad operandum expeditum facit* sunt, opera demonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hec. De operibus huiusmodi est *Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi improprie vocant*. The marvelousnesse of some workes, which (indeed) are naturall, hath bene the cause of this slander: but because these workes haue beene done by procurement of Deuils ioyning the natur together or mingling them, or how soeuer fitting the natur to their working, they were thought the workes of the Deuils by the ignorant. Among these workes is naturall *Magike*, which men call very improperly *Necromantie*.

Hieron in Daniel.

Pet. Mart. loci.

May. Ficin, part
prim fo. 573.

Gal. Parisien de
1798 ca. 14.

Feb. 80.

very workes which Christ did, may not bee done by naturall meanes: after which he goeth on in this sort. *Ideo non hereticis, non superstitiosis dixi, sed verissime & Catholice per istum Magiam adiuvare nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi.* Then followe I say not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truly and Catholically, that by such Magicke we are furthered in knowing the divinitie of Christ. And seeing the *Teutis* and others the enemies of Christian religion, doe impudently and impiously object, that those miracles which Christ wrought were not above nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Astrandula* a man for his yeares fuller of knowledge then any that this latter age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, that the vttermoſt of nature's workes being knowne, the workes which Christ did, and which (as himselfe witnesseth) no man could doe, doe manifestly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held nature therein but as a pencil, and by a power infinitely supreme and diuine: and thereby those that were faithlesse, were either conuerted or put to silence.

§. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magicke is not to be condemned: though the Deuill here as in other kinds hath sought to obtrude euill things under the name and colour of good things.

SEEING therefore it is confessed by all of vnderstanding, that a *Magician* (according to the Persian word) is no other then *diuinarum cultor & interpres, a studious observer and expounder of diuine things*: and the art it selfe (I meane the Art of naturall Magicke) no other, quam *naturalis Philosophia absoluta consummatio*. Then the absolute perfection of naturall Philosophie. Certainly then it proceedeth from common ignorance, and no way forth with wise and learned men *promissum*, and without difference and distinction, to confound lawfull and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to vse S. Pauls wordes) *with those beggerly rudiments*, which the Deuill hath shuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth gracelesse men. For if we condemne naturall Magicke, or the wisdom of nature, because the Deuill (who knoweth more then any man) doth also teach Witches and Poysoners the harmefull parts of hearbs, drugges, minerals, and excrements: then may wee by the same rule condemne the Physition, and the Art of healing. For the Deuill also in the Oracles of *Amphiaraxus, Amphilochus, Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in dreames what hearbs and drugges were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of iudgement is ignorant, that the Deuill from the beginning hath sought to thrust himselfe into the same employment among the ministers and seruants of God, changing himselfe for that purpose into an Angell of light. He hath led men to Idolatrie as a doctrine of religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Astrologie*, by giuing a diuine power to the Starres teaching men to esteeme them as Gods, and not as instruments. And (as *Banet in chryso*) it is true, that iudicall *Astrologie* is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art; considering that heavenly bodies (as euery generall experience sheweth) haue and exercise their operation vpon the inferior. For the Sunne, and the Starre of *Mars* doe drie; the Moone doth moisten, and gouerne the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as they haue seuerall and proper names, so haue they seuerall and proper vertues: the Starres doe also differ in beautie and in magnitude, and to all the Starres hath God giuen also their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: He counteth the number of the Starres, and calleth them by their names. But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestiall influences, the Deuill casteth not to shuffle in his superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret vertues of nature hath he falsched.

fastened his doctrine of Characters, numbers, and incantations; and taught men to beleue in the strength of wordes and letters: (which without faith in God are but inke or common breath) thereby either to equall his owne with the all-powerfull word of God, or to diminish the glorie of Gods creating word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, hee was neuer ignorant, that both the wise and the simple obscure when the Sea-birds for sake the shoares and flie into the land, that commonly some great storme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow broken faire weather; that the crying of Crows and bathing of Ducks foretewh raine: for they feele the aire moistened in their quilles. And it is written in *Jeremie* the Prophet, *Even the Storke in the aire knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, the Crane, and the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enimie of mankind, working vpon these as vpon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to observe the flying of Fowles, and thereby to judge of good or ill successe in the warre: and (withall) to looke into their entrails for the same, as if God had written the secrets of vnspeakable providence in the livers and bowels of birds and beasts. Againe, because it pleased God sometimes by dreames, not only to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as *Abimelech* to restore *Sara* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Joseph*, and by dreame informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Salomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. For as it is remembered in *Iob*: *In dreames and visions of the night when sleepe falleth vpon men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprise*, therefore, I *G. Parisien* do say, doth the Deuill also practise his diuinations by dreames, or (after *Parisien*) *diuinitatis imitationes, his mocks-diuinitie*. This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne dreames: *Nithridato* of those of his *Concubines*. Yea the *Romans* finding the inconuenience hereof, because all dreames (without distinction of causes) were drawne to diuination, forbade the same by a law, as by the wordes of prohibition (*aut narrandis somnijs occultam aliquam artem diuinandi*) it may appeare. Likewise by the law of God in *Deuteronomie* cap. 13. seducing dreamers were ordered to bee slaine. Yet it is not to bee condemned that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his dreame for two grievous diseases that oppressed him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolemies* poisoned wound; nor that which *S. Augustine* reporteth of a *Millanoise*, whose sonne (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a dreame where the acquaintance lay to discharge it; nor that of *Astyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, for asmuch as the cause is not in our selues, this place denieth dispute.

§. IIII.

That DANIELS mistliking NABUCHODONOSORS condemning of the Magicians doth not iustifie all their practises.

BVt it may be objected, that if such diuination as the Heathens commonly vsed were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many and strange reuelations: how came it to passe that *Daniel* both condemned the hastic sentence of *Nabuchodonosor* against the *Magicians* of *Chaldea*, and in a sort forbade it? especially considering that such kinde of people God himselfe commanded to bee slaine. To this diuers answers may be giuen. First, it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldeans*, because they acknowledged that the dreame of the King, which himselfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any art, either Naturall or Diabolicall: For there is none other (saide the *Chaldeans*) that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whose

Ca. 3. v. 7.

Gen. 12. 17.

Iob. 33. 17.

G. Parisien lib. 4. cap. 14.

Codex de male.

fi. & Alabro-

motley & flac-

entia

cap. 13

Aug. de cura pro-

mouia agenda.

Deut. 13. & 18.

Leuit. 24.

whose dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the ever-living God.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any cuill or vnlawfull arts, but were merely *Magicians* and *Naturalists*: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgement, which proceeded with *hurry* without examination. And that some of those men, *Studies* and *Professions* were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniel's* instruction: for himselfe had bene taught by them, and was called chiefe of the *Inchanters*; 10 of which some were termed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldeans*, others *Magi* or *Wise men*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbad the execution of that judgement, because it was vnjust. For howsoever those men might deserve punishment for the practise of vnlawfull Arts (though not vnlawfull according to the law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Deuill himselfe could not know. So then in *Daniel's* dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute iustifying of their practise and profession.

p. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right use of them.

Notwithstanding this mixture euery where of good with cuill, of falsehood with truth, of corruption with cleannesse and purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in euery kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by sacrifice; there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbore to offer sacrifice to the 30 God of all power, because the Deuill in the image of *Baal*, *Astaroth*, *Chemosh*, *Ishtar*, *Ishtar*, and the like was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may beleeue the most ancient and religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wise and learned men in these daies from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the Stars and other lights of heauen, which God hath giuen to those his glorious creatures.

The sympathetical and antipathetical working of herbes, plants, stones, minerals, with their other vmoost virtues sometimes taught by the Deuill, and applied by his Ministers to harmefull and vncharitable endes can neuer, terrifie the honest and learned *Physician* or *Magician* from the vling of them to the helpe and comfort of mankind: neither can the illusions, whereby the Deuill betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reiect the obseruations of dreames, so farr as with a good faith and a religious caution they may make vse of them.

Lastly the prohibition to marke flying of foules (as signes of good or euill successesse) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against raine, or to any obseruation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be giuen. For if we confound artes with the abuse of them, wee shall not only condemne all honest trades and enterchange among men (for there are but deceipt in all professions) 50 but wee shall in a short time burie in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and couer it ouer with a most scornefull and beggerly ignorance: and (as *Plinie* teacheth) we should shew our felues *in gratos erga eos, qui laborare curant, lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce*, vntankefull we should shew our felues towards those, who with paines and care haue discovered vnto vs light in this light.

Co'ss. Comp.
Theolog. c. i.

Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that reig-
norant; but the *Mathematicks* also and Professors thereof: though those that are ex-
cellently learned iudge of it in this sort. *In seculo mathematico Verum illud, quod in*
omni sibi quatuor gelucet; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinqui-
tate. In the glasse of the Mathematickes that truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind
of knowledge; not in an obscure image, but in a cleere and manifest representation.

¶ V I.

Of the diuers kinds of *enlawfull Magic*

T is true that there are many artes, if we may so call them, which are
couered with the name of *Magic*: and esteemed abusively to bee as
branches of that tree, on whoose root they neuer grew. The first of
these hath the name of *Necromancie* or *Goetia*: and of this againe
there are diuers kinds. The one is an *Invocation* at the graues of
the dead, to whom the Deuill himselfe giues answer in stead of those that seeme
to appeare. For certaintie is, that the immortal soules of men do not inhabit the dust
and dead bodies, but they giue motion and vnderstanding to the liuing; death be-
ing nothing else but a separation of the body and soule: and therefore the soule is
not to be found in the graues.

A second practise of those men, who pay tribute or are in league with *Sathan*, is
that of *coniuuring* or of raising vp Deuils, of whom they hope to learne what they
list. These men are so distract, as they beleene that by terrible words they make
the Deuill to tremble; that being once impaled in a circle (a circle which cannot
keepe out a Mouſe) they therein (as they suppose) inſconce themselves against that
great monster. Doubleſſe they forget that the Deuill is not terrified from doing ill
and all that is contrary to God and goodnesſe, no, not by the fearefull word of the
Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods ſeat, that he made no ſcu-
ple to tempt our Saviour *Christ*, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So, for-
getting these proud parts of his, an vnworthy wretch will yet resolute himselfe, that
he can draw the Deuill out of Hell, and terrifie him with a phrase: whereas in very
truth, the obedience which Deuils ſeeme to vſe is but thereby to poſſeſſe themſelues
of the bodies and ſoules of those which raise them vp; as *His Maſterie* in his Booke
aforenamed hath excellently taught, *That the Deuils obedience is only secundum quid,*
ſcilicet ex pacto; respectiue, that is, vpon bargain.

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon those simple and ignorant Deuils, which
inhabite *Samblicus* imagination; but ſure I am the rest are apt enough to come vn-
called: and alwaies attending the cogitations of their seruants and vassals, do no way
need any ſuch inforcement.

Or it may be that these Coniurers deale altogether with *Cardians* mortall Deuils,
following the opinion of *Rabbi Auonathan* and of *Porphyrus*, who taught that
these kind of Deuils liued not about a thousand yeares: which *Platarch* in his *Tra-
ctiſe de Oraculorum deſectu* confirmeth, making example of the great *God Paſi*. For
were it true that the Deuils were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by
them, then would they alwaies feare those words and threats, by which at other
times they are willingly mastered. But the *Familiar of Simon Magus* when he had
lifted him vp in the ayre, caſt him headlong out of his clawes, when he was ſure he
should perill with the fall. If this perhaps were done by *S^r Peters* prayers (of which
S. Peter no where vaunteth) yet the same prank at other times vpon his own accord
the Deuill played with *Theodosius*: who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed
to haue bene) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like ſucceſſe had *Bader*,
a principall piller of the *Manichean* heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiastical Historie
witnesseth: and for a manifest prooffe hereof wee ſee it euery day, that the Deuill
leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the gallows, for whom at other times hee ma-
keth

Sus in mundo
genus quoddam
predicatum vnde
diuinum, inſol-
entem et inco-
ſideratum; et
quod neq. verum
a ſallo neq. pos-
ſibile diſcerni
ab impoſſibili.
L. vncius cap.
11. l. 10.
Aug. de Ciuit. dei
l. 10.
Coſm. exercit. 3.
ſine a. m. 10. 10.

D. 14. 6.
r. 1. 10. 10.

R. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
h. 5. 1. 1. 1. 1.

L. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

by those that are
those that are
from illud, quod
in quadam propo-
sitione in every kind
of sentences.

call them, which are
d abundantly to be
grew. The first of
; and of this agone
at the graves of
of those that leape
not inhabit the dust
the living; death be-
therefore the Devils

league with *Sathan*, is
to learne what they
le words they make
circle which cannot
emiles against that
tripped from doing ill
fearfull word of the
that he made no scru-
pule of God. So, fir-
re resolve himselfe that
tacle: whereas in very
y to possesse them *Clas-
lu Marfite* in his Booke
ize is only *scamdam quid*

ignorant Devils, which
enough to conversat-
ions and valls, do nor

Cardanus mortal Devils,
yruu, who caught the
which *Platon* in his *Tra-*
of the great God *Pan*. For
or could be compelled by
rears, by which are ob-
mon *Magus* when he be-
ies, when he was forc'd
St *Peters* prayers (of which
imes upon his own ac-
mon *Magus* was suppos'd
he like succell'd had
in his Ecclesiasticall *Hil-*
every day, than the *Devil*
hom at other times he

keith himselfe a *Peg yus*, to conuenge them in halt to p'aces farr distant, or at least
makes them so thinke: For so they that receiue not the truth (Iutch S. PAUL) *God shall conu. 5.5.*

send them strong visions. Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with
their confessions) *His Maestrie* in the second booke and the fourth chapter of the *Da-*
monologie, hath confirmed by vnsufferable reasons, that they are merely illusive.

7. 11. 29 Another sort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glasses and Crystals:
of whom *Cusanus*: *Falsi sunt incantatores, qui in ringit & vna volunt spiritum inclu-*
dere: quis Spiritus non clauditur corpore, They are foolish incanters which will shut up their
Spirits within their nales or in glasse: for a Spirit cannot be enclosed by a body. Exorcizat. 1.

10 There is also another art besides the afore mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*,
or *White Magicke*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by
sacrifice and inuocation they draw out of Heauen, and Communicate withall. But
the admittirg *Spirits* of God, as they require not any kinde of adoration due vn-
to their Creatour: so seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man so absurd
to thinke (except the *Deuill* haue corrupted his vnderstanding) that they can bee con-
strained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the professors
thereof couer themselves how they please by a professed puritie of life, by the mi-
nistrise of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper
with immateriall Substances and abstract natures, either by sacrifice, vow, or infor-
ment, are men of euill faith and in the power of *Sathan*. For good Spirits or Angels
cannot be constrained; and the rest are Devils which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked diuinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by wa-
ter, called *Hydromantia*: by the aire, called *Atmantechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeede) the worst of all other is *Fascination* or *Witchcraft*: the
practisers whereof are no lesse cruell and cruell, reuengefull and bloody, then the
Deuill himselfe. And these accursed creatures hauing sold their Soules to the *Deuill*
worke two waies; either by the *Deuill* immediatly, or by the art of poisoning. The
difference betwene *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Maestrie* hath excellently taught
in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the *Deuill*.

30 There is another kinde of petty witcherie (if it be not altogether deceit) which
they call charming of beasts and birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an
Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the
art of Falconrie, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomets* Doue, which he
had vsed to feede with wheate out of his care: which Doue, when it was hungry,
lighted on *Mahomets* shoulder, and thrust his bill therein to finde his breake-fast:
Mahomet perswading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the holy Ghost that
gaue him aduise. And certainly if *Bankes* had liued in elder times, he would haue
flamed all the incanters of the world: for whosoever was most famous among
them, could neer master or instruct any beast as he did his Horse.

40 For the drawing of Serpents out of their dennes, or killing of them in the holes
by incantments (which the *Marfians*, a people of *Italie* practised. *Colubros dispru-*
pit Marfa carin (which *Marfians* makes the Snakes to burst.) That it hath beene
vsed it appeares *Psal. 58.6.* though I doubt not, but that many impostures may be
in this kinde; and euen by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many fumes
that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the
like. So many things may beclaid in the entrance of their holes that will allure
them; and therein I finde no other *Magick* or incantment, then to draw out a
Moufle with a peece of tosted cheefe.

ð. VII.

of diuers waies by which the Deuill seemeth to worke
his wonders.



Vt to the end that wee may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of Gods: that wee doe not giue to the Deuill any other Dominion then he hath (not to speake of his abilitie, when he is the minister of Gods vengeance, as when *Egypt*, according to *Dauid*, was destroyed by euill Angels) hee otherwise worketh but three waies.

1. The first is by mouing the cogitations and affections of men: The second by the exquisite knowledge of nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot work what they would *G. Parisiensis* giueth three causes: the first, a naturall impotencie: the second, their owne reason disuading them from daring ouer much, or indeede (and that which is the only certaine cause) the great mercie of the Creatour, *Tenens eas ligatas* (saith the same Author) *velut immansissimas belluas*. S. *Augustine* was of opinion that the Frogges which *Pharoas* Sorcerers produced were not naturall, but that the Deuill (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appeare to be such. For as *Varrus* obserueth, those Frogges of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeede. Hereof saith S. *Augustine*. *Nec sanè demones naturæ creant, sed quæ à Deo create sunt committunt, ut videantur esse quod non sunt*. The Deuill create not any nature, but so change those that are created by God, as they seeme to be that which they be not: of which in the 83. question he giueth this reason. *Demon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet*, (that is) The Deuill fill with certaine cloudes all passages of the vnderstanding, by which the beame of the minde is wont to open the light of reason.

And as *Tertullian* in his booke de anima rightly conceiueth, if the Deuill can possesse himselfe of the eies of our mindes, and blinde them, it is not hard for him to dazell those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Deuill entrench in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soule: for the fantasie is most apt to be abused by vaine apprehensions.

Aquinas on the contrarie held that those Frogges were not imaginarie, but such indeede as they seemed: not made *magia artis lubrica*, which indeede agreeth not with the art, but (according to *Thomas*) *per aptum & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem*. By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not bee deceived by that sleight of false semblance: and S. *Augustine* in another case like vnto this, (to wit) of the turning of *Dionedes* his companions into birds, *per actiua cum passiuis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not persuaded that S. *Augustine* beleueed that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis* a man very learned also confirmeth. For speaking of naturall Magicke he vseth these wordes. *De huiusmodi autem operibus cū subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adiutorijs, quæ ipsa femina natura confortat & acuit, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus natura videatur (quæ tardius talia effere consuevit) sed potentia demonum, &c.* to which he addeth. *Qui autem in his docti sunt talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in his glorificant*. In such works (saith he) the sodaine generation of Frogges, and Lice, and Wormes, and some other creatures: in all which nature alone worketh; but by meanes so strengthening the seedes of nature, and quickning them; in such wise that they so haiten the worke of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the worke of nature, which usually worketh more lesiurely, but they thinke it is done by the power of Deuils. But they who are learned in these arts meruaile not at such working, but glorifie the Creatour. Now by these

Gul. perit. de deu-
nues. fo. g. a. 70

Maxima vis est
phantasie ad de-
torem.

De leg. 2. 4. fol.
67.

these two waies the Devils doe most frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the very most of nature; and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or vnsearchable power, but of God only.

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect the aire, as well as moue it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also naturall? Or may it bee objected that hee foretellet things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion? it is true, that hee sometimes doth it; but how? In elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets; and hee foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as hee was in his owne possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath liued from the infancie of the world to this day, and obserued the successe of euery Counsaile: hee that by reason of his swift motions can informe himselfe of all places, and preparations: he that is of counsaile with all those that studie and practise subuersion and destruction: he that is Prince of the aire, and can thence better iudge, then those that inhabe the earth: if he shoud not sometimes, yea if hee should not very oftentimes gheife rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to giue impediment) it were very strange. For wee see that wise and learned men doe oftentimes by comparing like causes conceiue rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Deuill doubteth and would willingly keepe his credit, hee euermore answereth by riddles, as

CRÆSVS *Halys penetrans magnam subuerter opum vim.*

If *Cræsus* ouer *Halys* goe,
Great kingdomes hee shall ouerthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the ouerthrow of his owne kingdom, or of his enemies. And thus farre we graunt the Deuill may proceed in predictions, which otherwise belong to God only; as it is in *Esa.* *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that yee are Gods: shew vs at all times and certainly what is to come.* *Solus enim diuine intelligentia ac sapientia est occulta nosse & reuelare.* It is only proper to Gods vnderstanding and wisdom to know and reueale hidden things.

§. VIII.

That none was euer raised from the dead by the power of the Deuill: and that it was not the true *SAMUEL* which appeared to *SAVL*.

To conclude, it may be objected that the Deuill hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power haue done the like, as in the example giuen of *Samuel* raised by the Witch of *Endor*: where it was true, then might it indeed be affirmed that some of the Devils acts exceed all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. *Iustine Martyr* was sometimes of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed: and so was *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Bergen's*; from which authorities those men borrow strength which lo belieue. But *Martyr* changed his opinion: and so did *S^t Augustine*, who at first seemed to bee indifferent: For in his questions vpon the Old and New Testament hee accounteth it detestable to thinke that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect. *In regnie sunt animarum piarum a corpore separate, impiorum autem panes luunt, donec istarum ad vitam aternam, illarum vero ad aternam mortem que secunda dicitur corpora reuiuiscant.* The soules of the godly separated from their bodies are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies

Eplos. 2.2. & 6. 13.
Diabolus magis habet verum quàm: que res multum habet mentis in qua miraturus Aug. de ciuitate. l. 20. 57. & c.

Gail. Psalmen de legib. ca. 24.

Inf. Martyr in colloq. cum Tryphone in resp. ad Origen quæst. 98. Ambros. in loc. l. c. 1. l. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad Simplic. 2. q. 3. De ciuit Dei l. 2. ca. 8.

dies of the iust rise to Eternall life, and of the wicked to an Eternall and second death.

And (besides St *Augustine*) *Iustine Martyr*, *Hilarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome* and others beleined firmly, and taught it that the soules of men being once separate from their bodies did not wander on the earth at all. *Credere debemus* (saith *Cyril*) *quum a corporibus sanctorum anima abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitati diuina committantur.* We must beleine when the soules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the Diuine Goodnesse as into the hands of a most deere Father. If then they be in Heauen, the power of the Deuill cannot stretch fo high: if in Hell, ab inferno nulla est redemptio, from Hell there is no redemption. For there are but two habitations after death; *Emm* (saith *Augustine*) in igne eterno; alterum in regno aeterno: the one in eternall fire, the other in Gods eternall kingdome. And though it bee written in *Iure Pontificio*, that many there are who beleue that the dead haue againe appeared to the liuing; yet the Glosse vpon the same Text findes it ridiculous. *Credunt, & male, quia sunt Phantasmatum* (saith the Glosse) *They beleue, and they beleue amisse, because they be but Phantasmes, or Apparitions.* For whereas any such voice hath bene heard, saying, I am the Soule of such a one; *hec oratio a fraude atq; deceptione diabolica est. That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Deuill*, saith *CHRISTOSTOME*. Likewise of the same saith *Tertullian*. *Abstrus animam cauebit sancti, nedum Prophetæ, a damonio credamus extractam.* *God forbid that wee should thinke that the soule of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet, should bee drawne vp againe by a Deuill.*

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition *Sammel*; so doe they the woddren images *Cherubims*: and false brazen Gods are called Gods; and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build vpon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* (a booke not numbred among the Canonical Scriptures, as S. *Augustine* himselfe in his Treatise, if it bee his de cura pro mortuis agenda confesseth) yet *Siracides* following the literall sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proueth nothing at all: For though the Deuill would willingly perswade, that the soules (yea euen of iust men) were in his power, yet so farre is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods iust and mercifull nature, and so contrary to all diuine reason, as Saint *Augustine* (or whosoever wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion so to thinke. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him either by dreames, by *Vrim*, or by his Prophets: it were foolish to conceiue, that he would permit the Deuill, or a wicked Witch to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Sauls* respect: it being also contrary to his owne diuine Law to aske counsaile of the dead; as in *Deuteronomie* 18. and elswe here. Therefore it was the Deuill, and not the soule of a dead bodie, that gaue answer and aduise.

But because *Helias* and *Helisew* had raised some from the dead by the power of Gods thofe Devils which S. *Augustine* calleth *ludificatores animantium sibi subiectorum*, mockers of their owne vassals, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their eares like the voices of men, doe also perswade their gracelesse and accursed attendants, that themselves both possesse, and haue power ouer the soules of men. *Eldidit Diabolus aciem tuam spectantem, tunciam cogitantem* saith, *L. VIVES*, *The Deuill beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the boundes of the Devils power, whom if we will not feare, we must leare to sinne. For when hee is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himselfe his voluntary vassall: *potest ad malum mutare, non potest trahere*, saith S. *Augustine*, *he can allure, but he cannot in force to euill.* Such as thinke otherwise may goe into the number remembred by *Lactantius*.

*Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atq. omnia cecis
in tenebris metuant: sic nos in luce timemus.*

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of *NINVS*, and of his
wife *SEMIRAMIS*: and of other
of her ailes.

¶ I.

of the magnificent building of *Nimue* by *NINVS*: and of *Babylon*
by *SEMIRAMIS*.



BEt to come backe to *Nimue* the amplifier and finisher
of *Nimue*: whether he performed it before or after
the ouerthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is vncertaine. As for
the City it selfe, it is agreed by all prophane writers,
and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all
other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it
had in compasse 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the walles
whereof were an hundred foot vpright, and had such
a breadth as three chariots might passe on the rampire
in front: these walles were garnished with 1500.
towers which gaue exceeding beautie to the rest, and

a strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times.
But this Citie (built in the *Plaines of Assyria*, and on the banks of *Tigris*, and in
the Region of *Eden*), was founded long before *Nimue* time; and (as ancient *Histo-*
rians report, and more lately *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campfor*, at such times
as *Nimue* amplified the same, and gaue it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For these workes of *Babylon* and *Nimue* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldea*, and in *Assy-*
ria, *Nimue* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Nimue* finished *Nimue*, *Semiramis* *Babylon*:
wherein shee sought to exceed her husband by furre. Indeed in the first Age when
Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be
invaded: labouring to build Townes and Villages for the vse of themselves and
their people without either Walles or Towers; and how they might discharge the
earth of woods, briars, bushments, and waters, to make it the more habitable and
fertile. But *Semiramis* liuing in that age, when Ambition was in frong youth: and
purposing to follow the conquest which her husband had undertaken, gaue that
beauty and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

*Herod. lib. 2.
lib. 2.
Sabel. Lem 2.*

*Herod. lib. 2.
lib. 2.
Diod. lib. 2.*

¶ II.

§. II.

Of the end of NINVS: and beginning of SEMIRAMIS reigne.



His she did after the death of her husband *Ninus*: who after he had maintained *Babylonia*, and subiected vnto his Empire all those Regions betwene it and the *Mediterran Sea* and *Hellefont* (*Asia* the lesse excepted) and finished the worke of *Ninine*, he left the world in the year thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. yeares. *Plutarch* reporteth that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would graunt vnto her the absolute soueraigne power for one day. Died *Siculus* out of *Asbenaw*, and others, speakes of five daies. In which time (moued either with desire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Ninus*, who perished for her) she caused *Ninus* her husband to be slaine. But this seemeth rather a scandall cast on her by the *Greekes*, then that it had any truth.

Ellen, li. 7. c.
Didont.

How soeuer *Ninus* came to his ende, *Semiramis* tooke on her after his death the sole rule of the *Assyrian* empire: of which, *Ninus* was said to be the first Monarch because he changed his seat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldea* to *Ninine* in *Assyria*. *Justin* reports that *Semiramis* (the better to inuest herselfe, and in her beginning without murmure or offense to take on her so great a charge) presented herselfe to the people in the person of her sonne *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any sensible difference.

This report I take also to be fained, for which many arguments might bee made. But as the ruled long, so the performed all those memorable actes which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and vnderaken conquest) by her owne name. And were it true that her sonne *Ninias* had such a stature at his Fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very vnlutely: (for so long she reigned after the death of her Husband :) but it may bee true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholly giuen to his pleasures as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous government and vndertakings.

§. III.

Of SEMIRAMIS parentage, and education, and METAMORPHOSIS of her Mother.



Some writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to haue bene of base parentage, calling her after the name of her Countrey, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her City wherein she was borne, *Semiramis Ascalentis*; of *Ascalon*, the ancient City and Metropolis of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Derecta*, a *Curtis* an of *Ascalon* exceeding beautifull. Others say that *Derecta* the mother of *Semiramis* was sometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a Temple dedicated seated on the bank of a Lake adioyning to *Ascalon*; and afterward falling in loue with a goodly yong man she was by him made with child, which (for feare of extreme punishment) she conuayed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the banks of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wild beasts) the same was fed by certaine birds, which vsed to feed vpon or neere those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adioyning to this Lake had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being perchanee but some base and obfcure creature, the mother might thereby

thereby hope the better to couer her difhonour and breach of vow; notwithstanding which he was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets have fained) changed by *Venus* into a fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and humane shape. It is thought that from this *Derisus* the invention of that Idoll of the *Philistines* (called *Dagon*) was taken: For it is true, that *Dagon* had a mans face, and a fishes body: into whose Temple when the *Arke* of God was brought, the Idoll fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remained only the Trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so *St. Hierome* hath conuerted that place. *Patabus, Pagninus, and Iunius* write it by *Dagon* only, which signifieth a fish and so it only appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being funded from the body.

For my selfe I rather thinke, that this *Dagon* of the *Philisims* was an Idoll representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritime (as all those of the *Philisims* were, and so were the best of *Phenicia*) vied all their deuotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the pettie Gods which attended him.

δ. IIII.

20 *Of her expedition into India, and death after discomfiture : with a note of the improbability of her vices.*

BVt for her Pedigree I leaue it to the *Affyrian Herald*: and for her vitious life I ascribe the report thereof to the enuious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacie and ease do more often accompanie licentiousnesse in men and women, then labour and hazzard do. And if the one halfe

because which is reported of this Lady, then there neuer liued any Prince or Princess more worthy of fame then *Scaramus* was, both for the workes she did at *Babylon* and elswhere, and for the warres she made with glorious successe, all but her last enterprise of *India*; from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report that she neuer returned; and that of all her most powerfull Army there furnished but only twenty persons: the rest being either drowned in the river of *Indus*, dead of the fa-

nine, or laine by the Iword of *Starobares*. But as the multitude which went out are more then reason hath numbred : so were thofe that returned leffe then could haue efaped of fuch an Army, as confifted of foure millions and vppwards. For thefe numbers which the leuied by her Lieutenant *Derectus* (faith *Sudas*) did confift of Foot-men three millions ; of Horfemen one million ; of Chariots armed with fhookes on each fide one hundred thoufand ; of thofe which fought vpon Camels as many, of Camels for burden two hundred thoufand ; of raw Hides for all vfe three hundred thoufand ; of Gallies with brazen heads three thoufand, by which the might tranfport our *Indus* at once three hundred thoufand fouldiers : which Gallies were furnifhed with *Syrians*, *Phenicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. Thefe incredible and impoffible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourifh (had euery man and beaft but led vpon graffe) are taken from the authority of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many fruituolous reports : fo *Diodorus* himfelfe hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* expedition into Greece and afterwards : whole Armie (though the fame was farre inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to ouerlede the belief of any reafonable man. For all Authors confent, that *Xerxes* tranfported into Greece an Army of 1 700000. and gathered together (therein to paffe the *Hellespont*) three thoufand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the feuerall Prouinces whence thofe Gallies were raken hath collected the number.

X *Cyanotis* 740. f. f. f. f.

tremans: she sang her last song; and (as Antiquity hath fained) was changed by the Gods into a Doue (the bird of *Venus*) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gaue a Doue in their ensignes.

p. V.

Of the Temple of *BELVS* built by *SEMIKAMIS*: and of the Pyramids of *Ægypt*.



Mong all her other memorable and more then magnificent workes to (besides the wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, inuironed with a wall carried four-square of great height and beauty, hauing on each square certaine brazen gates curiously engrauen. In the Core of the square sheraised a Tower of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile; and vpon it againe (taking a *Basis* of a lesse circuit) the set a second Tower, and so eight in all, one about another: vpon the top whereof the *Chaldeans* Priests made the obseruation of the starres, because this Tower ouer-topped the ordinary cloudes.

By beholding the ruines of this Tower haue many Trauailers beene deceiued; who suppose that they haue seene a part of *Nimrods* Tower, when it was but the Foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense euery yeare (saith *Herodotus*). This Temple did *Nabuchodonosor* adorne with the spoiles of *Ierusalem*, &c. of the temple of *Salomon*: all which vessels & ornaments *Cyrus* redeliuered. This Temple *Zerxes* euened with the soile; which *Alexander* is said to haue repaired by the perswasions of the *Chaldeans*. I deny not that it might haue been in his desire so to do; but he enioyed but a few yeares after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not performe any such worke. The *Ægyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and leauell ground, and giuen to the same superstition of the stars that the *Chaldeans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same seruice and vse, the Pyramids by *Memphis*, which were conspiciue vndiffracted, saith *Plinie*. Of these Pyramids *Bellonius* a carefull obseruer of rarities (who being in *Ægypt* mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report. *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa sommeite, et tirant vne fleche en l'air, a peine pourroit l'envoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez. The best Archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramids, and shooting an arrow from thence into the aier as farr as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall vpon some of the degrees or steppes.*

Finis Libri primi.

The



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM

The birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction
of the Temple of Salomon.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

*Of the time of the birth of ABRAHAM : and of the
use of this question, for the ordering of the Sto-
rie of the Assyrian Empire.*

§. I.

*Of some of the successours of SEMIRAMIS : with a briefe transition to the question,
about the time of the birth of ABRAHAM.*



40

After the death of Semiramis, Ninias of
Zameis succeeded her in the Empire, on whom
Berosus Annianus beflowes the conquest of Ba-
ctria, and the ouerthrow of Zoroaster ; contra-
ry to Diodorus, Iustine, Orosius, and all other ap-
proved writers. For Ninias being esteemed no
man of warre at all, but altogether feminine,
and subiect to ease and delicacie, there is no
probability in that opinion. Now because
there was nothing performed by this Ninias of
any moment, other then that out of iea-
loulie he eury year changed his Provinciall Gov-
ernors, and built Colledges for the Chaldean
Priests, his Astronomers : nor by Arius his successor, whom Suidas calleth Thuras ;
but that he reduced againe the Bactrians and Caspians, revolted as it seemeth in Ni-
nias his time : nor of Aradus, the successor of Arius ; but that he added sumptuous-
invented jewels of gold and stone, and some engines for the warre : I will for this
present passe them over, and a while follow Abraham, whose waies are warrantable,
(till wee meet these Assyrians againe in this story) by whom, and by whose issues we
shall best giue date to the Kings of Babylon : Abraham liuing at once with Ninus, Ni-
nias,

157 *Plat in Th. (c)*

nias, Semiramis, Arius, Aralus, and Xerxes or Balanus. For otherwise if we seek to prove things certain by the vncertaine, and iudge of those times, which the Scriptures set vs down without error, by the raignes of the *Assyrian* Princes: we shall but patch vp the story at aduventure, and leaue it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures do not help vs, *Minum non est in rebus antiquis Historiam non conflare, Ne meruile si iben in thinge very ancient, History want assurance.* 73.

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long the *Assyrian* Kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abrahams* birth, and in what yeare the same hapned after the flood. Now since all agree, that the fortieth three yeare of *Ninus* was the birth-year of *Abraham*, by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeare after the flood the birth of *Abraham* hapned, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much iangling between those *Chronologers*, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. yeares; others 352. yeares between *Abrahams* birth and the flood: a matter often disputed, but neuer concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we finde him in *Annius*) makes but 250. yeares from the flood to *Ninus*: then seeing that *Abraham* was borne in the fortieth three yeare of *Ninus*, according to *Engelhus*, and *S. Auguſtine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeare of *Abrahams* birth was in the yeare after the 20 flood 293. or as the most part of all *Chronologers* gather the yeare 292.

Now, since I do heere enter into that neuer resolved question, and *Labyrinth* of times, it becometh me to giue reason for my owne opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walke aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts, which *Enue* casteth at nouelty, than to goe on safely and sleepily in the calm waies of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diuerſity.

§. II.

A proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to proue ABRAHAM was borne in the yeare 292. after the flood, and not in the yeare 352.

THose which seek to prove this account of 292. yeares, betweene the generall flood and *Abrahams* birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scripture. So *TERAH* lived 70. yeares, and begot *ABRAHAM*, *NAHOR*, and *HARAN*: secondly vpon the opinion of, *Iosephus*, *S. Auguſtine*, *Beda*, *Isidore*, and many of the ancient Hebrewes before them: authorities (while they are slightly lookt ouer) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembred, the latter *Chronologers* gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; that *TERAH* at 70. yeares begot *ABRAHAM*, *NAHOR*, and *HARAN*: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the sonne of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and so necessarily borne in the seventieth yeare of his life. Secondly it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the blessing; and not of *Nabor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Genealogy of *Christ*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nabor*, and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest sonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proued, that *Abraham* was borne more assuredly in the 130. yeare of *Terah*

Terah his age, then in the 131. 132. &c. *Moses* having no where set downe precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year, in which his Father died.

Fourthly it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. years: seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. years.

§. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that ABRAHAM made but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and it, after his Fathers death.



O answer all which objections it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by diuers learned Diuines long since, and to which I will adde somewhat of mine owne, according to the small talent which God hath giuen me: Now so far as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, vnlesse the time of *Abrahams* journey into *Canaan* be first considered; before I descend vnto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so farre, as to stretch into a strange tradition concerning his triualls, that serueth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwarke against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceiued that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*: the latter after his Fathers death, the former presently vpon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not staying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a coniecture, drawn from a place in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, where it is written, By faith *ABRAHAM* (when he was called) obeyed God, to goe out into a place, which he should afterward receiue for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither hee went. This supposition (if it be granted) serueth very well to vphold the opinion, that an ill stand without it. Let vs therefore see whether we may giue credit to the supposition it selfe.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Harar* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proued, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of St. *STEPHEN*: And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell, that was, out of *Harar* into *Canaan*. Against which place so direct, and plaine, what force hath any mans fancie or supposition, perswading, that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*; one before *Terahs* death, and an other after: no such thing being found in the Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alledged can pick any argument, prouing, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*, and then returned vnto *Harar*, from whence he departed a second time: then I thinke it reason, that he be beleued in the rest. But that he performed the commandement of God after his Fathers death, leauing *Ur* and *Harar* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. For after his Father was dead, (saith the Martyr *Stephen*) God brought him into this Land. And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double iourney into *Canaan*, then mult it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembered the other: and, whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the *Iewes* his aduersaries too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, and the Gospell of *Christ*. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make vs thinke that *Abraham* passed and repassed those waies, more often than he was enforced so to doe: if we consider, that he had no other guide or comfortor in this long and wearisome iourney, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would haue brought him to despair, he had more cause then euery man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn nations: a Nation of valiant and resolute Idolaters. He was beleeged with famine at his first arrivall, and driuen to flee into

Isaac *Genesis*
221

Egypt for reliefe. His wife was olde, and he had no sonne to inherit the promise. And when God had giuen him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him vp to himselfe for sacrifice: all which discomforts hee patiently and constantly underwent.

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Secondly, let vs consider the waies themselves, which *Abraham* had to passe ouer, the length whereof was 300. English miles: and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe ouer the great riuer of *Euphrates*, to trauaile through the dangerous and barren Deserts of *Palmyrena*, and to climbe ouer the great and high mountaines of *Libanus*, *Hermon* or *Gilead*: and whether these were easie walks for *Abraham* to march twice ouer, containing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let euery reasonable man iudge. For if hee trauailed it twice; then was his iourney in all 1800. miles from *Vr* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancie; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proofe, that he had not *animum reuertendi*, not any thought looking backward, than any mans bare coniecture, bee he of what antiquity or authority focuser. For thus it is written of him: *Then Abraham tooke Sarah his wife, and Lot his brothers sonne, and all their substance that they possessed, and the fowles that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, and to the Land of Canaan they came.* Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was deare vnto him; his wife, and kinsmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleasure, in so warme, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if hee could haue benee thereto moued, it is more likely that he would haue then returned, when he was yet vnfeded, and prest with extreme famine at his first iuriall. For had his Father benee then aliue, hee might haue hoped from him to receiue more assured comfort and reliefe, then among the *Egyptians*, to whom hee was a meere stranger both in Religion and Nation.

Gen. 22. 5.

and
2536 X

What the cause might be of *Abrahams* returne to *Harar*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures haue sent him backe thither, about the time of his fathers death: so they perhaps, if they were vrged, could say little else, than that without such a second voiage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plaine, if it be not otherwise troublesome. They say that *Abraham* was in *Harar* at his Fathers death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. yeares old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite vn-done the businesse, which as wee read, was within foure or five yeares after that time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very solemne oath his principall seruant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to trauaile into those parts, and seeke out a wife for *Isaac* his sonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither he nor his seruant were so well acquainted in *Alepotamia*, that they could particularly designe any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had beene there in person so lately, as within foure or five yeares before, hee would not haue forgotten a matter of such importance; but would haue trusted his owne iudgement, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other desirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only sonne, who was then 35. yeares old; before which age most of the Patriarches after the flood had begotten children, rather than haue left all at random to the consideration of a seruant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it bee supposed (if it may be belieued) that either *Abraham* forgot this busines when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no man can deuise. What might be the reason, that *Abrahams* man in doing his masters errand was faine to lay open the whole story of his masters prosperity, telling it as newes, that *Sarah* had borne to him a sonne in her old age? If *Abraham* himselfe, a more certaine author, had so lately benee among them, would not all this haue benee an idle tale? It were needlesse to stand long vpon a thing so euident.

Gen. 24. 35. 36.
67.

Whether

Whether it were lawfull for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Egypt*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how austerly hee was from permitting his sonne to be carried thither, euen though a wife of his owne kindred could, not have beene obtained without his personall presence. *Isaac* indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a wife of his owne lineage; not without Gods especiall approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that journey: yet he liued there as a servant; suffered many iniuries; and finally was driuen to conuey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it bee not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be obserued, that God alloweth not in his seruants any desire of returning to the place, from whence hee hath taken and transplanted them. That briefe saying, *Remember Lots wife*, contains much matter. Let vs but consider *Mesopotamia* from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole nation of the *Israelites* was deliuered: we shall finde, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the Hebrewes. When *Ezechias* was visited with an honourable Embassie from *Babel*, it seemes that hee conceived great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a peece of his prosperity; but the prophesy which thereupon he heard by *Isaiah*, made him to know, that the counsaile of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of *Babylon* they sate downe and wept. Concerning *Egypt* we read, that *Sesac* and *Neao* Kings of *Egypt* brought calamity vpon *Israhel*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to returne into *Egypt* I do not remember, nor can readily finde; but it is found in *Deuteronomie*, that God had said, *They should no more returne that way*; which is giuen, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horles. Whether the Lord had laied any such iniunction vpon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: that he neuer did returne, all circumstances do (to my vnderstanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination: and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perfwade those of iudgment or vnderstanding: I take it sufficient, that *S. Stephen* hath directly taught vs, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to proue it, I will belieue as they doe. For all the trauals of *Abraham* are precisely set downe in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur* or *Camerina* in *Chaldea* to *Harar* or *Charan*: and then from *Harar* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* hee removed to a mountaine betweene *Bethel* and *Hai*: thence into *Egypt*: from *Egypt* he returned thither againe, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flocks and herds of Cattle were more, then could be fed in that part: from thence the second time hee removed to *Mamre*, neare *Hebron*: and thence hauing pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, hee after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumaea*, vnder *Abimelec*: and after neare vnto it at *Berfabe*, at which time hee was ready to offer vp his sonne *Isaac* on the mountaine *Morish*. But this fiction of his retrain to *Harar* or *Charan*, appeareth not in any one story, either diuine or humane. Now if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Leuitus* in his *Cabala* hath faimed, it should in reason bee therewithall belieued, that hee would in those his first traualles haue prouided himselfe of some certaine seat, or place of abiding: and not haue come a second time, with his wife, kinsmen, familie, goodes and Cattle, not knowing whereon to rest himselfe. But *Abraham*, when hee came from *Charan*, past through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the Plaine of *Morish*: where finding no place to inhabit, hee departed thence to *Bethel* and *Hai*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discouer and finde out some fit habitation: from whence againe, as it is written in *Genesis*, the eleuenth. *Hee went forth, going and journeying towards the South*: and alwaies vnsettled.

Gen. 24. 6.

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Mont. in Caleb.

By occasion of which wandering to and fro, some say, the Egyptians gaue him and his the name of *Hebrai*. Further, to proue that hee had not formerly bene in the Countrey, we may note, that ere hee came to *Bethel* and *Hai*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared vnto him saying, *Vnto thy seed will I giue this Land*, shewing it him as vnto a stranger therein, and as a land to him vnknowne. For *Abraham* without any other prouident care for himselfe, beleuiued in the word of the liuing God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discouer it; but being arrived hee receiued a second promise from God, that hee would giue those Countreies vnto him and his seed to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, what should moue any man to thinke, that *Moses* would haue omitted any such double iourney of *Abrahams*, seeing he setteth downe all his passages elsewhere, long and short? as when he moued from *Sichem*, and seated betwene *Hai* and *Bethel*: the distance being but twenty miles: and when he moued thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but twenty fower miles: and when hee left *Mamre*, and sate downe at *Gerar*, being lesse then fixe miles; no, *Moses* past ouer all the times of the first age with the greater breuitie, to hasten him to the story of *Abraham*: shutting vp all betwene the Creation and the Flood in six chapters; which age lasted 1656. yeares: but he bestoweth on the story of *Abraham* fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleuenth, and ending with his death in the fife and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. yeares. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abrahams* trauailes, or other actions: or that he would set downe those small remoues of fife miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a iourney in going and coming would haue ministred some varietie of matter, or accident, worthie the inserting and adding to *Abrahams* storie.

p. IIII.

The answer to another of the obiections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely, that *TERAH* should beget *ABRAHAM* in his hundred and thirty yeare.

NOW touching the obiection, where it is said, that it was very vnlikelie that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeare, seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to haue a sonne at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed miscast and mistaken: *Abraham* having respect only to *Sarah* his wife, when he spake of their many yeares. For when the Angell said vnto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*; 3. Lee, *SARAH* thy wife shall haue a Sonne, it followeth in the next verse, Now *ABRAHAM* and *SARAH* were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with *SARAH* after the manner of women: therefore *SARAH* laughed &c.

So then, in that it is said it ceased to be with *SARAH* after the manner of women, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, & not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah* had many sons after *Sarah*'s death, as *Zimo*, *Isachar*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Yshak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldest of these was borne 37 yeares after *Isaac*: and the yongest 40 yeares after. What strangenesse then, that *Terah* being 130. yeares old should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despaire of *Abraham* at one hundred yeares? For *Sarah* died in the yeare of the world 2145. and *Isaac* was borne in the yeare 2109: and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* beget fife sonnes 36. yeares after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137. yeares old: it is not strange that his Father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, *Obed* and *Iesse*, who liued so many yeares & ages after *Abraham*, beget sons at 100. yeares, or neare it, it cannot be meruailled

Origen. Basil. lat.
in Gen. Aug. de
Ciu. dei. lib. 6.
34. Caution: &
Petr. in Gen.

gyptum gaudium et
formam bene in
et ad hunc entere
i) gaudium Land, the
knowne. For Abraham
the word of the living
er it; but being arrived
those Counties vero

could have omitted to
wre all his passages self
d feared betwene his
moured thence to the
e left *Mozor*, and time
all the times of the
f *Abraham*: shunting
which age lasted 166.
e chapters, beginning
e fine and vnto the
face of truth that *Ab-*
es, or other actions;
s, and omit those of
could haue minished
adding to *Abraham*:

was not vntilte,
unured

it was very vntilte
ure, seeing *Abraham*
can hundred: this
ed misall; and mis-
wife, when he spake
in his Tent doore
th in the nox verſe,
it creged to be wif
et.

manner of women, it
ham. For *Abraham* by
was on *Isaac*, *Mela*
years after *Isaac* and
being 130 years old
his supposed dispa-
of the world 247:
arry *Isaac* and *Isa-*
et 245. there were
es after this suppo-
ange that his father
e, who lived so many
e, it cannot be mis-
wifed

8. Confusion

CHAP. I. §. 5. of the Historie of the World.

uailed at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130; and *Abraham* others at the same age and seven years after.

§. V.

The answer to two more of the objections: shewing that we may haue certainty of *Abraham*s age from the Scripture, though we make not *Abraham* the eldest Sonne: and that there was great cause, why in the story of *Abraham* his two brethren should be respected.

10

I

T followeth now to speak something to the obiection, which brings *Abraham*s age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70. years old. For *Abraham*s age being made vncertaine, all succeeding times are thereby without any period rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certaine of *Abraham*s age, vnlesse we make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. which was the year of his death, then was *Abraham* 75. And if you aske, how I can iudge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answer, that *St. Stephen* hath told vs, that *Abraham*s departure followed the death of his Father *Terah*: and *Terah* died at 205; so as the 75. year of *Abraham* was the 205. year of *Terah*: which knowne, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the obiection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect vnto *Nahor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church but to *Abraham* only, with whom God established the Covenant, and of whom *Christ* descended according to the flesh &c. I answer, that *Moses* for many great and necessary causes had respect of *Nahor* and *Haran*. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters or otherwife. For *Nahor* was the Father of *Bethuel*, & *Bethuel* of *Rebecca* the mother of *Israel*: & *Haran* was the parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Mileah*; and *Sarah* was mother to *Isaac*, and grandmother to *Jacob*: *Mileah* also the wife of *Nahor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacobi* great grandmother: and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is especially noted; in that it pleased God to giue her a sonne at 90. yeares, and when by nature she could not haue conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran*; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-child of *Nahor*; and *Jacob* *Lea* and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grand-child also of *Nahor*: it was not superfluous in *Moses* to giue light of these menstimes and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange Gods, as it is

40 19. 24. 2. yet I see no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleied and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leauing their naturall Countie, and City of *Ur* in *Chaldea*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all; except *Haran*, who died before his Father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldea*; but *Lot*, his sonne, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* also who remained at *Charan*, gaue his sonnes daughters to *Isaac*, and *Jacobi* his owne kinsmen: hee himselfe hauing also married in his owne familie; not thinking it pleasing vnto God to mixe themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length beleied in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had scene the seruant of *Abraham* standing at the Well beside *Charan*, hee inuited

50 him to his Fathers house in this manner: Come in thou blessed of *Iehouah* &c. And when this seruant of *Abraham*s demanded answere as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and said: This thing is proceeded of *Iehouah*: meaning that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein hee acknowledged Gods providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written: Take, take, goe that shee may bee thy

Gen. 24. v. 27.

Gen. 24. v. 50.



thy masters sonnes wife, even as Iehouah hath said. This their often vsing of the name of Iehouah, which is the proper name of the true God, is a signe that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of Saint Chrysostome, and some later writers, as Cateon, Olesster, Musculus, Caluin, Mercer, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolter, because he retained certaine Idols, or household Gods, which *Rachel* stole from him; yet that he beleived in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abrahams* seruant, blessed of *Iehouah*, as aforesaid. So as for my selfe I dare not auow, that these men were out of the Church, who sure I am were not out of the faith.

10

Hint or Note written in Longhand. VI. *So I will read first or last borne*
That the naming of *ABRAHAM* first of the three brethren. Gen. 11.v.26. doth
not prove that hee was the eldest: together with diuers reasons proving
that *ABRAHAM* was not the eldest sonne of *TERAH*.

TO the maine obiection which I answered last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to proue that *Abraham* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeare of *Terahs* life: grounding themselves first and chieflly on this place of the Scripture, And *TERAH* lived 70. yeares and begat *ABRAHAM*, *NAHOR* and *HARAN*: To this I say, that although *Abraham* in this verse be first named, yet the same is no prooffe at all that hee was the eldest and first borne sonne of *Terah*. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in blood and birth, neither doth it appeare that it pleased God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the first borne of *Adam*: nor *Isaac* of *Abraham*: nor *Jacob* of *Isaac*: nor *inda* and *Joseph* of *Jacob*: nor *Dauid* the eldest of *Iesse*: nor *Salomon* of *Dauid*: as is formerly remembred.

Gen. 11. v. 26.

129 Bib.

Aug. quæst. super
Gen. 25.

But it is written of *Noah*, *Noah* was 500. yeares old, and *Noah* begat *Shem*, *Ham* and *Japhet*: shewing that at the 500. yeare of his age he began to beget the first of those three sonnes. For according to *St. Augustine* speaking generally, *Nec attendendus est in his ordo natiuitatis sed significatio future dignitatis: in qua excelluit ABRAHAM*. The order of natiuitie is not heere to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity: in which *ABRAHAM* was preferred. And therefore as in the order of the sonnes of *Noah*: so is it heere, where it is said that *TERAH* lived 70. yeares and begat *ABRAHAM*, *NAHOR*, and *HARAN*: For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget sonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father *Nahor* at 29. as other his auncestors were at 30. Thelike also happened to *Noah*; for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 130. *Engels* *Kenan* at 90; *Kenan* *Mahalael* at 70; *Mahalael* *Iered* at 60: *Noah* was yet 500. yeares old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes: as aforesaid. And *St. Augustine* in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that *Abraham* was the youngest of *Terahs* sonnes, then other wise: though for his excellency he was worthily named first. His owne words are these. *Fieri enim potuit ut posterior sit generatus ABRAHAM: sed merito excellentie, qua in scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be said he, that ABRAHAM was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture hee is much commended.* So as the naming first or last, proueth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those issues of *Noah* or in these of *Terah*: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spirituall blessing, for *Moses* nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods fauour. *Pietas ergo vel ipso potius electio diuina, qua comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat SEMI in libro NOA, & ABRAHAM in libro Thare. Pietie scilicet he or rather diuine election*

50

election, which doth evermore draw with it or after it picture and the feare of Go: gone place and precedence to SEW among the children of NOAH, and to ABRAHAM among those of Thare.

For the rest it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. year of his age, And it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Ismael, when Abraham had lived 85. years. Gen 12.4. It was at Gerar (the fourth border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Isaac, when Abraham had consumed 100. years. Gen 21.6. It was from the valley of Mamre in Canaan that Abraham rose out, when he rescued Lot and overthrew Amraphel: and hee had then but the age of 83. years: and it is as manifest that he parted from Haran after his Father 10 Terah was dead. But if Terah begat Abraham at 70. year old, then must Abraham have bene 135. years when hee first set his foot in Canaan: seeing Terah must bee dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. made 205. the true age of Terah, which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembered. For hee entered at 75: hee rescued Lot at 83: he had Ismael at 86: he had Isaac at 100. proued by the former places.

Moreouer if Abraham were the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. year of his age: then had Terah lived till Isaac had bene 35. years old, and Ismael 49. both which must then have been borne in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: vnlesse wee should either deny credit to St. Stephen, who saith that Abraham departed from Mesopotamia after his Fathers death: or else giue credit to the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrator, who in his Chronologia antoptica, saith it was about his Fathers death: because the greek word *para*, may be transported by the Latine *sub*, as well as by *post*: which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terahs death, which were 60. years before. Wherefore supposing Abraham to have bene borne in the 70. year of Terah: we must giue those times and places of birth to Abrahams children, which no authoritie will warrant. For Abraham had no children in *Pro* of Chaldaea, nor in Haran: nor in 10. years after his arrival into Canaan. For the year of Terahs death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the year of the World 2083: and the year of Ismaels birth was the Worlds year 2094: which maketh 10. years difference. And that Isaac was borne in Canaan, and was to bee offered vpon the mountaine Moriah therein, 39. miles from Bersabe, where Abraham then inhabited: and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of Abrahams sonnes were borne in Mesopotamia: nor while Terah lived: nor in lesse then 10. years after Terahs death: and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest sonne of Terah, nor borne in the 70. year of Terahs age.

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Canaan at 75: if Terah had begotten him at 40 70, then had Terah lived but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must also have bene the full age of Terah: but Terah lived 205. year: and therefore was not Abraham borne in the 70. year of Terah. Gen 12.1

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the elder, if not the eldest brother of Abraham: for Sarah or Iscah wanted but 10. years of Abrahams age: Isaac being borne when Abraham was 100. and Sarah 90. years old.

It followeth then that if Abraham had bene the elder brother of Haran, Haran must have begotten Sarah at 9. years old: for granting that Haran was borne but one year after Abraham, and Sarah within 10. years as old as Abraham, then of 50 needfullie must Haran beget her, when he had lived but 9. years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Iscah was Sarah, Rab: Solomon affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signification; and names of principallitie. Again, to what end was the word Iscah or Isheah inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? for to speake



habuit: quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat. And that *Phara* invading him with a great armie, tooke from him his wife *Sarah*. Such fables argue that *Iosephus* is not to be believed, but with discrete referuations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeares from the flood to *Abraham*, is vpheld by manie of the *Hebrews*. But how should we value the opinion of such *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their iudgement in such matters were worthe to be regarded, it would haue appeared in setting downe the succession of the *Persian Kings*, vnder whom they liued, whose historie was not so farre remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of manie good writers. Yet grossely haue they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldome finde their opinion rehearsed without the confusion treading on the heels of it. They of the *Roman* opinion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing vsual among them, to maintaine whatsoeuer they haue beene formerly knowne to hold and beleue. Contrariwise, of the more ancient, *Theodoret*, and some following him: of later times *Beroaldus*, *Codoman*, *Peucer*, *Caluin*, *Iunius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, *Doct. Gibbens*, and *Moore*, with diuers of the *Protestants*, hold *Abraham* to haue been borne in the 130. yeare of his Father *Terah*. From these (asin a case not concerning any point in Religion) diuers of the same Religion, and those neuertheless good Authors, as *Bucholterus*, *Chirraus*, *Rundinus*, and others, are veneuered heerein, especially *Iosephus Scaliger* with his *Seihke Calaisius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an Arch-hereticke in Chronologie, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise *Augustinus Tornellus* a Priest of the Congregation of *S. Paul*, a iudicious, diligent, and free writer, whose *Annales* are newly let forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I haue already deliuered; not alledging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Protestant* writer, as being perhaps vnwilling to owe thanks to heretiques. For my selfe I do neither mislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the *Romish* Religion labour to vphold it, Nor fauour this larger account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* writers haue approued; it but for the truth it selfe. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparant to all men of iudgement, that the best approued Historians, Diuine and prophane, labour to inuestigate the truth of times, thereby to approue the stories, and for-past actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approue the times by. Let vs then make iudgment to our selues, which of these two accounts giue the best reputation to the storie of the Scriptures; teaching the worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Iosephus*, and those which follow him; who makes but 292. yeares, or thereabouts, betweene the flood and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352. yeares betweene the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the first borne of *Thare*, and in the 70. yeare of his life: the other a younger sonne of *Thare*, and borne when he had liued 130. yeares. And if we looke ouer all, and doe not hastily stricke our vnderstanding with the first things offered, and thereby being fatigued doe slothfully and drowsily sit downe; wec shall finde it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some editions, make it about 1072. yeares betweene the flood and *Abrahams* birth: then to take away any part of those 352. yeares giuen. For if we aduisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in *Abrahams* time, yea, before *Abraham* was borne, we shall finde that it were verie ill done of vs, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times ouer-deeply betweene *Abraham* and the flood: because in cutting them too neere the quicke, the reputation of the whole storie might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimonie of the Scriptures supreme, so as no obiection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this precept of *S. Augustine*, That wheresoever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation misunderstood.

For

For in *Abrahams* time all the then-known parts of the world were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities: and so had *Palästina*, and all the bordering Countries: yea, all that part of the world besides, as far as *India*: and those not built with tickes, but of hewn stones, and defended with walles and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, then those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving also strength thereby to common cauelers, and to those mens apish braines, who onely bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters in the storie of the World and mankind.

§. VIII.

A computation of the times of the *Assyrians* and others, grounded upon the times noted in the storie of *ABRAHAM*.

An. mundi 2008
du. 352. autas
Abraham Esch.
Augusti. de Ciuit.
Dei. 4. 16. c. 17.



N this fort therefore for the reasons before alleaged, I conlude, that from the generall flood, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. yeares were consumed: and taking the *Assyrian* Historie with vs, the same number of yeares were spent from the flood to the 43. yeare of *Ninus*: in which 43. yeare of *Ninus* *Abraham* was borne: which happened in the yeare of the World 2009.

Now of this time of 352. yeares, we must giue one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinar*, as to those that staid in the East, to wit, 30. yeare to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which, though the Scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sons, we may the more safely giue the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg* *Regu* at 30. *Regu* *Serug* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Haula*, *Sabta*, *Rasma* and *Sabtecha*: and *Rasma* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was borne as it appeareth Gen. 10: which *S. Augustine* approueth. Giuing then 30. yeares more to *Rasma* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five yeares to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. yeares were consumed ere *Nimrod* himselfe was borne: and that *Raamah* had that age ere any of his sonnes were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison: for *Peleg*, the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Regu* in the same yeare of his life.

Aug. de Ciuit.
Dei.

Gen. 11. 8.

Let vs then allow 60. yeares more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build *Babel*: for sure we are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125: The rest of the time of 131. (in which year they arrived in *Shinar* whereof there are 6. yeares remaining) we may giue them for their trauels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and Cattle: and as some ancient writers haue conceived, and *Beccanus* of later times, they kept alwaies the mountaines sides, for feare of a second flood. Now if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remains 221. of which number *Berosus* bestoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus*, before *Abraham* borne: both which *S. Augustine* approueth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there remaineth 114. yeares of the 352. from the flood to *Abrahams* birth: which number of 114. needeth bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

An. a salute bu.
mani generis ab
equis conuulso
primo cap. i. reg.
num babilonis
cum sub iustro
Saturno patre
Iouis Bels qui im-
perauit annis 65
Berofus.

And if it be objected that this time giuen to *Nimrod*, is ouer-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appeare ouer-short. For *Nimrod*, by this account, liued in all but one hundred twenty nine yeares: whereof he reigned one hundred and twelue: whereas *Sale* who was the sonne of *Arphaxad* the sonne of *Sem*, liued foure hundred thirty three yeares:

years: and of the fame age of the World was *Nimrod*, the sonne of *Chus*, the sonne of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was borne

Ninus reigned 9. years: which added to 43. make

Ninus dieth and leaveth *Semiramus* his succellor.

Semiramus gouerned the *Empire of Babylonia and Assyria* 42. years, and died in the 52. year compleat of *Abraham* life.

Ninus or *Zameis* succceeded *Semiramus*, and ruled 38. years, in the second year of whose reigne *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

- 10 When *Abraham* was 85. years old, he rescued his nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by surprize *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninus* reigned 38. years, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. years after *Semiramus* died: which was the 75. year of his age: so that *Amraphel* may seeme to have bene this *Ninus* the sonne of *Ninus*, and *Semiramus*, whose 23. years, as afore said, being the 75. year of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85. year of *Abraham*, and the 33. year of his own reigne: after which he reigned five years: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, vrging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninus*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Assyrian* kings, that they are to be ordered as wee have set them downe, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the storie of *Abraham*, it is most certaine: velle we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses* his computation, which were impetie: or account the whole Historie of *Ninus* and *Semiramus* to bee a fiction, which were to condemne all ancient Historians for fables.

Of the World
2017.
Of the Flood
761.
2059. mundi,
403. a. d. i.
2083.
437.
2093.
437.

§. IX.

That *AMRAPHEL*, one of the four Kings whom *ABRAHAM* overthrew Gen. 14. may probably be thought to have bene *NINIAS* the sonne of *NINUS*.

30



And now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes king of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. year of *Abraham* life, that is, in the 33. year of the reigne of *Ninus* or *Zameis* the king of the *Assyrians*, the sonne of *Ninus* and *Semiramus*, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how he could bee at this time king of *Babylonia*: *Ninus* or *Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it selfe as most probable, is that which hath bene already noted, that this *Ninus* or *Zameis* was no other then our *Amraphel*: who invaded *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and overthrew those five kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell vs, that *Amraphel* was king

- 40 of *Shinar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the succellor of *Ninus* and *Semiramus*: and it falleth out with the 85. year of *Abraham* life: wherein, herebefore, *Lot*, flew *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Monarke*: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in cheife, though *Amraphel* bee first named by *Moses* in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of *Genesis* For the Kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or of the five Cities, were the vassals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written. Twelve years were they subject to *CHEDORLAOMER*, but in the 13. year they rebelled, and in the 14. year came *CHEDORLAOMER* and the kings that were with him: and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principall in this enterprise, who was then king
- 50 of *Elam*, which is *Persia*: Now *Persia* being seated over *Tigris*, and to the East of *Amraphel* Countie; and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the West of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it selfe, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* bene so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramus* whom

Gen. 14.



in this warre, as the World had any at that time. The *Septuagint* doe not change the word of *Elasfar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the mountains where of the Arke did rest, so doe they in this place retain the *Hebrew* word *Elasfar*, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himselfe remembreth other opinions farre more probable then this of *Pontus* or *Hellspont*: yet he cares not auow his liking of them, because the Latine Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanns de Vrbibus* a *Græcian Cosmographer*, findeth the Citie of *Ellas* in the border of *Calefyria*. and *St. Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the Citie of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by *Stephanns* in *Calefyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly iouined with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the same familie, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrews* written *Arioch*: and afterward againe *Arctas*: as in the *Maschabes*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name euen to the time of *St. Paul*, who was fought to be betrayed by the *Lieutenant* of *Arctas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending vpon the *Assyrian Empire*. It is true that we finde in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was Generall of his armie, and the principall Commander vnder him, who was a king of kings: which makes it plain, that *Arioch* heere spoken of, the sonne of that *Arioch* confederate of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*, regions farre removed from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded vnder *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Iudith*, by the name of king of the *Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Perfians* bordering *Assyria* according to *Stephanns*: though *Plinie* sets it between the Sea-coast, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian Kings* or other of that house (knowne by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Arctas* or *Arctas*) had the government of that *Persian Province* called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Iudith*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosors* time. But this *Arioch* heere spoken of may with more reason be taken for the king of *Arabia*, the sonne of *Arius*, the confederate of *Ninus*: whose sonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West to *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their own house, and blood: which *D. Siculus* also confirmeth.

Died Sic. 1. 1. 6. 1.

§. X I.

Of T I D A L another of the foure Kings.

THe fourth King by *Abraham* ouerthrowne was *Tidd*, King of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gogim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Tyra* of mixt people: *Caluin* of runnagates without habitation: *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, findes that *Galilee* was inhabited by diuers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nam tales sunt qui Galileam habitant*, Such are the inhabitants of *Galilee* saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidd* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authoritie of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilee* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Cananites* was then in the Land, how soeuer they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many pettie kingdomes adioyning to *Phœnicia*, and *Palestina*, as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Ladicea*, *Apamena*, *Chalcedonia*, *Castoria*, *Chalcedonia*, and all these doe also ioine themselves to *Mesopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together vnder *Tidd*, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

Strabo. li. 16. §. 1.

Gen. 15. 6.

d. XII.

That CHEDORLAOMER the chiefe of the 4. Kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia; and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.

LASTLY, whereas it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or Prouinciall gouernour of Babylonia, and that the other kings named were such also, I cannot agree with Pererius in this. For *Males* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur*, and *Shinar*, to call the Assyrian a king of *Elam*: those kings being in the Scriptures euermore called by the name of *Chaldæa*, *Shinar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria*: but neuer by *Elam*; and Chedorlaomer or Kedorlaomer was so called of *Kider*, from *Cidarim* which in the Hebrew signifieth Regale: for so *Quintus* calleth the garment which the Persian kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I beleue that the Assyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatness at the time of this inuasion, and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach vs, that those things which are set vp hastily, or forced violently, do not long last: *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not so ouer-look what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himselfe: all whose chiefe Commanders became kings after him. *Tambranes* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to preualent furie God hath adioined a short life: and whatsoeuer things Nature herselfe worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before him.

Ninus being the first whom the madness of boundlesse dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent, insolent, and cruell. *Semiramis* taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, aduenturous, and ambitious, then her *Parame*: enlarged the Babylonian Empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampl'd. But her sonne hauing changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proued no lesse feminine then she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, and reuenge the other: so those kings adioining (whose subiection, and calamities incident was but new, and therefore the more greiuous) could not sleepe, when the aduantage was offered by such a successe. For *in regno Babilonico hic parum resplendunt, this King shined little* (saith *Naucerus* of *Ninias*) in the Babylonian kingdome. And likely it is that the needes of mortall men hauing been neuer before gawled with the yoke of torraine dominion, Nor hauing cuer had experience of that most miserable and deserv'd condition of liuing in slavery: no long descent hauing as yet inuested the Assyrian with a right: nor any other title being for him to be pretended than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate sonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerlesse mastering, and a mindlesse industrious than his Father, and Mother had vi'd before him. And he that was so much giuen ouer to licentious idleness, as to suffer his Mother to raigne 42. yeares, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatness, as he neither inadauoured to gaine what he could not gouerne, nor to keep what he could not without contentious penill enioy.

These Considerations being ioyned to the storie of *Amraphel*, deliuered by *Moses*, by which we finde that *Amraphel* king of *Shinar* was rather an inferior to the king of *Persia*, than either his superiour, or equall, make it seeme probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion I will add these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such times as it pleased God to impose that great trouble upon *Abraham*, from *Ur in Chaldaea* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a pailage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandered were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. year of *Nimius*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. years after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbor Princes had recovered their liberties and former estates. For *Semiramis* armed of four millions, with herselfe viceroy consumed in *India*, and all her armies and engines of war, at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunitie euen to the poorest foules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former liberties.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Arius* the sonne of *Nimius*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Babryans* and *Cassians*, and againe subiected them: which needed not if they had not bene revolted from *Nimius*, after *Xerxes* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, so did *Baleus* or *Balanicus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest revolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes*, id est, *Victor* or *Triumphator*, a conquerour and triumpher, which vnder takings had been no other then the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves, from the *Babylonian* subiection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is of the reconquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which liued after *Nimius* and *Nimius*, we may as well thinke the rest of *Nimius* and *Semiramis* to be but fained: but if we graunt this reconquest, then is it true that while *Nimius* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Affryan Empire* was torne asunder, according to that which hath bene gathered out of *Moses* as before remembred.

§. XIII.

That it is not improbable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted themselves: and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be so, we neede not say that *AMRAPHEL* was *NIMIAS*, nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.

THe consent of all writers, whose workes haue come to my pen, agreeing as they doe, that these 4. kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellowes were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or seeme intitled, doth almost enforce vs to thinke that the Historie must so be vnderstood, as I haue deliuered. But if in this place, as often elswhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for people of those lands, or it (as *Hierome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*; as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundrie regions: then may we otherwise conceiue of this Historie: removing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps haue been vnwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had been a strange coniecture to thinke that *Arioch* was drawn to assist the *Perfians*, against the *Sodomites*; as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should haue been once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were king of *Persia* alone, should passe through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Affria*, *Chaldaea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdue those fise Townes, whose very names how they should come to his care, being diloined by so many great Nations of different languages a wife-man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Perfians* together with the *Babylonian* himselfe, yea the kingdom of *Elusar*, & that of *Tidal*, so far off removed were become his dependants, what reason can we finde that might haue induced him to hearken after *Sodome* and *Gomorah*; & when he should haue fought the establishment of his new-gotten Empire,

by rooting out the polleritie of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) then to imploy the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other kings, against five pettie townes, leaving *Tyrus*, and *Sidon*, and the great Citie of *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and larre neerer vnto him, vnsibdued? Now as these doubts which may bee alleadged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddam*, are exceeding vehement: so are the obiections to be made against his reconquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly vpon the text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it bene in that small *Province* to rebell against so powerfull a *Monarch*? Or if it were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to bee forgotten, then that hee should come or send to reclaime them: was it not more then madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of euasion: yea to make resistance (being themselves a disloyall and therefore vnwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betweene *Euphrates*, yea betweene themselves and the riu-
er of *Indus*? Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should finde no greater wisdom, if he knowing the weaknesse of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any *Lieutenant*, with small forces hee might haue subdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Countrey, was not sufficient to counter-
uaile one moneths charges of so huge an armie. How small then must his valour haue bene, who with so mightie preparations effected no more then the wasting of
that *Valley*, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrey, although hee
had broken their armie in the field? Now the Scriptures doe not of this inuasion (supposed so great) make any fearefull matter: but compose the two armies, as e-
qually matcht, saying they were foure kings against five: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall finde that *Abraham* slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no Historie makes mention: Neither will the raigne of *Nimias* who liued foure
or five years longer, permit that he should haue died so soone: neither would Histories haue forgotten the manner of his death, if hee had so strangely perished in
Syria. Whereby it appeares that these foure kings, were not the same that they are
commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may
therefore well bee true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age
carried the same title: Lords and Commanders euery one of his owne companie,
which he carried forth as a *Colonic*, seeking place where to settle himselfe and them,
as was the vsuall manner of those times.

Neither is it vnprobable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troupe of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might
confort together, and make the weakest of the Countrey which lay about them, to
pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first booke of
Thucydides, with the manner of discoueries, conquests and plantations, in the infan-
cie of *Greece*, or the manner of the *Saracens* inuading *Africa*, and *Spaine*, with almost
as many kings as feuerall Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new
discoueries, passages, and conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceiue, that it
was neither vnusuall, for the leaders of *Colonies* to receiue title from the people
whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, dis-
turbng sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That
Amraphel and his associates were such manner of Commanders, it may seeme the
more likely, by the slothfull qualitie of *Nimias* then reigning in *Affria*: whose vn-
manlike temper was such, as might well giue occasion to such vndertaking spirits, as
wanted the imployments whereunto they were accustomed, in the raigne of *Semi-
ramis*, rather to seeke aduentures abroad, than to remain at home vnregarded: whilst
others more vnworthie than themselves, were aduanced. If the consent of the
whole streame of writers vpon this place make this coniecture disagreeable to the
Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may
hold

Gen. 14. 17.

hold our selves to the former coniecture, that *Amarphel* was *Ninias*: and that the power of his Auncetours being by his sloth decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this doe not satisfie, wee may say that *Amarphel* was an Vnder-king or *Satrape* of *Shinar*, vnder *Ninias*: who may be supposed to haue had his *Imperiall* seat in his Fathers Citie *Ninie*: and to haue preferred it before *Shinar* and *Babylon* the Citie of his Mother, whom hee hated as an vsurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Saluation, and where in therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, that these foure kings were leaders of *Colonies*, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not kings of the Countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And heere to adde that *Chedorlaomer* seemes rather called a *Persian* king, then king of *Persia*: and that *Arioch* (whose kingdome vndoubtedly was betweene *Syria* and *Arabia*) hauing bene a man of action, or being a worthy mans sonne, was very well pleased, to giue passage and assistance, to these Captaines or pettie kings. These and such like things heere to vrge, were but with circumstances to adorne a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is vnworthie to haue cost bestowed vpon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leaue it wholly to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he finde any that shall seeme better than these. But of what Countries or people foure these foure were kings, this expedition is the only publication that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his sonnes, and of his Nephews *Esfau* and *Iacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand vpon things generally knowne to all *Christians*, nor to repeat what hath bene elsewhere already spoken, nor to preuent ourselues in things that may hereafter in due place be remembered, wee passe them heere in silence. And because in this Storie of *Abraham* and his posteritie, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appears that euen in the time of *Abraham*, it was a settled and flourishing kingdom, it will not be amisse in the next place to speake somewhat of the antiquities, and first

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CHAP. II.

Of the kings of *Egypt* from the first peopling of it after the flood, to the time of the deliuerie of the *Israelites* from thence.

§. I.

A breife of the names and times of the first kings of *Egypt*: with a note of the causes of difficultie in resolving of the truth in these points.



Some after the confusion at *Babel* (as it seemes) *Cham* with many of his issue and followers (hauing doubtlesse known the fertilitie of *Egypt* before the flood) came thither and tooke possession of the Countrie: in which they built many Cities: and began the kingdome one hundred ninctie one yeares after the deluge. The ancient *Gouernours* of this kingdome till such time as *Israel* departed *Egypt* are shewen in the Table following.

| An. Mundi. | An. dil. | |
|------------|----------|---|
| 1847. | 191. | <i>Cham.</i> |
| 2008. | 352. | <i>Osiris.</i> |
| | | <i>Typhon</i> 2 |
| 2269. | 613. | <i>Hercules</i> 3 |
| 2276. | 620. | <i>Orus.</i> |
| 2391. | 735. | <i>Sesalsiris</i> the great. |
| 2424. | 768. | <i>Sesalsiris</i> the blinde. |
| 2438. | 782. | <i>Bulsiris</i> or <i>Orus</i> the 2. |
| 2476. | 820. | <i>Aemchere</i> or <i>Thermastis</i> or <i>Meris.</i> |
| 2488. | 832. | <i>Rathoris</i> or <i>Athoris.</i> |
| 2497. | 841. | <i>Cheneres</i> drowned in the red Sea. |

The Table and especially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and coniectures, because in such obscuritie manifest and resolute truth cannot be found. For *S. Augustine*, a man of exceeding great iudgement, and incomparable diligence, who had fought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of *Tarro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Egyptian* kings, which he would not haue done, if they had not beene more vncertaine then the *Sicionians*, whom he remembreth, then whom doubtlesse they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscuritie in the *Egyptian* Storie, was the ambition of the *Preills*: who to magnifie their antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leasings: and recounted vnto strangers, the names of many kings that neuer reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed kings, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is that the magnificent workes and royall buildings in *Egypt*, such as are neuer found but in States that haue greatly flourished, witness that their Princes were of miraclulous greatnesse: and that the reports of the *Preills* were not altogether

- ther false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Ægyptian* Historie, was the too much credulitie of some good *Authors*, who believins the manifold and contrarie reports of fundrie *Ægyptians*, and publishing in their own name, such as pleased them best; have confirmed them, and as it were enforced them upon vs, by their authoritie. A third and general cause of more than *Ægyptian* darknesse in all ancient Histories, is the edition of many *Authors* by *Iohn Annins*, of whom (if to the censures of fundrie verie learned I may add mine) I thinke thus; That *Annins* having seene some fragments of those writers, and added vnto them what he would, may be credited, as an auoucher of true Histories, where approued writers confirme him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to passe that the account of *Authors*, either in the *Chronologie* or *Genealogie* of the *Ægyptian* Kings, runnes three altogether different waies. The *Christian* writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: Many late writers follow the edition of *Annins* his *Authors*: The prophane Histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

§. II.

- That by the account of the *Ægyptian Dynasties*, and otherwise, it appears that
 CHAMs reigne in *Ægypt* began in the yeare after
 the Flood 191.



- O reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the auncient kings, about whom is most controuertie, the best meane is by helpe of the *Dynasties*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authoritie of approued *Authors*) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Troians*, *Italians*, and others, &c. The beginning of the 16. *Dyn.* is joined by general consent, with the 43. yeare of *Ninus*: in which *Abraham* was borne. The twelue first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seuen yeares, vnder the twelue, which were called the greater Gods: so that all the yeares of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynast.* indured fouretee yeares: the foureteenth 26: the fiftenth 37. These three last are said to haue bene vnder the three yonger Gods. So the fiftene first *Dynasties*, lasted 161. yeares. As I do not therefore beleieve that the continuance of these *Dyn.* was such as hath bene mentioned, because *Annins* in such-wise limits out their time: so I cannot reiect the account vpon this only reason, That *Annins* hath it so: considering that both hitherto it hath passed as current, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the fiftenth *Dynastie*, in the yeare of *Abrahams* birth, as aforesaid: the reckoning is easily cast, by which the summe of 161. yeares, which according to our account were spent in the fiftene former, being subducted out of the summe of 352. yeares, which were betwene the flood and *Abrahams* birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynastie*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reigne in *Ægypt*, was in the yeare 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankind which came into *Shinar*, arrived at *Babel*, *Antioch* delunio 121. In building the Tower were consumed fortie yeares as *Sigis* recordeth: whose report I haue else where confirmed with diuers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his companie; their Wives, Children, Cattle, and substance; through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of bogges, Forrests, and bryers: (which the deluge and want of culture in one hundred seentie one yeares had brought vpon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of him selfe in *Ægypt*, wee allow twentie yeare: and these summes being added together, to wit one hundred thirte one yeares after the flood, before they arrived at

Babel,

Babel, 40. yeares for their stay there, and 20. for *Chams* passage into *Egypt*, and settling there, make vp the summe of 191 yeares at which time we said that *Cham* began his reigne in *Egypt* in the beginning of the first *Dynastie*. And to this summe of 191. yeares if we adde the 161. yeares of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbered in common account, wee shall fall right with the yeare of *Abrahams* birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And heere to omitting manie other reasons, which might be brought to proue that these first *Dynasties* must needs haue beene verie short, and not containing in the whole summe of their seuerall times about 161. yeares: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must *Egypt* haue beene peopled as soone as *Babel* after the flood: or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercator* thinkes) must haue beene before the flood. That the arriuall at *Babel* was manie yeares before the plantation of *Egypt*, after the flood, enough hath beene said to proue: and that the *Dynasties* were not before the flood, the number of the longliu'd generations betwene *Adam* and the flood, which was lesse than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witnesse. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be diuided into manie *Dynasties*, then may this haue beene aswell after the flood, as before: considering that the sonnes of *Noah* did not in euery Countrey erect such forme of Politie, as had been vsed in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authoritie and power of the Conducter, together with manie other circumstances, did induc or inforce them to.

§. III.

That these *Dynasties* were not diuers families of kings, but rather successions of Regents, oft times many vnder one king.

THe short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not seuerall races of kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in reiterations of decayed antiquities, it is more easie to denie than to affirm. But this may bee said, partly vpon good circumstance, partly vpon the surest prooffe, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the gouernment of the Countrey into the hands of some trustie Counsellor, only reseruing the soueraigntie to themselves, as the old kings of France were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the *Turke* doth to the chiefe *Vizier*. This is confirmed first by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are vnder *Cham*, and more then one vnder *Osiris* or *Alexraim*; and must therefore haue beene successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsellors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures: of whom *Abimilech* the *Philistin* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol* Captaine of his Hoste; though in taking *Abrahams* wife, and in his priuate carriage, hee followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of *Abimilech* the sonne of *Gideon* it was said: *Is not hee the sonne of IERUBBAAL? and ZEBAVI is his Officer?* Also *Isbosheth* the sonne of *Saul*, feared *Amer* the Captaine of the Hoste. Yea, *Dauid* himselfe hating *Isbosheth* for his crueltie did not punish him, in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared euen of *Hadad* the *Edomite* liuing then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his owne idleness and pleasure, to haue laied the burthen of gouernment vpon others; and vpon iealousie, the companion of vnworthinesse, to haue changed his Lieutenants often. About all other prooffes is the aduancement of *Ioseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *IOSEPH*; *Only in the Kings throne will I bee about thee: behold I haue set thee ouer all the Land of Egypt.* *William*, Arch-bishop of *Tyre*, who flourished about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie, affirms that the like

william Tyrr de
bell Sacro. l. 19.
ca. 17. 18. 19.
20.

like or verie same forme of gouernment by *Viceroyes*, was in his time practised in *Ægypt*, hauing there been in vse (as he beleued) euer since the time of *Ioseph*. He plainly shewes, that the *Soldans* of *Ægypt* were not Lords of the Countrey, how euer they haue been so deemed; but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the dutie of subiects vnto the *Caliphe*: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not only of ciuile gouernment, but the power of making war and peace, with the whole office and authoritie roiall into the *Soldans* hands. He that shall reade in *William of Tyre*, the state of the *Caliphe*, or *Mulene Elbasdech*, with the fourme of his Court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authoritie as *Ioseph* was, though farre inferior in wisdome.

To thinke that manie names of such *Regents* or Lieutenants as *Ioseph* was, haue crept into the list of the *Ægyptian* Kings, were no strange imagination. For *Iosephs* brethren called him, *The man that is Lord of the Land*, and the Lord of the Countrey: Besides, it is not vnlike that the vainglorious *Ægyptian* Preists would as easily report him a king to posteritie, as ignorant men and strangers deeme him such, vnder whose hand all dispatches of importance, and roiall managing of the State had passed, whilst that the king himselfe intending his quiet had giuen his office to another. How strangers haue mistaken in this kinde, the example already cited of *Iosephs* brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of preists do appear in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, say; *Diodorus*, that *Sejofiris* was the nineteenth king after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332 after *Menas*: which could not haue been if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynasties* were not so many races of kings, but successions of *Regents*, appointed by the kings of so many fundrie linages or sorts of men. Now by whatsoeuer means a *Dynastie* or *Regencie* continued: whether in one familie, as being made an hereditarie office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is that it was the kings gift, and free choice, that gaue the office. But the Crown roiall alwaies passed by descent, & not by election: which (beside consent of *Authors*) the Scriptures also proue. For whereas *Ioseph* bought all the land of *Ægypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the crowne had passed by election, then should *Pharaohs* children hereby either haue been intralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next succellour: or inioying their Fathers land, though not his estate, haue beene more mightie then the king: as *Land-lords* of all *Ægypt*, and the king himselfe their Tenant. Likewise wee finde in *Exod. 12.* that God smote the first borne of *PHARAOH*: that was to set on his throne: And in *Esay* it is said of *PHARAOH*: *I am the sonne of the ancient king.*

§. IIII.

Of *CHAM*, and his sonne *MIZRAÏM*, OR *OSIRIS*.

40

That the succession of kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Chenres*, now it followeth to shew. *Ægypt* is called in the Scripture, the land of *Ham*. That this name is not giuen to it because the posteritie of *Cham* did reigne there, but for that himselfe did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countreys of *Cush*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Ægypt*, were called the land of *Ham*. Further it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Osiris* calleth himselfe the eldest sonne of *Cham*, saying, *Milkipater Saturnus decorum omnium iunior*: also, *Sauo Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum*: which must needs be vnderstood of *Cham*. For this *Saturnus Ægyptius* was *Cham*: as it is said, that on the monument of *Nimrod* was an inscription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewise the Temple of *Hammen* not farre from *Ægypt* doth testifie, that *Ham* resided in those parts: And *S^r. Hierome* in *questionibus Hebraicis*,

Phal. 8. 11.
108. 11.
17.
106. 22.

Diod. Sic. l. 1.

is faith, that the *Aegyptians* themselves did in his daies call their Countrey *Ham*: as in foure severall places in the *Psalms* this Countrey is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*, that in the sacrifices of the *Aegyptians* this Countrey of *Aegypt* was called *Chemis*, expounds it for *Chamis*: *et puto* (saith he) *et Chamus* *Nō ēs filius*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidor*, *Aegyptum usq; hodie Aegyptiorum lingua K A M vocari*: that *Aegypt* unto this day in the tongue of the *Aegyptians* is called *K A M*. For the beginning and continuance of *Cham*'s reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be allaged, which I haue already giuen in proofe of the time spent in the 45. first *Dynasties*: Neither is it strange that the reigne of *Cham*, should last so long as 161. yeares: considering that *Sem* liued 600. *Arpachshad* and *Shelah* 10 each about 400. But strange it had beene, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-liued generations reigned there, 19. yeares, and with *Beon*, *Apachmas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glorie of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Sesostris*. *Reinecius* in his *hystor. Italia*, placeth *Misraim* next, otherwife called *Osiris* according to *Diodorus*: who saith he was the sonne of *Hammon*: *Krentzheimius* saith that *Misraim* and *Osiris* are words of neere affinitye and found in the Hebrew tongue. Howsoever it bee, wee know that *Misraim* the sonne of *Cham*, was Lord of *Aegypt*, and *Reinecius* citing good authoritie in this case, affirmeth that *Aegypt* is now called by the naturals in their owne language *Mesre*. Neither doe I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Misraim*. It is more necessarie, and hard to shew manifestly, how long *Misraim* or *Osiris* reigned. For whereas the year of his death is no where precisely set downe, we must be faine to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly said by *Strabon* his *Berosus*, to haue begun his reigne at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynastie* of the *Thebais* began, it appeareth, first, by the authoritie of *Eusebius*: who avoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who saith that he inhabited *Thebes*: which habitation of *Osiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynastie*. I can well beleive: assenting so farre to *Reinecius*, who thinks the *Dynasties* were named only, according to the severall seates of the kings.

§. V.

Of the time when *OSIRIS* reigne ended: and that *IACOB* came into *Aegypt* in the time of *OSIRIS* the sonne of *OSIRIS*.



He death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirme. The only coniecture that I know, is made thus. *Lehabim* the sonne of *Misraim* called *Hercules Tybins*, made warre in *Italia*, to revenge his Fathers death, on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41. year of *Baleus* king of *Affysiria*: before which year he had made many great warres in *Aegypt*, *Phanicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, and *Spaine*: and having ended his *Aegyptian* warres, 40 left the kingdome to *Orus*. Thus saith *Berosus*, or authors following *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the Gods (as they were stiled) held the kingdome of *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith: and *Plutarch* as much; to which all old Historiis agree. *Krentzheimius* hereupon infers, that fixe yeares may be allowed to the warres, which *Hercules* made in so many Countreies, after the *Aegyptian* warres were ended: so should the death of *Osiris* haue bene the 34. of *Baleus*: when himselfe had reigned 297. yeares. I thinke that *Krentzheimius* was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For surely in those daies when commerce was not such as now, but all Navigation made by coasting, a farre longer time would haue been required, to the subduing of so many Countreies. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet so would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtlesse) to finde the truth. If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had bene the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israhel* haue come into *Aegypt* but seven yeares before the death of *Osiris*: and haue liued there in the reigne of *Typhon*. A thing not easily beleived. For it was the same king

Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 1.
Plut. l. de Iside
et Osid.

king who advanced *Ioseph*, bad him send for his Father, and gaue him leaue to goe into *Canaan*, to the performance of his Fathers funerall: as may easily be gathered out of the booke of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the raigne of *Orus*, cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seventh yeare of *Ioseph*'s comming into *Egypt*: we must needs cut off 23. yeares from that number, which *Krentzheimius* coniectures his raigne to haue continued: namely seuen which he should haue liued after *Jacobs* comming into *Egypt*: nine in which *Ioseph* had there flourished, ere his fathers comming: and other seuen in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Orus*, yet before *Ioseph*'s aduancement.

- 10 Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his wars. For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italie*, is said to haue indured 10. yeares: After which proportion we may well giue not only fixe yeares, as *Krentzheimius* doth, but 23. more to so many wars in so many and so far-distant Countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute vnto *Orus* the 13. yeares, which passed betweene the time of *Ioseph*'s being sold into *Egypt*, vnto his aduancement: considering that *Putiphar* who bought him, and whose daughter he may seeme to haue married, continued all that while chiefe Steward vnto *Pharaoh*: a thing not likely to haue been, if so violent alterations had hapned the while in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous vsurpation of *Typhon* must needs haue brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old author, I should confidently say, that *Putiphar* for his faithfullnesse to *Orus*, the sonne of *Orus*, was by him in the beginning of his raigne made his chiefe Steward: at which time buying *Ioseph* and finding him a iust man, and one vnder whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into *Ioseph*'s hands, than vnto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weak, and vnlucky in the troublesome daies of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further & say, That when the laying of *Ioseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his seruants: then *Putiphar* Prefitt of On, being chiefe Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Ioseph*, the ancient graces of God, & his iniurious imprisonment: whereupon he gaue him his daughter to wife: and being old resigned his office of chiefe steward vnto him: who afterward in regard of *Putiphar*, did fauour the Priests, when he bought the lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appeare to some a tale not vnlike to the frierly booke of *Asenath*, *Putiphar*'s daughter: but vnto such as consider that God workes usually by means: and that *Putiphar* was the Steward of that king, vnder whom *Jacob* died: it would seeme a matter not vnprobable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to auouch it. Concerning the warres of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning he should haue spent 42. yeares after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italie*, it is a circumstance (the length of his *Italian* wars considered, & his former enterprises & atchieuements proportioned to them) doth not make against vs, but for vs: or if it were against vs, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the vndisputable truth of Scripture doe confirme it.
- 15 Neuerthelesse I freely grant that all these profers are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwife than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

d. V I.

OF TYPHON, HERCULES Aegyptius, ORUS, and the two SESOSTRES, successively reigning after MIZRAIM: and of diuers errors about the former SESOSTRES.



Concerning the reigne of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I finde notice that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *David Angelvator* giueth three yeares to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptorie without proof, as if his owne wordes were sufficient authority, in many points verie questionable; alledging no witnesse, but as it were saying, *Telle me ipso*: yet herein we may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the learned *Krentzheimius* affirmeth that *Hercules* did verie soone

Men signifying an *Arabian* man: which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Osiris*: who was a great Conquerour, Philosopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giving good Lawes, and teaching profitable Artes. In prowess and great undertakings *Sesoftris* was no whit inferior to *Osiris*. For he fought victorie not for gaine, but for honour only: and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and roiall disposition, leaving them in a manner to their libertie, returned into *Aegypt*. Soone upon his returne he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in which he was, being by his owne brother purposely fired: which neuertheless hee is said to haue escaped, and to haue reigned in all thirtie three yeares: after which time hee chose rather to die then to liue: because he fell blinde. Both *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, affirme that *Sesoftris* left a sonne, whose name was *Pheron* or *Pheronax*: who afterwards tooke the name of *Sesoftris*: but was nothing like to his Father in glorie: for hee shortly fell blinde. The cause of his blindnesse *Herodotus* attributes to his assaulting the river *Nilus* with a iaueline: which tale *Diodorus* hauing likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying that perhaps he tooke the disease naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is no where exprest: yet so much as *Orus* the second, (otherwise *Busris*) who succeeded him, began 14. yeares after that this *Sesoftris* had been king, it must needs bee that this reigned 14. yeares at least. That *Busris* began not vntill these 14. yeares at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of *Busris*, to the departure of *Israell* out of *Aegypt* plainly shewes, being almost generally agreed vpon, to haue beene 75. yeares. That none came betwene *Sesoftris* the second and *Busris* or *Orus* the second, it stands only vpon probabilities: which are these. After *Sesoftris* had reigned somewhat, he fell blinde: after certaine yeares hee recovered his sight, as is said: which may haue beene true, but is more like to haue beene a fable: surely the manner of his recouerie as it is set downe, is verie fabulous: namely that by looking vpon a woman, or walking his eyes with her water, who had onely knowne her owne husband, he got his sight againe. As the time of his reigne, before his blindnesse, and when hee was well againe (if euer hee were) may haue taken vp a good part of 14. yeares: so his workes which were great doe much more strongly argue, that his reigne was not verie short. His words are largely set downe by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*: a part of which may seeme to haue beene the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and flues of *Nilus*: whom I thinke he rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with spades and shouels, then with darts, and iaulines: and by his diligent ouersight of that worke, was like enough to looke both his eye-sight and his peoples loue: whom his Father had verie busily employed in excecutive labour about it.

§. VII.

Of *Busris* the first oppressor of the *Israellites*: and of his Successor *Queen* *Thermutis* that tooke vp *Moses* out of the water.



And herein (if I may presume to coniecture) *Busris*, who was afterwards king, is like to haue dealt with him, as *Ieroboam* did with the sonne of *Salomon*. For that *Busris* himselfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it well appeared, by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of *Israell* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Sesoftris*, as *Ieroboam* was by *Salomon*, in the ouersight of those businesse, he had good opportunitie to worke his greatnesse with the king by industrie: and afterward with the people by incensing them against their new king: as *Ieroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at an others: vnlesse he haue either an equall spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreover he sought to deriue all the paine and labour of publique workes from the

Exod. 1.

246.9

239

Egyptians, to the *Israelites*: he surely did that which to his owne people was verie plausible: who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the kings crueltie. Now that *Orus* the 2. or *Busiris* was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted tenne moneths: it is a common opinion of many great & most learned writers: who also think that hereupon grew the fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, Ex. 1. that the King, who knew not *Ioseph*, was a king of a new family. I hat *Busiris* was of a new familie, *Reinecius* doth thus: who also thinks him Author of the bloody edict. Neuerthelesse, true it is, that *Busiris* according to all mens computation, began his reigne 5. years after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the persecution began: which *Bunting* thinks to have lasted 87. years, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let vs therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesoftris* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Viceroyes* in *Egypt* was: and how great confidence the kings did put in them: seeing *Ioseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, & all the *Egyptians* for bread; giuing at the same time the best of the land to his owne father & brethren, for nothing: seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out vpo *Pharaoh*, for bread: *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, Go to *Ioseph*: what he saith to you, do ye. If so a stranger borne, lately fetcht out of prison, a king well able to have gouerned himself, would giue such trust, and soueraigne authoritie: it is not unlikely 20 that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often professeth, not only the good (such as *Ioseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. I therefore perhaps the king did (as many haue done) reigne his kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to haue begun, til the death of *Sesoftris*. But whether *Busiris* did viurpe the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king reigned it, keeping the title: or whether *Busiris* were only *Regent*, whilst the king liued, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselfe: it might well be said that *Pharaohs* daughter tooke vp *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*: seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for vs to say that the blind king *Sesoftris* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked *Tyrant* shewed his euill nature euen when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, vling at first the power of a king, and shortly after the title. Thus of the 122. yeares which passed betwene the beginning of *Sesoftris* his reigne, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent: the 75. which remaine, are to bee accounted to *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Busiris* himselfe reigned 30. yeares, according to *Eusebius*: whom verie many iudicious authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who tooke *Moses* out of the water, is said by all that I haue read, to haue reigned 12. yeares: Her name was *Thermutis Phareis*, or *Mathis* according to *Cedrenus*: *Euseb.* calls her *Aceneris*: and out of *Artabanus* his *Historie Meris*: *Iosephus* calls her both *Aceneris*, & *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario* saith that he was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the daughter of *Amenophis*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made & much spoken for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* sonnes daughter, but *Pharaohs* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is placed next before *Busiris* or *Orus* the second by *Eusebius* and others: but whether he were a king or only a *Regent* I cannot coniecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the ancient *Historians* name the sonne of *Sesoftris*, *Phoron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the neece or grandchild, then the daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glorie of *Sesoftris*, and the disreputation of his sonne. If so, and if that *Busiris* or *Orus* the second marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our coniecture strengthened, and then was the both daughter, grandchild, and wife vnto *Pharaoh*: and suruiuing him, *Queene* of the land, 12. yeares. But if she were the daughter of *Orus* the 2. & sister of *Atorris*, or *Rathoris*, as many thinke, to whose coniecture I will not oppose mine, then

then may it seeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule when her Father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queene *Thermytis*; and what King it was, under whom *Moses* was borne: and who it was that perished in the red Sea.

- 10 **H**EE had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris* or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is only named by *Eusebius*: but his lineage and offspring described by *Rameus*. *Rathoris* after his sisters death reigned 9. years: after whom *Cheneres*, thought to be his son, reigned 10. and then perished in the red Sea. During the reign of *Cheneres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* upon 10: of which Historie elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Cheneres* (whom some call *Accheres*: but all or most do stile *Cheneres* a fighter against God) *Acheres* reigned 8. years: and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seems from Father to sonne. In the 11. year of *Cherres* it is said by *Euseb.* that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Aegypt* built
- 20 *Mompus*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely: viz. That *Aegypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it, and the destruction of her king and armie in the red Sea: else could it not have had two reigning in it at once: the later of whom, or his posteritie seems to have taken all from *Cherres* the grand-child of *Cheneres*. For whereas *Armsis* is said to have reigned 4. years after *Cherres*: and *Armesio* one after *Armsis*: these two kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one, and his reign said to have bene 5. years. His name is called *Armenus*, otherwise *Danaus*; and his pedigree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Historia Italia*,

- 30 *Telegonus*:
Epaphus:
Lybeus, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Bufris*.

T

- 40 *Aegypt* or *Rameffes* who gaue name to the Countrie, having expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lyneus*, married to *Hypermeresia*.
- Danaus* or *Armenus* expelled by his brother *Aegyptus*, after hee had reigned five years, became king of *Argos* in Greece: was Father to *Hypermeresia*.

How it might come to passe that the Nephews sons of *Epaphus* should have occupied the kingdome after *Cherres*, it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius* to have been borne in the time of *Cheneres*. But forasmuch as the Historie of *Epaphus* his birth, is diversly related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the Father of *Danaus* & *Aegyptus*, otherwise called *Armenus* and *Rameffes*, was equally distant from *Bufris* or *Orus* with *Cherres* the grandchild of *Cheneres*. And that the posteritie of *Telegonus* did marrie very young, it appears by the historie of these two brethren, *Danaus* & *Aegyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the later 50. sons: perhaps, or rather questionless, by diuers women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: How soever it were, the generall consent

sent of writers is, that *Armenus* or *Danaus* did succcede *Cherres*: and (according to *Ensebius* and good Authors approving him) reigned five yeares. *Ramefes* followed, who reigned 68. yeres. This *Ramefes* or *Aegyptus* is that *Armesefsimamum* or *Armesefmiamum*; vnder whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moses* was born: and the cruell *Edifi* made of drowning the Hebrew children. The length of his reigne seemes to me the chiefe, if not the only ground of *Mercators* opinion. For whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, *Go returne to Aegypt*, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee, *Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same king vnder whom *Moses* was borne, and vnder whom he slew the *Aegyptian* at the 40. yeare of his age: and fled into the wilderness, and there abode for leare: all which Circumstances could agree with none, but this *Ramefes*, who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true *Paradox*, then a common error, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthosis* (whose name is found in the list of *Aegyptian* kings, but the time vncertaine wherein he reigned) in a nage 112. or 113. yeares more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his successors from *Themosis* (whom *Eufals* calls *Amasis*) downwards with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betwene *Manetho* and *Euseb*, he findes *Moses* borne vnder *Armesefsimamum*: and *Israel* deliuered in the daies of his sonne *Amenophis*. The verie name of *Alisfragmuthosis* seemes to him with little alteration to found like *Pharates*, of which name one was thought to haue flourished either as 20 a king, or a wife man about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Alisfragmuthosis* to *Phragmuthosis*, *Pharmuthosis*, *Pharatas*, or *Pharates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and industrie: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable workes: yet my allent herein is with-held from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that *Cheneres* was the king who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place *Exod. 4. all are dead &c.* may better be vnderstood of *Busiris* and all his children, then of one king alone: Thirdly, *St. Cyrill* in his first booke against *Julian the Apostata*, saith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120. yeares old: *Ramefes*, which was this *Armesefsimamum*, being then king of *Aegypt*. After *Ramefes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. yeares: who is thought 30 by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the king that perished in the red Sea: of which our opinion beeing already laied open, I thinke it most expedient to referre the kings ensuing to their owne times (which a *Chronolo-* 104
gicall Table shall lay open) and heere to speake of that great de-

liuurance of *Israel* out of *Aegypt*: which for
manie great considerations de-
pending thereupon, we
may not lightly
ouer-passe.

* *



CHAP. III.

Of the delivrie of Israel out of Egypt.

§. I.

10 Of the time of MOSES birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt.



Rue it is that the Historie it selfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of *Moses* his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this, and other great workes of the *Highest*, the different opinions are verie neere as manie, as the men that haue written of that *Argument*.

20 *L. Viner* in his annotations vpon *S^t. Augustine* citeth manie of their coniectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanhoniato*, that *Moses* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: but if he meant the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrarie to all stories Diuine and humane; while that *Semiramis* liued she commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites* or *Moabites* or *Edomites* while she ruled, in *verum natura*.

A second opinion he remembereth of *Apion*, taken from *Ptolomie* a Preist of *Mendes*, who saith that *Moses* was borne while *Inachus* ruled the *Argines*, and *Ameis* in *Egypt*.

30 The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greece Historie* the first booke; that *Moses* was borne while *Apis* the third king ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Assyrius*, who though hee cite some authorities, that *Moses* liued after the *Troian warre*, is himselfe of opinion, that *Moses* was farre more ancient, prouing it by manie arguments.

Fiftly, he setteth downe the testimonie of *Numenius the Philosopher*, who rooke *Musaeus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Aristapaneus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Musaeus*, by the *Graecians*; and who farther deliuereth that he was adopted by *Cheneplus*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Egypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*, others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermuthes*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth that by *Eupolemus* in his first booke de bono, *Moses* vir Deo coniu. *Tifsimus* is called *Musaeus Indaeorum*. *Eusebius* in his *Chronologie*, findes that *Moses* was born while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharao*, which liued at *Moses* birth, *Thumosis* or *Thmosis*: the same perchance which *Apion* the *Grammarians* will haue to be *Ameis*, and elswhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Lysimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* giue the name of *Bacchoris*. To me it seemeth most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus* or *Spherus*, gouerned *Assyria*; *Orthopolis* *Sicionia*; and *Crispus* the *Argines*; that then (*Sesosthis* the second king of *Egypt*) *Moses* was borne. For if we beleue *S^t. Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led Israel out of *Egypt*. Educit MOSES ex Aegypto populum Deionissimo tempore CECROPI Atheniensium regis: MOSES (saith he) led the people of God out of *Egypt*, about the end of *Cecrops* time king of the Athenians. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proued. *S^t. August.* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moses* was borne: *Saphrus* gouerning *Assyria*; and that he left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time.

Now

Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. years; his successor *Mamelus* 30. years; *Sparetus* after him 40. years: in whose fourth year *Cecrops* began to gouern in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41: So as *Moses* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Affrica*, *Orhopolis* *Seyonia*, and *Crius* *Argos* (for these three kings liued at once at his birth, saith *S. Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Aegypt*), it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth year of the *Affrican Saphrus*: for take one year remaining of 20. (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirte yeares of *Mamelus*, and the 40. yeares of *Sparetus*, these make 71. with which there were wasted three yeares of *Cecrops* his 50. yeares: then take nine yeares out of the reigne of *Ascatades*, who was *Sparetus* succellour; those nine yeares added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moses* left *Aegypt*: and adde these nine yeares to the three yeares of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remaine but foure yeares of *Cecrops* his 50: and so it falleth right with *S. Augustines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Aegypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebreues* were oppressed in *Aegypt*, seemeth to haue had beginning some eight or nine year before the birth of *Moses*, and 54. year, or rather more, after *Ioseph*: between whose death and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed 64. yeares: some of which time, and 80. yeares after, they liued in great seruitude and miserie. For as it is written in *Exodus*: They set taskemasters ouer them, to keepe them vnder vish burdeys: and they built the Cities *Pithom* and *Ramases* &c. And by crueltie they caused the children of *Israel* to serue; and made them wearie of their lines, by sore labour in clau and brick, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid vpon them by a mastering power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed: euen from 54. yeares, or not much more after the death of *Ioseph*, who left the World, when it had lasted 2370. yeares, to the eightieth year of *Moses*, and vntill he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zaan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliuer of *Aegypt*, may the better be vnderstood, I thinke it necessarie to speake a few wordes of the principall places therein named, in this discourse.

Exod. 1.

2370.

2514

§. II.

Of diuers Cities and places in *Aegypt*, mentioned in this storie, or elsewhere in the Scripture.



His Citie which the *Hebreues* call *Zaan*, was built seuen yeares after *Hebron*. *Ezechiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and so doth *Hieremie*, the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Iosephus* *Protaidis* after the name of an *Aegyptian* Queene; *Antonius* giues it the name of *Thamis*; *Hegesippus* *Thamna*; and *William Tyrrus*, *Taphus*. It adioineth to the land of *Gosen*, and is the same, where in *Hieremie* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Aegyptian* and *Ierish* idolatrie.

Zaan or *Taphnes* was in *Moses* time the Metropolis of the lower *Aegypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not vnlkely to be the same Citie, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* read *Astronomie* in *Helopolis* or *On*, to *Pharates* King of *Aegypt*. *Alex. Polyhistor* out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwise: saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Aegyptian* Priests, and not the king; both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the *Vulgar* edition, for *Zaan* write *Helopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Iamius*, and our *Englisb* call it *On*; and *Ptolomee* *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Aegypt*, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Pelusion*. And it may

Numb. 33.
Exod. 30.
Hierem. 43. 44
45.
Ioseph. 1. c. 9.
Tyr. de bell. sacro
4. 19. c. 23.

Euseb. de prep.
Euseb. 1. 4. c. 4.
Gen. 12. 15.
Euseb. 1. 9. c. 11.

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it may be that *Heliopolis* to the South of the river *Traian*, was the same which *Patalis*, and our English call *Auen*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certain knowledge: the same which *Pomp. Met.* and *Plinie* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrus* in the *Holies warre*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians* *Bahabeth* and *Samcon Sethi, fons Salis*. Of this *Heliopolis* or *On*, was *Putiphir* Priest, or Prince, whose daughter *Ioseph* married. In the territory adjoining *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Agypt*. In the confines of this Citie, *Omas* the high Priest of the *Jewes* built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God; not much inferiour to that of *Iherusalem* (*Ptolomie Philopater* then governing in *Agypt*) which stood to the time of *Josephian*, 333. yeares after the foundation by *Omas*, whom *Iosephus* falsly reporteth, heerein to haue fulfilled a prophesie of *Esaie*.
 10 *c. 19. In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terre Aegypti. In that day shall the altar of the Lord be in the midst of the land of Agypt.* *Antiochus Epiphaneas* at that time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jewes*, gaue the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Agypt*. Lastly, there it was, that our Saviour *Christ Iesus* remained, while *Ioseph* and the *Virgin Marie* feared the violence of *Herod*: neare which (saith *Brocard*) the fountain is still found, called *Iesus Well*, whose streames doe afterward water the gardens of *Belshammun*, no where else found in *Agypt*. And hereof see more in *Brocard* in his description of *Agypt*.

There is also the Citie of *Noph*, remembered by *Esaie* and *Ezechiel*; the same which *Hosea* the prophet calleth *Moph*; which latter name it tooke from a mountaine adjoining, so called, which mountaine *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great Citie, which was called *Memphtis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is knowne to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Acchabyr*; and *Tudalen*, *Mizraim*.

Pelufium, which *Platinius*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our English write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus Lebna*; is not the same with *Damietta*, as *Gul. Tyrus* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelufium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrus*) *quæ olim dicta est Pelufium*, *Belbeis*, that in times past was called *Pelufium*.

The Citie of *Διο*, the *Septuagint* call *Diopolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Agypt*. *Hierome* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Bubastus, for so *Hierome* and *Ziegler* write it, is the same which the *Hebrews* call *Pibeseth*.

To make the storie more perceivable, I have added a description of the land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zaan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethsemes*, *Balsaphon*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses* passage through the Deserts of *Arabia the Stonie*. For all storie without the knowledge of the places, wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serue to retaine, what we read, in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions do. In which respect I am druen to digresse in many places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man *Arius Montanus*; who in his Preface to the Storie of the *Holies land*, hath these words. *Si enim alij locorum observatione res geste narrentur, aut sine Topographia cognitione historia legantur, adeo confusa atq; perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex his nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit.* If narration (saith he) be made of these things which are performed, without the observation of the places, wherein they were done: or if these stories be read without Topographical knowledge; all things will appeare so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby vnderstand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.

p. III.

Of the crueltie against the *Israelites* yong children in *Ægypt*: and of *Moses* his preservation, and education.

181 182 67-292

4231-007 19/1/16 508

Ver. 16.
Judith. ant. L. 3.
c. 5.
Abul. & Pater.
in Exa.

Ver. 22.

Ioseph. ant. L. 1. c. 5.

Exa. 10. 5.

309 7100 111

BVt to returne to the storie it selfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and flauerie, which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: insomuch as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented poeury, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perilous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Deuill resolved to slaughter all the male children of the *Hebrewes*, as loone as they should be born. To which end he sent for *Joseph* & *Thua*, women the most famous and expert amongst them, *quaesierant*. (saith *Comestor*) *multitudinē obstetricum*, who had command given them ouer all midwives; by whom (as it seemeth) he gaue order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. Forto haue called all the midwives of *Ægypt* together, had bene a strange Parliament. Now whether these two, before named, were of the *Hebrewes*, or of the *Ægyptians*, it is diuerly disputed. *St. Augustine* calls them *Hebrewes*, because it is written *Exodus* the first, *The King of Ægypt commanded the midwives of the Hebrew women &c.* But *Josephus*, *Abulensis*, and *Pereus* beleeue them to be *Ægyptians*. Whosoeuer they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witness both the wickednesse of the *Ægyptians*, and the iust cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and reuenge: *Pharaoh* finding those women filled with pietie, and the feare of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publicly, or howsoeuer, to destitoe all the male *Hebrew* children borne within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrewes*, the greatest part of whom he might haue assured, by assoording them the iustice, which euery king oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might haue employed or sent awaie at his pleasure; *Iosephus* giueth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically deliuered him by an *Ægyptian* Priest, that among the *Hebrewes* there should bee borne a child; who growing to mans estate should become a plague and terror to his whole Nation. To preuent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a mean, contrarie to the lawes of Heaven and of nature) he stretched out his bloudie and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same preuention *Herod* long after practised, when fearing the spirituall kingdom of *Christ*, as if it should haue bene temporall, he caused all the male children at that time borne to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the fifth of *Exodus*. Come, let vs wake wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to passe, that if there bee warre, they iaine themselves also into our enemies, and fight against vs, and get them out of the Land. But wee see, and time hath told it vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they relye on the inuentions of their owne most feeble; and altogether darkened vnderstanding. For euen by the hands of the dearely beloved daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and minister of Gods meruailous workes taken out of *Nilus*, being therein turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a sucking and powerlesse infant. And this Princeesse hauing beheld the child his forme and beautie, though but yet in the blouth, so perced her compassion, as she did not only preferue it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should bee esteemed as her owne, and with equall care to the sonne of a King nourished. And for memorie that it was her deede, shee called the child *Moses*, as it were, *extractus*, or *creptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the water: or, after *Iosephus* and *Glycus*, *Moy*, a voice exprelling water, and *hise*, as much to say, as that

that which is drawne out of water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of *Siron*. his opinion, that *Moses* was circumcised, before he was put into the Arke of *Reedes*, and that *Amram*, his father, had named him *Isachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care and at the charge of *Pharaohs* daughter, and by men of the moit understanding taught and instructed: quem regio more elucuit, præfectus ex sapientibus *Aegyptiorum* Magistris, à quibus eruditus, fuit *BASIL*; Into whom *hee* gave Prince-
lie education, appointing over him wife Masters of the *Aegyptians* for his instructors. Thereby (say *Iosephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine
10 of the *Aegyptians*; which also the *Martyr Stephen* in the Iewenth of the *Aits* confir-
meth. And *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the *Aegyptians*. Which wise-
dome or sapience, such as it was, or at leſt so much thereof as *Six. Seneca* hath ga-
thered, we have added, betwene the death of *Moses*, and the raigne of *Iosua*.

§. IIII.

Of *Moses* his flying out of *Aegypt*; and the opinions of certaine ancient Historians of
his warre in *Ethiopia*; and of his marriage there: *Philo* his judgement
of his Pastorall life: and that of *Praerius* of the bookes of

GENESIS and Ios.

10 **W**hen *Moses* was growne to mans estate, *Iosephus*, and *Eusebius*, out of
Artapanus tell vs of ten years warre that he made against the *Ethio-
pians*: of the besieging of *Saba*, afterward by *Cambyses* called *Meroe*;
and how he recovered that Citie by the fauour of *Tharbis*, a Daugh-
ter of *Ethiopia*, whom he tooke to wife. So hath *Comenius* a pretie
tale of *Moses*. How after the end of that warre, *Tharbis* resisting his returne into
Aegypt, *Moses*, most skilfull in *Astronomie*, caused two Images to be engrauen in two
previous stones: whereof the one encreased memorie; the other caused forgetful-
nesse. These he set in two rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of obliuion,
30 to his wife *Tharbis*, reseruing the other of memorie for himselfe: which ring of for-
getfulness, after shee had awhile worn, shee beganne to neglect the loue shee bare
her husband: and so *Moses* without danger returned into *Aegypt*. But leauing these
fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. year of *Moses* age,
when he beheld an *Aegyptian* offering violence to one of the oppressed *Hebreues*,
moued by compassion in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against
the other, in the contention he slew the *Aegyptian*. Soone after which act, finding
a disposition in some of his owne Nation to accuse him, for whose defence hee had
thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and aduise of God, whose
chosen seruant hee was, hee fled into *Arabia Petraea*, the next bordering Countrie to
40 *Aegypt*; where wandring all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place vnkno-
wnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times were
the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hebreues*: it pleased God (working the greatest
things by the weakest worldlie means) to make the watering of a few sheepe, and
the alighting of the Daughters of *Raguel* the *Midianite*, an occasion whereby to pro-
vide him a wife of one of those, and a father in law, that fed him, and sustained him
in a Countrie nearest *Aegypt*; fittest to returne from: necessarie to bee knowne, be-
cause interiacent betwene *Aegypt* and *Iudea*, through which he was to leade the
Israelites; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented, best
serued. And lastly, where the glorie of the world shined least, amidst mountainous
50 Deserts, there the glorie of God, which shineth most, couered him ouer, and appea-
red into him, not finding him as a Kings sonne, or an adopted child of great *Pha-
raohs* daughter, but as a meeke and humble sheepe-herd, sitting at a mountaine
foote; a keeper and commander of those poore beasts only.

In that part of *Arabia*, neare *Midian*, he consumed 40. years. And though (as
Philo

changing the Rivers into blood: God punishing them by those waters, into which their forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrewes*. To which this place of the Revelation may be fitly applied: *And I heard the Angel of the waters say, Lord, thou art iust, which art, and which wast: and holy, because thou hast iudged these things; for they shed the blood of the Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou given them blood to drink.*

The rest of the plagues by Frogs, Lice, Flies, or stinging Wasps; by the death of their Cattle; by leprous scabbies; by haile and fire; by Grasshoppers; by darkness; after which *Pharaoh* forbade *Moses* his presence: moued the hardened heart of the vnbeleuing King no longer, then the paine and perill lasted, till such time as his owne first-borne, and the first-borne of all his Nation perished. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce) stood vpon no condition: whereas before, hee first yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reseruing their bestiall; but hee was now content for the present, that the *Israelites* should not only depart with all their owne, but with a part of the silver, gold, and jewels of his owne people: of which (the feare being past) he suddainly repented him, as his pursuit after them proued. For when eury one of the *Hebrewes* had (according to direction from *Moses* received) slaine a Lambe, without spot or blemish, for the *Passouer*, (a Sacrament of the most cleane and vnspotted Saviour) and with the blood thereof coloured the poste and linterne of the dores; the Angell of God in the dead of the night smote eury first-borne of *Egypt*, from the sonne of the King, to that of the begger and slaue: the children of the *Israelites* excepted. At which terrible iudgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more then euer amazed, yielded, as before is said, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (saith *Epiphanius*) did in after times imitate this colouring with blood, which the *Israelites* vsed after the *Passouer*; ascribing an exceeding vertue to the red colour: and therefore they did not only marke their sheepe and cattell, but their trees bearing fruit, to preserve them from lightning and other harmes.

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§. V.

OF PHARAOHS pursuit of the *Israelites*: and of their passage towards the red Sea, so farre as Succoth.

NOW, when the people were removed; and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God) hee bethought him allwell of the honour lost, as of the shame remaining after so many calamities and plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoiles of his people, and in despight of himselfe. And hauing before this time great companies of souldiers in readinesse, hee consulted with himselfe, what way the *Israelites* were like to take. He knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Countrey of the *Philistines*. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike Nation, and in all probability of his Allies, hee suspected that *Moses* meant to hide some other outlet, to wit, through the Desert of *Ethiopia*; and there, because the Countrey was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access; and that *Moses* was pestered with multitudes of women, children, and entrails, he thought it impossible for the *Israelites* to cleare him that way. In the meane while hauing gathered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines over them; he determined to set vpon them in the plaines of *Gosen*, which way sooner they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with brode and sharpe hookes on both sides, in fullion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Brittaines* vsed against the *Romans*, while they made the Warre for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Armie of *Pharaoh*, *Iosephus* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Inf. ant. l. 2. c. 6.

Z

horse,

c. 16. v. 6

Epiphanius lib. 2. c. 6. c. 1. c. 2.

End. 1. 4. v. 7.

Exod. 14. 7.

horse, and 20000. foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that Pharaoh intended long before to assaile the *Hebrewes*: at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an armie, to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, hee doubted two things, either that the *Hebrewes* might ioyne themselves to his enemies within the Land, or being so multiplied, as they were, might leaue his seruice, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforst him at this time to give an assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Iosephus* partiall in this affaire, yet by the wordes of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*: which could not be done in haile. For *Moses* made but three daies march, ere Pharaoh was at his heeles; and yet the last day he went on sixteen miles: which, in so hot a Countrey, and to drie their cattell and sheepe with them, pestered with a world of women and children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull enemy at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew, that he went out with a mightie hand, and that God guided his vnderstanding in all his enterprises: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for helpe, but v-
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When *Moses* perceived that Pharaoh was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after hee had warned *Israel* of the *Passouer*, he appointed a generall Asseembly or *Rende-vous* of all the *Hebrewes* at *Ramses*, in the Territorie of *Gosen*; a Citie standing indifferent to relieue from all others parts of the Countrey the dispersed *Hebrewes*: and gaue commandement, that every familie should bring with them such store as they had of Dow and Paste, not taying to make it into bread: knowing then that Pharaoh was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and hauing considered the great strength of Pharaohs Horse-men and Chariots, of which kinde of defence *Moses* was vtterly vn-
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provided (though as it is written, the *Israelites* went vp armed) hee marched from *Ramses* Eastward, towards the Deserts of *Etham*, and incamped at *Succoth*; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Abib*. Which Moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account, as the first Moneth of the year. Whether in former times they had been accustomed to beginne their year in some other Moneth, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moses* to the rule of their forefathers, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politike year, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in vse. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, vnto the beginning, middest, or ending of the year; that distinction of the Sacred, and the Politike yare is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of daies in every Moneth, and the whole forme of their year, like enough it is that *Moses* himselfe in foure yeares space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust: but that any rule of framing their Kalendar, was made publike, before the captiuitie of *Babylon*, I doe not finde. Now because time and motion beginne together, it will not, I thinke, be any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the forme of the *Hebrew* year: with the difference betwene them and other Nations, in ordering the account of time.

The territorie
 of *Gosen* was af-
 terward called
Ramses, after
 the name of
 this Citie, as
 appeareth in
Genes. 47. &
Numb. 33.
Exod. 13.

Exod. 23. v. 16.
 & 34. v. 22.

§. VI.

of the Solarie and Lunarie yeares: and how they are reconciled: with the forme
of the Hebrew yeare, and their manner of
intercalation.

The Hebrew Moneths are thus named.

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| The first Moneth, <i>Nisan</i> , or <i>Abib</i> . | 1. <i>March</i> . |
| The second, <i>Iar</i> , or <i>Tiar</i> , <i>Zio</i> , or <i>Zin</i> . | 2. <i>April</i> . |
| 10 The third, <i>Sivan</i> , or <i>Siman</i> , or <i>Siban</i> . | 3. <i>May</i> . |
| The fourth, <i>Tamuz</i> . | 4. <i>June</i> . |
| The fifth, <i>Ab</i> . | 5. <i>July</i> . |
| The sixth, <i>Elul</i> . | 6. <i>August</i> . |
| The seventh, <i>Tysri</i> , or <i>Ethauin</i> , or <i>Ethanin</i> . | 7. <i>September</i> . |
| The eighth, <i>Marchesuan</i> , or <i>Mechasuan</i> , or <i>Iul</i> , or, with <i>Ioseph</i> , <i>Marfonane</i> . | 8. <i>October</i> . |
| The ninth, <i>Chisleu</i> , or <i>Casten</i> . | 9. <i>November</i> . |
| The tenth, <i>Tebeth</i> , or <i>Thobeth</i> . | 10. <i>December</i> . |
| The eleventh, <i>Sebeth</i> , or <i>Sabath</i> . | 11. <i>January</i> . |
| The twelfth, <i>Adar</i> , and <i>Pe Adar</i> . | 12. <i>February</i> . |

The *Adar* was an intercalarie Moneth, added, some yeares, vnto the other twelue, to make the Solarie and Lunarie yeares agree; which (besides the generall inconuenience that would otherwise haue risen, by casting the Moneths of Sommer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to bee regarded of the Hebrews, because of the diuine precept. For God appointed especial Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a Moneth of the yeare, and withall on a set day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feast of the first fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not haue so bene kept, if either the day of the Moone had fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it selfe bene found farre distant from his place in the season of the yeare.

Other Nations, the better to obserue their solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commoditie of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driuen in like manner to make their yeares vnequall, by adding sometimes, and sometimes abating one or more daies, as the error committed in foregoing yeares required. The error grew at first, by not knowing what number of daies made vp a compleat yeare. For though by the continuall course of the Sunne, causing Sommer and Winter duly to succcede each other, it is plaine enough euen to the most savage of all people, when a yeare hath passed ouer them; yet the necessitie of ordinarie occurrences, that are to be numbered by a shorter talie, makes this long measure of whole yeares insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affaires. Therefore men obserued the monethly conspicuous reuolution of the Moone, by which they diuided the yeare into twelue parts, subdividing the Moneth into 29. daies and nights, and those againe into their quarters and houres. But as the markes of time are sensible and easily discerned: so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexitie in the vnderstanding. Twelue reuolutions of the Moone, containing lesse time by eleuen daies or therabouts, than the yearlie course of the Sunne, through the Zodiack, in the space of sixteene yeares, euery Moneth was found in the quite contrarie part of the yeare, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some daies to the yeare, making it to consist of twelue Moneths, and as many daies more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sunne and Moone to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sunne determine his yearlie reuolution by any set number of whole daies; neither did the Moone change

Plin. l. 34. c. 6.

change alwaies at one houre; but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to be obserued by him, that would seeke to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certaine rule. Here lay much wisdom and deepe art, which could not soone be brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at random, the *Athenians* held the year to containe 360. daies, wherein most of the *Greekes* concurred with them. That 360. daies filled vp the *Græcian* year (besides many collateral proofes) it is manifest by that which *Plinie* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of *Demetrius Phalerus*, which were (saith he) 360. whilst as yet the year exceeded not that number of daies. By this account neither did any certaine age of the Moone beginne or end their Moneths, neither could their Moneths continue many yeares, in their owne places: but must needs be shifted by little and little, from Winter to Sommer, and from Sommer to Winter, as the daies forgotten, to be inserted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupie their owne roomes in their due turnes. Now, because the solemnitie of the *olympian* games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth *Eleatombæon* (which answereth in a manner to our *June*;) they were careful to take order, that this moneth might euer beginne with the new Moone; which they effected by adding some two daies to the last moneth of every year: those games being held once in four yeares. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter euen; which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the second of the moneth *Badromian*; (agreeing nearely with our *August*;) sometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to insert another for it into the fourth *Lunatic* year, accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their moneth of *June* would every year haue growne colder and colder, had they not sought to keepe all vp right, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth year one whole moneth, which they called the second *Posideon*, or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who also taught them to make one moneth of 29. daies, another of 30. and so successfull through the whole year. Thus with much labour they kept their year as neare as they could, vnto the high way of the *Planets*; but these marks which they obserued, were found at length to be deceitfull guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth yeares intercalation, that it should not deceiue them in 11. houres and 18. minutes at the least, or some waies in 24. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few ages, haue bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good methode, likely to continue, was *Meton the Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth yeares intercalation, deuised a Cycle of 19. yeares, wherein the Moone hauing 235. times runne her circuit, met with the Sunne in the same place, and on the same day of the yeare, as in the 19. yeare before past shee had done. This inuention of *Meton* was entertained with great applause, and passing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inserted into the Kalendar in golden letters, being called the golden number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were auoided the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had bene vsed; for by the intercalation of 7. months in the 19. yeares, all was so euen, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that error which in one yeare could not be perceiued, was very apparent in a few of those Cycles; the new Moones anticipating in one Cycle 7. houres, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* deuised a new Cycle containing foure of *Metons*, that is to say, 76. yeares; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a noble *Astronomer*, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding some error in the former obseruations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Julius Cesar* made, who by aduise of the best *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courses of those heauenlie bodies, reduced the yeare vnto the forme which is now in vse with vs, containing 365. daies and fixe houres, which houres in four yeares make

upon one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year; the 24. of Februarie. The correction of the *Julian* year by *Pope Gregorie* the 13. *Anna Domin.* 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall consent; it was indeede, but as a note added vnto the worke of *Cæsar*: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obserued, that the Sunne, which at the time of the *Nicene Councell*, *Anna Dom.* 324. entred the *Equinoctiall* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the year 1582. ten daies sooner found in that time, *Pope Gregorie* brooke out of the *Kalendar* ten daies, following the fourth of *October*, so that in steade of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which meanes the moueable Feasts depending on the Sunnes entrance into *Aries*, were againe celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene Councell* they had bene. And the better to preuent the like alterations, it was by the *Councell of Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in every hundreth year, the leape day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred: because the Sunne doth not in his yeardlie course take vp full fixe houres aboue the 365. daies; but faileth so many minutes, as in 400. yeares make about 3. whole daies.

But the Cycle of 19. yeares, which the *Hebrewes* vsed, was such as neither did neede any nice curiositie of houres, minutes, and other lesse fractions to helpe it; neither did in summing vp the daies of the whole year, neglect the daies of the Moone, confounding one Month with another. For with them it fell out so, that alwaies the *Kalends* or first day of the month was at the new Moone, and because that day was festiuall, they were very carefull awell to obserue the short year of the Moone, passing through all the 12. signes in one month, as that longer of the Sunne, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gaue to *Nisan* their first month, which is about our *March* or *Aprill*, 30. daies; to *Iar* their second month 29. daies; and so successiue 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to passe, that eury two moneths of theirs contained somewhat euenly two revolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. daies, 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bellowed among the superfluous or Epact daies, which made vp 7. moneths in 19. yeares; to 6. of which 7. were commonly giuen 30. daies; to one of them 29. daies, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common year (as appeareth by the severall daies of each month) contained 354. daies, which faile of the year, wherein the Sunne finisheth his course, 11. whole daies, with some fractions of time. But these daies, and other broken peeces, howsoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the Cycle of 19. yeares were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of that Cycle, both the Sunne and Moone were found on the same day of the year, month and weeke, yea commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had bene at the beginning of it 19. yeares before.

Diuers haue diuersly set downe the forme of the Hebrew year, with the manner of their intercalations. *Siganus* tells vs, that eury second year they did adde a month of 22. daies, eury fourth year a month of 23. in the regard of 11. daies and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a year of the Sunne. But herein *Siganus* was very much deceived. For the Moone doth neuer finish her course in 12. or 23. daies: and therefore to haue added so many daies to the end of the year, had been the way to change the fashion of all the months in the yeares following, which could not haue begonne as they ought, with the new Moone. *Genebrard* saith, that eury third year, or second year, as neede required, they did intercalate one month, adding it at the yeares end vnto the other 12. This I beleue to haue been true; but in which of the yeares the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) me thinks they do not probably deliuer, who keepe all faure from euennesse vntill the very last of the 19. yeares. For (to omit such as erre grossly) some there are who say, that after three yeares, when belides the daies spent in 36. courses of the Moone, 33. daies are left remaining, that is, 11. daies of each year; then did the *Hebrewes* adde a month of 30. daies; keeping three daies, as it were in plussage

quo respondet
hora ista



vnto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixt year; at which time, besides the intercalarie moneth, remained fixe daies, namely three summounting that moneth, and the Epact of three yeares, besides the three formerly referred. Thus they goe on to the 18. year; at which time they haue 18. daies in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19. yeare make vp a moneth of 29. daies, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle* makes all euen.

Whether this were the practise, I can neither affirme nor denie; yet surely it must needes haue bred a great confusion, if in the 18. yeare euery moneth were remoued from his owne place by the distance of 48. daies, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeare and more; which inconuenience by such a reckoning was vnauoidable. Wherefore, I preferre the common opinion, which prouenteth such dislocation of the moneths, by setting downe a more conuenient way of intercalation in the 8. yeare. For the 6. daies remaining after the 2. former intercalations made in the 2^d and 6th yeares, added vnto the 22. daies, arising out of the Epacts of the 7th and 8th yeares, doe fildy serue to make vp a moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeare following; and this borrowing of two daies is so farre from causing any disorder, that indeede it helps to make the yeares ensuing varie the lesse from the proper season of euery moneth. This may suffice to bee spoken of the Hebrew Moneths and Yeares, by which they guided their accompts.

ð. VII.

Of the passage of ISRAEL from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the diuers waies leading out of Ægypt.

In the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the Desert of *Etham*, to recouer the mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wildernesse, though he intended nothing lesse then to goe out that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of Horsemen and armed Chariots, that followed him, he kept himselfe from being compassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he rested but one night, and then he reflected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance betwene it and *Succoth* being about eight mile. That he forbore to enter *Arabia* being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceede from three respects; the first two naturall; the third diuine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and hauing receiued intelligence of the way which *Moses* tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of aboute a Million, if not two millions of foules, (for as it is written *Exod.* the 12. *Great multitudes of sundrie sorts of people went out with them*) could not possibly passe ouer those desert and high mountaines with so great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that faultnesse he should haue ouer-taken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his owne wordes. *They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse hath shut them in*, doe shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses* by turning another way did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the East side of the land of *Gosen*, or *Ramefes*: from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoever, yet while the *Hebrewes* kept the mountainie foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the horse and chariots. Thirdly, *Moses* confidence in the all-powerfull God was such, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leaue the glorie of his deliuerance and victorie to almightie God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000. men, to cast the successe vpon his owne vnderstanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day

It is probable that all those Ægyptians & others brought by the Hebrews to the knowledge of the true God, followed *Moses* as his departure.

day he marched with a double pace from *Eithan* towards the Valley of *Pihacherath*, 16. mile distant; and fate downe betwene two ledges of mountaines adioyning to the *Red Sea*; to wit, the mountaines of *Eithan* on the North, and *Balzephon* towards the South: the same which *Isotius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phaguen* noteth, the word is compounded, as is much to say, as *Dominus specula, sine custodia*, Lord of the watch tower. For the *Aegyptians* beleueed, or at least made their slaues beleuee, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this *Idoll* would both arrest them, and force them to returne to their Lords and Masters. For the *Aegyptians* had Gods for all turnes.

climax is rather so called in respect of a passage up and downe, than that it is any proper name.

10 *Aegyptij Dys sacundi; The Aegyptians were fruitful in Gods*, saith *S. Hierome*. But *Moses* who incamped at the foot of this mountaine with a million of soules, or as other conceiue, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-tower alleepe, or out of countenance.

85

Now these two passages leading out of *Aegypt* into *Arabia* vpon the firme land *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Calosis*, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Judas*, as the other by *Eithan*; from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and tooke the way by the valley of *Pihacherath*, between the mountaines, which made a straight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speede with his horsemen and chariots, as hee gaue the *He-*

Exod. 13. v. 17.

10 *brevet* no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gat sight of them, and they of him, euen at the very brinke and wath of the Sea: inlomuch as the *Hebrevs* being terrified with *Pharaohs* sudden approach beganne to despaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them most to haue taken courage for their owne defence; laying it to *Moses* charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And here, which, saith the booke of *Wisdom*, is the betraying of those succours which *red sea* offereth, made them both despaire in Gods former promises, and to be forgetfull of their owne strength and multitudes.

C. 17. 114

30 **3. VIII.**

Of their passage out, the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it selfe.



Vt Moses who feared nothing but God himselfe, perswaded them to be confident in his goodncie, who hath neuer abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him; vning this comfortable and resolued speech.

Feare not, &c. for the Aegyptians whom ye haue seene this day, ye shall neuer see them againe. The Lord shall fight for you. After which *Mo-*

Exod. 14. v. 13.

se calling on God for succour, receiued encouragement, and commandement to goe on, in these wordes. *Wherefore grieft thou vnto me: speake vnto the children of Israel that they goe forward, and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it, and let the children of Israel goe on drie ground through the midst of the Sea.* *Moses* obeying the voice of God, in the darke of the night finding the sands vncouered, past on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being spent ere hee entered the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Easterne winde, and by *Moses* rod to prepare.

Exod. 14. v. 16

Pharaoh followed him euen at the heeles, finding the same drie ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore, as it is written, *The Angel of God which went before the Host of Israel, remoued, and went behinde them: also the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behinde them*; which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministerie of his Angell, to interpose his defence between the *Hebrevs* and their enemies: so to the end that the *Aegyptians* might hereby be blinded, in such sort, as they could not pursue *Israel* with any harmefull speed. But in the morning watch *Moses* leised the other banke of *Arabia* side: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawne of day beganne to lighten the obscure aire) finding a beginning of the

Exod. 14. v. 17

Exod. 14. v. 18

Seas



Exod. 14. v. 27. Seas returne, halted himself: towards his owne coast: but MOSES stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force, that is; the Sea moved by the power of God, ranne backe towards the land with vnriftable furie and swiftnesse, and overwhelmed the whole Armie of Pharaoh, so as not one escaped. For it is written, that God tooke off their Chariot wheeles, that is; when the waters began to couer the lands, the Egyptians being stricken with feare of death, ranne one thwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the Hebrewes, their wheeles stuck fast in the mudd and quick-sands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with supernaturall violence.

Lyranus vpon Exod. 14. and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of 10 the Hebrewes, conceived, that after Moses had by the power of God diuided the Red Sea, and that the children of Israel were fearefull to enter it, Aminadab Prince or Leader of the Tribe of Iuda first made the aduenture, and that therefore was that Tribe euer after honoured aboue the rest, according to the prophetic of Iacob, Gen. 49. 8. Thy fathers Iannes shall bow downe vnto thee. But Hierome vpon the 11. of Hosee condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that Iuda had the first place in all their marches in the Desert, and, as we now call it, led the Vanguard; (whereupon it may bee inferred, that hee also led the way through the Red Sea) yet that Moses himselfe was the conductor of Israel at that time, it is generally receiued. For, as it is written in the 77. Psalme; Thou didst lead thy people like sleepe by the hand of 20 MOSES AND AARON.

The Hebrewes haue also another fancie, that the Red Sea was diuided into 12. parts, and that euery Tribe past ouer in a path apart, becaue it is written in the 135. Psalme, according to the Vulgar, *Disiit mare rubrum in diuisiones*; Hee diuided the Red Sea in diuisions. Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a Greene field or pasture. But Origen, Epiphanius, Abulenſis, and Genebrard, fauouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not 12. pillars, nor 12. armies of the Egyptians. It is written in the 77. Psalme, v. 16. Thy way is in the Sea; not thy waies; and in the last of the booke of Wisdom, v. 7. In the Red Sea there was a way.

Now this Sea, through which Moses past, and in which Pharaoh, otherwise called 30 Chenchres, perished in the 16. years of his raigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the Red Sea; though the same differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as Philostratus in his third booke noeth, and our selues know by experience, it is of a blewish colour, as other Seas are. It entreteth at a narrow strait betwene Arabia the Happie and Ethiopia, or the land of the Abyssins: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which Ptolome calleth *Possodium*, to the other land of Ethiopia, hath not about lix leagues in breadth: and the same also filled euery where with Islands, but afterwards it extendeth it selfe 58. leagues from coast to coast: and it runneth vp betwene Arabia the Happie, and Arabia Petraea, on one side, and Ethiopia and Egypt on the other, as farr as Sues, the vttermoſt end and indraught of that Sea: where the Turke now keepeth his flecte of Gallies. The Cosmographers commonly giue it the name of the Arabian Gulfe: but the North part towards Sues, and where Moses past, is called *Heropolites* of the Citie Hero, sometime 40 Troy: and of later times Sues. Plinie calls it *Cambisu*, by which name it was knowne, saith he, before it was called Hero many yeares. The Arabians call this Sea towards the North, *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. Artemidorus writes it *Eleniticum*: King Iuba Laniiticum: others more properly *Eleniticum*, of the Port and Citie Elana: which the Septuagint call *Elath*: Ptolome *Elana*: Plinie *Lana*: Iosephus *Ilana*: and Marius Niger *Aila*: there is also *Ilalab* in Assyria, to which Salomaneſſer carried the Israelites captiue Kings 2. c. 8. 11. which *Ilalab* in Assyria, the Septuagint call *Elas*: and in the first of Chron. the 5. Aila. But as for this Red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diuerly named, the Moores and Arabians (Vassals to the Turke) know it by no other appellation, 50 then the Gulfe of Mecca, after the name of Mahomet's Towne Mecca. The Greekes write it the Sea *Erythraum*: of a King called *Erythraus*, or *Erythraus*: and becaue *Erythraus*

plal. 120

Plin. l. 6. c. 39.

§. K. 9.

Isid. l. 8. c. 2.

40

50

but Moses stretched forth
his hand, and moved by the power of
God and his staff, and over-
whelmed. For it is written, that
he began to cover the founts,
and he whirled another, and
they, their wheels fluted
one out: the Sea coming

ions or old Traditions of
God divided the Red
Sea, Ammadah Prince of
that therefore was the
prophecy of Jacob, Gen.
thence vpon the 11. th
Inda had the first place
the Vanguard; (where-
in the Red Sea) yet that
generally received. For,
like sleep by the hand of 20

was divided into 12.
it is written in the 13.
; the divided the Red
as a green field or pas-
sage this conceit, had
armies of the Egyp-
tians; not thy wits; and
there was a way.

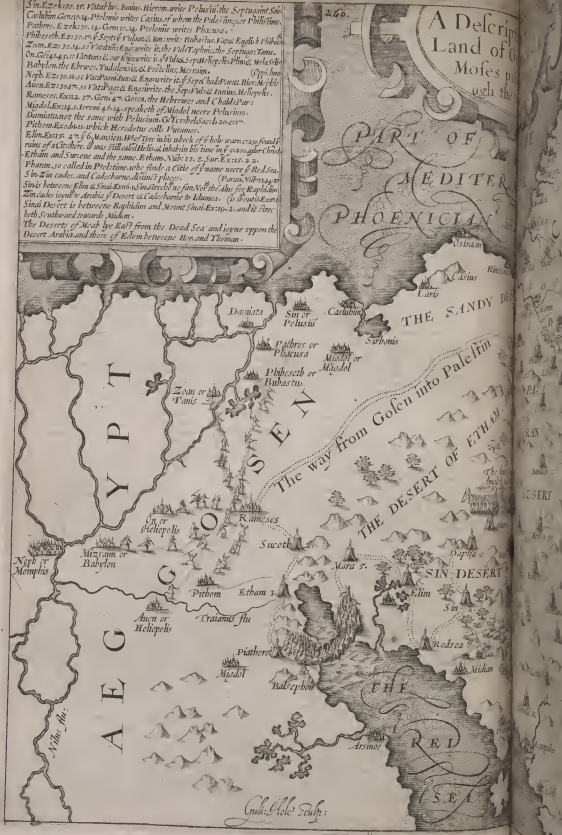
harab, otherwise call-
ed, commonly known by the
in naturall colour from
and our selves know by
reth at a narrow stre-
the Abyss: the mouth
am, to the other land
same also filled every
cavities from coast to
the Straits on one side,
the uttermost end and in-
of Gallies. The Cy-
out the North port co-
the Hara, sometime
name it was knowne
call this Sea towards
the East: King Ju-
the Elam, which the
and the Arabian Sea
and the Straits called
the Red Sea: and in the full of
thus diversely named,
no other speell was
the Mea. The Gre-
sea: and because of
the



See Ezekiel 37. 16. Vatablus Junius Hieronymus Philastrius Septuaginta
Cassiodorus Genesis 14. Ptolemy writes Cacus. of whom the Jude. 5. 10. 11. Philistines.
Pachres. E. 26. 37. 16. Gen. 15. 14. Ptolemy writes Phacusa.
Phobereh. E. 27. 37. 16. Sept. Phobereh. Gen. 15. 14. Ptolemy writes Phobereh. 16. 37. 16.
Zim. E. 27. 37. 16. 17. Ptolemy writes in the Vulgate. the Septuagint. Tana.
On Gen. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

A Description
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thros in the *Greece* significth red, hence it is, that, being denominatd of this *Erythraeus*, the sonne of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, yet it tooke the name of the red Sea, as *Quint. Curtius* coniectureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirme. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discourse of that Sea in the yeare 1544. performed by *Steuens Gama*, *Viceroy* of the East *India* for the King of *Portugall*, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of rednesse, both from the banks, cliffs, and sands of many Ilands, and part of the *Continent* bordering it. For I finde by the report of *Custro*, a principall commander vnder *Gama* (which discourse I gaue *Mr. Richard Hakluyt* to publish) that there is an Iland called *Dalagua*, sometime *Leques*, containing in length 25 leagues, and 12. in breadth; the earth, sands, and cliffs, of which Iland, being of a reddish colour, serue for a soile to the waters about it: and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Custro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrional* latitude, to 27 (which make in length of coast 180. mile, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the cliffs and banks are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the Sunne beames, giue a kinde of reddish lustre to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corall growes, which is carried into most parts of *Europe*, and elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red trees, saith *Strabo*, and those growing vnder water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of rednesse by the shadowes of these stones, sands, earth, and cliffs, I suppose that it first tooke the name of the red Sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which *Iohannes Barro* in his second Decade, eight Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana*, or *Ezion Gaber* adioyning, now *Toro*, called by the ancient *Cosmographers* *Sinus Eilatensis*, which walseth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. leagues together, along Northward towards *Suez*, some three leagues or nine English mile ouer, and from this Port of *Toro*, to *Suez*, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. leagues, of which the first 26. haue nine miles breadth: as aforesaid, and afterward the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the Sea, and straiten it so fast, as for sixe miles together it is not about three mile ouer; from thence vppward the land on *Egypt* side, falleth away and makes a kinde of Bay or Cune for some ten miles together, after which the land grows vpon the Sea againe, and so binds it into the very end thereof; at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moses* past it ouer, though others would haue it to be ouer against *Elana* or *Toro*; but without iudgement: for from *Ramases* to *Pihacheroth* and *Baalzepon*, there is not about 30. miles interjaient, or 35. miles at most, which *Moses* past ouer in three daies: and betwene the land of *Egypt* oppositeto *Elana* or *Toro*, the distance is about 80. miles. For *Ramases* to which Citie *Moses* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Gosen*) when he left *Pharao* at *Zaan*, and tooke his last leaue, standeth in 30. degrees five minutes of *Septentrional* Latitude: and *Middoll*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foote of the mountaine *Cinmax*, or *Baalzepon*, in nine and twentie and a halfe, which made a difference of siue and thirte English mile: the way lying in effect North and South.

Arian. de geogr. Alexand. l. 8. Strab. l. 6.

§. IX.

That the passage through the red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebbe.

ob.

pl.

THe *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen Writers*, who in hatred of the *Hebrewes* haue objected that *Moses* past ouer the red Sea at a low ebbe, vpon a great spring-tide, and that *Pharao* conducted more by furie then discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recouer the coast of *Egypt*, he was ouertaken by the flood and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances, For not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the waters were diuided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand and rod of *Moses* (which authoritie to men that beleue not therein periwadeth nothing) I say that by the same naturall reason vnto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there beene no other working power from aboue or assistance giuen from God himselfe to *Moses*, and the children of *Israel* than ordinarie and casuall, then could not *Pharao* and all his armie haue perished in that pursuit.

For where soeuer there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulfe, or indraught, there doe the waters fall away from the land: and runne downward towards the Ocean: leauing all that part towards the land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to bee drie land. Now *Moses* entering the Sea at *Migdal* vnder *Balscephen* (if hee had taken the aduantage and opportunitie of the tyde) must haue left all that end of the red Sea towards *Sues*, on his left hand drie and vncouered. For if a passage were made by filling away of the water, ten or twelue mile farther into the Sea then *Sues*, much more was it made at *Sues*, and betweene it and where *Moses* past: who entered the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea. It followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleue or Strait, had beene by the ebbe of a spring-tide discovered, when *Pharao* found the flood increasing, he needed not to haue returned by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might haue gone on in his returne before the tide, on his right hand: and so taken ground againe at the end of that sea, at *Sues* it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures doe truly witness the contrarie, that is, That the sea did not fall away from the land, as naturally it doth; but that *Moses* past on betweene two seas: and that the waters were diuided. Otherwise, *Pharao* by any returne of waters could not haue perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armes destruction, proue the cause to haue beene a power aboue nature, and the miraculous worke of God himselfe. Again, those words of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to runne backe by a strong east-winde, doe rather proue the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebbe more then ordinarie: for that sea doth not lie East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must haue beene a West and North-west winde, that must haue driuen those waters away through their proper channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East-winde blew athwart the sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell backe towards the South, and maine body thereof: the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the North. Which being vnknowne to *Pharao*: while he was cheeke by that sea, which vsed in all times before to ebbe away: the flood prest him and ouerwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing *Ioseph* his auoweth, that *Moses* was not only of excellent iudgement generally, but also to great a Capitaine, as he ouerthrew the *Ethiopians* in many battels, being imploied by *Pharao*, and wan diuers Cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this grossenesse, and distraction: that rather then he would haue endured the hardnesse of a mountainous passage at hand, (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which hee would there winne vpon *Pharao*) he would haue trusted to the aduantage of an ebbing water.

For

For hee knew not the contrarie, but that *Pharao* might haue found him, and preſt him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it ſeemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharao* approach, cried out againſt *Mofes*, and deſpaired altogether of their ſaſſette: and when *Mofes* praied vnto God for helpe, he was answered by God: *Wherefore criſt thou vnto me: ſpeake vnto the children of Iſrael that they goe forward, and liſt thou vp thy rod, and ſtretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuident: which proues that there was not at the time of Pharao's approach any ebbe at all; but that God did diſperſe and cut through the weight of waters, by a ſtrong Eaſt-winde, whereby the ſands diſcouered themſelues betwene the ſea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the waters moued not, and the ſea which was towards the South on the right hand, ſo that the waters were a wall vnto them on the right hand, and on the left hand, that is, the waters fo defended them on both ſides, as the *Egyptians* could only follow them in the ſame path; nor that the waters ſtood vpright as walls doe, as ſome of the *Schoolemen* haue fancied. For had *Pharao* and the *Egyptians* perceived any ſuch buildings in the ſea, they would ſoone haue quitted the chace and purſuit of *Iſrael*. Furthermore, there is no man of iudgement, that can thinke, that *Pharao* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the obſervations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and refluxes of the ſea, in his owne Countrey, on his owne coaſt, and in his owne moſt traded and frequented Ports and Hauens, and wherein his people hauing had ſo many hundreds of yeares experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknowne or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand only; which then falleth moſt heavily on all men, when looking through no other ſpectacle but their owne proſperitie, they leaſt diſcerne it comming, and leaſt feare it. Laſtly, if the Armie of the *Egyptians* had bene ouertaken by the ordinarie retume of the flood, before they could recouer their owne coaſt; their bodies drowned would haue bene carried with the flood which runneth vp to *Sues*, and to the end of that ſea, and not haue bene caſt aſhore on that coaſt of *Arabia* where *Mofes* landed, to wit, vpon the ſea-banke ouer againſt *Beaſcephon*, on *Arabia* ſide: where it was that the *Iſraelites* ſaw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the *Red Sea*, to which place the ordinarie flood would haue carried them: Which flood doth not any where croſſe the Channell, and runne athwart it, as it muſt haue done from *Egypt* ſide to *Arabia*, to haue caſt the *Egyptians* bodies there; but it keeps the naturall courſe towards the end of that ſea: and to which their carcaſes ſhould haue bene carried, if the worke had not bene ſupernaturall and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the liues of the *Fathers* affirmeth, that thoſe of the *Egyptians* which ſtaied in the Countrey, and did not follow *Pharao* in the purſuit of *Iſrael*, did euer after honour thoſe Beaſts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were buſied at the time of *Pharao*'s deſtruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden made a God of that Plant or Roote, about which he was occupied: and ſo of the reſt. But how thoſe multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reaſon ſhall be giuen elſewhere. *Oſioſius* in his firſt Booke and tenth Chapter againſt the *Pagans* tells vs, that in his time, who liued ſome 400. yeares after *Chriſt*, the prints of *Pharao*'s Chariot wheelles were to be ſene at a low water on the *Egyptian* ſands: and though they were ſometime deſaced by winde and weather, yet ſoone after they appeared againe. But hereof I leaue euery man to his owne beleeſt.*

CHAP. IIII.

Of the iourning of the Iſſraelites from the Red Sea, to the
place where the Law was given them : with a
discourse of Lawes.

p. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of ſomethings touching Chronologie :
with a continuance of the ſtorie, untill the Amalekites met
with the Iſſraelites,



But to goe on with the storie of Iſrael, in this ſort I
collect the times. *Mofes* was borne in the yeare of
the world 2434. *Saphrus* then gouerning *Aſſyria*;
Orthopolis Syennia, or *Peloponneſus*; *Craſus* the *Argi-*
ues; *Orus* *Egypt*; and *Deucalon Theſſalie*. He fled
into *Midian* when he had liued 40. yeeres, in the yeere
of the world 2474. and two yeeres after was *Caleb*
borne. He returned by the commandement and or-
dinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his mira-
cles in the fields of *Zaan*, in the yeere 2514. in the
laſt moneth of that yeere. On the 14. day of the fiſt
Hebrew moneth *Abib*, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at
Sunne ſetting, in the yeere of the world 2514. was the celebration of the *Paſſeouer*:
and in the dead of the night of the ſame day were all the firſt-borne ſlaine through
Egypt, or in all thoſe parts where the Hebrewes inhabited. The 15. day of
the firſt moneth, of the Hebrewes called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the yeere
of the world 2514. *Mofes* with the children of *Iſrael* remoued from the generall af-
ſembly at *Ramſes*, and marched to *Succoth*.

Alti. 7.
Joſua. 14:
2474.

2514.

Page. 254.

Exod. 12.
Num. 33.

Exod. 13.

Num. 33.

Exod. 14.

Num. 33.

Exod. 14.

Num. 33.

Exod. 15.

Num. 33.

Exod. 14.

Num. 33.

And departing thence they made their third Station at *Etham*; and iourning from
Etham they incamped in the valley of *Pihacherath*, or *Migdall*, vnder the mountaine
Badſephon; and in the ſame night after mid-night, they paſt the *Red Sea*: *Pharaoh*
and his Armie perſiſhing in their returne, about the firſt dawne of the day. *Mofes*
having recovered the banks of *Arabia*, gave thanks vnto God, for the deliuerie of
Iſrael; and making no ſtay on that coaſt, entred the Deſerts of *Arabia Petrea*, in the yeere 2514.
Sur. But finding no water in that paſſage, he incamped at *Marah*, in the Deſert of
Etham, which in *Exod. 15. v. 22.* is alſo called *Sur*, 25 miles from the Sea: where the
children of *Iſrael* preſt with extreme thirſt, murmured againſt *Mofes* the ſecond
time; firſt at *Pharaohs* approach in *Pihacherath*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Mofes* taking
the branches of a tree, growing neere a lake of bitter water; and caſting the ſame
therinto, made the ſame ſweet: a plaine Type and figure of our Sauour, who vpon
the tree of the Croſſe changed the bitterneſſe of euerlaſting death into the ſweet-
neſſe of eternall life. *Plinie* remembers theſe bitter fountaines in his ſixth Booke and
29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Egypt*, *Seſoſtris* firſt, *Darius* after him, and
laſtly *Ptolomie* the ſecond, beganne to cut an artificiall Riuer, thereby by Boats and
ſmall ſhipping to trade and navigate the *Red Sea*, from the great Cities vpon *Nile*.
From *Marah* he remoued to *Elim*; the ſixth Manſion, a march of eight miles: where
finding twelue fountaines of ſweet water, and 70. Palme trees, hee reſted diuers
daies.

Whether

Red Sea, to the
: with a

Chronology:
ites met

of Israel, in this first
come in the year of
governing *Alfira*;
us; *Crispian* the day;
The first. He fled
in yeeres, in the yeeres
after was *Cadi*
mandement and or-
wrought his mira-
reers 2514. in the
14. day of the first
day (as they) a
ion of the *Passion*
ome (since through)
The 15. day of the
inning of the year
om the generalis

and journeying from
for the mountain
Red Sea: *Pharaon*
the day. *Alfira*
or the deliverance
Alfira *Petrus*, called
9, in the Desert
the Sea, where the
Alfira the second
But *Alfira* the day
d calling the law
amours, who open
th into the first
ly first *Boston*
in after him, and
red by *Pharaon*
Cities upon the
ight miles: where
he reled due

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a Towne or Citie in *Moses* time, I can not affirm. And yet the fardite of waters in that Region was such, as *Helim*, which had twelue Fountaines, could hardly bee left vnpeopled. *Wiliana*, *Archbishop* of *Tyre*, in his Historie of the *Hole Warre*, found at *Helim* the ruines of a great and ancient Citie. And at such time as *Balaam* the first pait that way into *Egypt*, *Ingressus* (saith he) *Helim*, *Civitatem antiquissimam populo Israelitico aliquando familiarem*; ad quam cum pervenisset, loci illius incolae, Regis adventum praecognito, nunculantes ingredientibus in mare rubrum se contulerunt. Entering *Helim* a very ancient Citie, well knowne sometime to the people of *Israel* & *whither*, when he came, the inhabitants, forewarned of the Kings approach, tooke *Balaam*, and suffred themselves into the Sea, lying near them. From *Elm* hee returned againe towards the South, and fate downe by the banks of the *Red Sea*: the seventh *Mansion*. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who prepared to resist his passage through that part of *Arabia*. And *Moses* who had not as yet trained those of the *Hebreues*, appointed to beare armes: nor assured the minds of the rest, who encountering with the least miserie, were more apt to returne to their quier slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to undertake or sustaine so dangerous an enimie: hee therefore made stay at this *Mansion*, untill the fifteenth of the second Month called *Zim*, or *Iar*: and made the eight *Mansion* in the Desert of *Zin*; where the children of *Israel* mutined against *Moses* the third time, having want of foode. In the sixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retrait from *Elm* to the red Sea, but in the collection of every severall incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is set downe.

Here it pleased God to send so many flocks of *Quales*, as all the Countrie about their incamping was couered with them. The morning following it also rained *Manna*, being the sixteenth of their Month, which served them in stead of bread. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of *Egypt*. And though they had great numbers of Cattle, and Sheepe among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feede themselves with many of those: but referred them both for the milke to relecue the children withall: and for breede to store themselves when they came to the land promised.

From hence towards *Raphidim* they made two remoues of twentie mile: the one to *Daphet*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* sixe miles. Here being againe prest with want of water they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themselves to bee fed and beaten after the manner of beafts, than to suffer a casual and sometime necessarie want, and to vndergoe the hazzards and traualles which every manly minde seeketh after, for the loue of God and their owne freedoms. But

Moses with the same rood which hee diuided the Sea withall, in the sight of the *Elders* of *Israel*, brought waters out of the *Rocke*, wherewith the whole multitude were satiated:

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A a

S. II.

White



p. 11.

of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battell with the Amalekites, and IETHROES coming: who being a Kenite, was Priest of Madian.

And while *Moses* incamped in this place, the Amalekites who had knowledge of his approach, and ghesled that he meant to leade the children of *Israel* through their Countrey (which being barren of it selfe, would bee vtterly wasted by so great a multitude of People and Cattle) thought it most for their aduantage to set vpon them at

Raphidim: where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man infebled them. On the other side *Moses* perceiuing their resolutions, gaue charge to *Iosua*, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrewes*, to encounter Amalech. Betwene whom and *Israel*, the victorie remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the *Hebrewes* and Amalekites contending with equall hopes and repulses for many houres. And had not the strength of *Moses* prayers to God bene of farre greater force, and more preualent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are vnacquainted with scarcitie of fooode, and those minds whom a seruile education hath dulled, being beaten and despaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or neuer be brought againe to hazard themselves:

After this victorie *Iethro* repaire to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses* his wife, and his two Sonnes, which either *Iethro* forbore to conduct, or *Moses* to receiue, till he had by this ouerthrow of Amalech the better assured himselfe of that part of Arabia. For it is written in the 18. of *Exodus*, v. 1. When IETHRO the Priest of Madian, MOSES Father in Law; heard all that God had done for MOSES; &c. of which, the last deede, to wit, the ouerthrow of Amalech, gaue *Iethro* courage and assurance, he then repaire to his sonne in law *Moses*, at *Sinai*; where amongst other things, he aduised *Moses* to appoint *Judges*, and other Officers, ouer *Israel*; being himselfe vnable to giue order in all causes and controuersies, among so many thousands of 30 people, full of discontentment and priuate controuersie.

This *Iethro*, although he dwelt amongst the Madianites, yet he was by Nation a Kenite, as in the fourth of *Judges* v. 11. & 17. it is made manifest; where it is written. Now HEBER the Kenite, which was of the children of HOBAB, to wit, the sonne of IETHRO, the father in law of MOSES, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents vntill the Plaine of Zaanaim, which is by Kadesh. Likewise in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the Kenites to depart from amongst the Amalekites, least hee should destroy them with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountaines of *Sin Kadesh*: and the Amalekites dwelt in the Plaines, according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the Kenites. Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the Rocks. And that *Saul* spared this Nation, he giueth for cause; that they shewed mercie to all the children of *Israel*, when they came vp from *Egypt*. For these Kenites were a Nation of the Madianites, and the Madianites were of the issues of *Madian*, one of the sixe sonnes which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and might also take that name of Kenites from *Kethura*, of whom they descended by the Mother, who as it seemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they receiued from their parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Midian*, and married the daughter of *Iethro*, would not (had hee found them Idolaters) haue made *Iethros* Daughter the Mother of his children. And although the Kenites are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seede of *Abraham* should roote out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot bee meant by these; who are descended from *Abraham* himselfe: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chui*. For in the fiftenth of *Genesis*, v. 19. nineteenth these Kenites or *Chusites* are listed with the

Exod. 17.

Cis. v. 16.

Num. x4. v. 21.

Gen. x. c. 15.

Gen. 25.

the *Hittites* and *Perizzites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Iebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites*, descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembered, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was separated from the *Kenites*, that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedesh* or *Kadesh*. Again, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham's* other sonnes were borne: which he did (referring my selfe to better iudgement) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

- 10 And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moses* into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of *Madian* by the River *Zared*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Madianites* neare the banks of the *Red Sea*, where *Moses* married his wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, seeme likewise not to have beene corrupted. For these *Madianites* with the *Kenites* assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the Deserts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the Metropolis of *Arabia*, called *Petra*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoyning to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

- And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian*, of whom *Iethro* was 20 Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrarie is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 12000. *Israelites*, as farre backe as the *Red Sea*, from the Plaines of *Moab*, to have destroyed that *Madian*, where his wiues kindred inhabited: seeing himselfe coming with 600000. able men, was encountered by *Amalech*, in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Deserts, wherein himselfe and *Israel* had wandered 40. yeare.

- That *Iethro*, or *Iothar*, *Raguel*, or *Reuel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach vs. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our English *Reuel*; *Exod.* 2. 18. calls him *Iethro*, or *Iothar*, *Exod.* 3. & v. 1. & 4. v. 18. & 30 & 18. 1. & 6. 9. 10. & 12. and in *Numbers* c. 10. v. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Iethro* and *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

§. III.

Of the time when the Law was given: with diuers commendations of the
invention of *Laws*;

- 40 **T**HE rest of the moneths of this yeare 2515. were spent in the Desert of *Sinai*, neare the mountaine of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mountain. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* or *Horeb* were distinct Mounts: *Hierome*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For in *Exod.* 3. v. 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exod.* 24. v. 16 it is written *Sinai*. In the 100. *Psalm* v. 19. *Horeb*: in *Exod.* 19. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called *Galatians* 4. 24. and againe, *Deut.* 4. 10. & 19. & *Deut.* 5. 2. *Horeb*. And so is it in the first of *Kings* 8. 6. and the 2. of *Chron.* 5. 10. and in *Malachie* 4. 4. Finally, in *Ezekiasian* the 48. 7. they are named as one. Which bearest (saith *Ezekiasian*) the rebuke of the Lord in *Sinai*, and in *Horeb* the iudgement of the vengeance. Somewhat they are disioyned at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*: who in the yeare 1588 past out of *Aegypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Funet* of *France*, and trauielled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by farre the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very faire spring of water into the Valley adjoyning: where he found two *Menseries* of *Christian Maronites*, containing some 100. Religious persons of diuers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and

Pet. Bel. lib. 2.
C. 62.

excellent wine. These (saith the same Author) give entertainment to all strangers, which passe that way.

Now, that there was some such Torrent of water neare *Sinai* in *Moses* time, it is very probable: First, because he incamped thereabout almost a yeare, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, because it is written *Exod.* 32. 20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which *Aaron* set up in his absence, he cault the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drinke thereof.

On this mountain, the Law by the Angell of God was given to *Moset*, where he staid a whole year, wanting some ten or twelue daies : for he remoued not till the 20. day of the second moneth of the second year ; and he arriued about the 45 day after the egression : the Law being given the 50. day.

At this Manſion alwaies done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; all in *Leuiticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and vñ thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the storie any way disioyned, may turne out a few leaues, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, leuell, and square of Lawes: so it pleased God to giue thereby vnto *Moses* the powerfull meane (his miraculous grace excepted) to gouerne that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North Starre is the most fixed directour of the Sea-man to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the guide and conductor of all in general, to the haue of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternal law deduced, the rule of all his Creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very iuncwes of euery estate in the world, by which they liue and moue: the Law, to wit, a iust law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eie without lust, and to a Minde without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for euery man what he hath, and distributeth to euery man what he ought to haue.

This benefit the *Antients*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those, which were taken for the first makers of *Laws*, were honoured as Gods, or as the founnes of Gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posterity for men of no less virtue, and no less liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerors that ever governed them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedaemonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their *Laws* from one: as the *Israelites* from *Moses*, the *Lacedaemonians* from *Lycurgus*, the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romans* sometime from their first Kings, from their *Decemvirs*, from their *Senators*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themselves: others from the Prince, Nobility, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian Monarchies* and *Estates*.

ø. IIIL. Flyt larm, nyst av polargr

THe word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwayes taken alike, but is diuerfly, and so in an indifferent sense vsed. For if we consider it at large, it may be vnderstood for any rule prescribing a necessarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of *Grammer*, or other Arts, are called *Lawes*. Or it is taken for any priuate ordinance

nance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandments of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees doe also vsurpe that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Ely*, *Wrote vnto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grievous things.* Likewise, the word is vsed for the tumultuarie resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call lawes, though euill and vninsufficient. *Mala lex est, quæ tumultuarie posita est; It is an ill law that is made tumultuously.* So as all ordinances, good or euill, are called by the name of lawes.

The word *Law* is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it selfe, as to their pattene and platforme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Diuines call *legem sensus*, is to be vnderstood. For every law is a kinde of patterne of that which is done according vnto it: in which sense as * elsewhere, * *Gen. 6. 5. Item 6. 2.* this morall habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or signification of the heart: for in *St. Paul* to the *Romanes* it is called a *Law*. But I see another law in my members, *rebellant against the law of my minde, and leading me captive vnto the law of sinne.* Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometime called *Lawes*, so as *So Vaguel*, *contine the leges naturæ, quæ sunt in natura, quæ sunt in hominibus, quæ sunt in brutis, quæ sunt in plantis, quæ sunt in mineralibus.* Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometime called *Lawes*, so as *So Vaguel*, *contine the leges naturæ, quæ sunt in natura, quæ sunt in hominibus, quæ sunt in brutis, quæ sunt in plantis, quæ sunt in mineralibus.* As they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a *Lyon*, to be fierce or valiant.

Also priuate contracts among Merchants and other Tradefmen, doe often put on the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a public rule, prescribing necessarilie meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Ciuitie community. The rest, to wit, the commandments of Tyrants, &c. which haue not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violæntiæ iniquæ quædam leges; rather compulsion then lawes.* And whatsoever is not just, *Saint Augustine* doth not allow for lawes, howe soeuer established: for he calls them *iniquæ hominum constituta, quæ nec iura dicenda, nec putanda sunt; The vniuersal constitutions of men which are neither to be termed nor thought lawes.* For saith *Aristotle*, *Legalia, Arist. Ethic. 5. iusta sunt factiua, & conseruatiua salutatis; Iust lawes are the workers and preseruers of happinesse: because by them we are directed ad vitam quietam, i.e. a quiet life, according to Cicero. Yea, to life everlasting, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the law, saith *Plato*, is God and his worship. *Finis legis Deus & cultus eius. Lex, or the Law* is so called by the *Latines* à *legendo*, or à *legendo*, of reading or binding: *Leges quia lectæ de leges.* *ad populum lata, saith Varro;* For after Lawes were written and published, all men might reade them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymologie*, a *ligando*, is no lesse agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as *confringunt iugum, dirumpunt vincula;* they haue broken the yoke, they haue broken the bands. And in the second *Psalm*, *dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus à nobis funes spinorum; Let vs breake their bands & cast away their cordes from vs.**

The Covenant it is called, because of the conditionall promises of God: and because of Gods peoples voluntarie submission of themselves vnto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epistle to the Hebrewes*, vie the word *διαθήκη*, a Testament or last will: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our saluation, but in respect of the death of the Testator, for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force: as *Hebr. 9. 17.* it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.*

The *Hebrewes* call the law *Thorah* of teaching, because euery man is thereby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The *Greekes* call it *Nómos* of distributing, because it distributeth to euery man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: Iustice being an attribute proper vnto God himselfe. *Imperium legis imperium Dei est. The raigene of the law, is the raigene of God.*

Law in general is thus defined by the *Philosophers*: *Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, & quæ fugienda; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow*

and what to shunne, or *Lex est omnium diuinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; Law is the Queene or Princeesse of things both humane and diuine. But this description is grounded vpon the opinion of ineuitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of Nature: the reason and vnderstanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *Index sui & curui*, the demonstration of it selfe, and of the crooked: so is the law, the Iudge and measure of right and wrong.

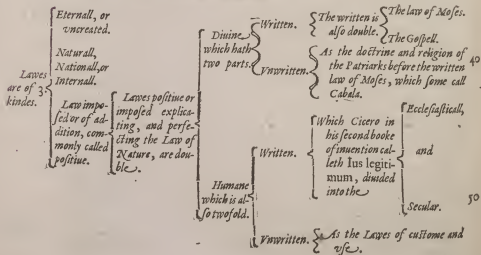
Mr. Hooker calls the Law a directiue rule to goodnesse of operation: and though law as touching the substance and essence, consist in vnderstanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; Yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word *Ius* is also diuersly taken, as sometime for the matter of the law and for common right: sometime for the law it selfe: as *Ius Civile*, or *Ius gentium*. *Isidore* distinguisheth the two generall words *Ius* and *Fas*: whereof *Ius*, saith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas* lex diuina, *Ius* lex humana. To goe ouer another mans field, is permitted by Gods law, not by mans: and therefore in a thing out of controuersie, *Virgil* vied both those words: as *Fas & iura sinunt*: God and Men permit.

The word *Ius* or Right, is deriued or taken from the old substantiue Nowne *Iussus*, a bidding or commandment: or perhaps from the Greeke *ἰσος*, which is the name of *Iupiter*: or of the Latine gentiue case *Iouis*: because as the Scripture speaks, the iudgement is Gods. For as it is certaine that *iur-inandum* came of *Iouis-iurandum* (for so we finde it written in *Nonius* out of the ancient, in which sense the Scripture calls it *iuramentum Iehona*) so also we may say, that *Ius* came of *Iouis*, *quis Iouis est*: because as God is the Author, and Patterne, and Maintainer of right, so also in his Vicegerents the *Magistrates*, he is the pronouncer and exequutor of right. Of this *Ius* the iust is denominated, *iustus a iure*, and *iustitia a iusto*; The right giues name to the righteous: and *iustice* takes her name from the iust.

§. V.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the law eternall.

BUt because lawes are manifold, and that euery kinde hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to diuide and distinguish them. I meane those sorts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawne: leauing the individuals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confusion.



The

The law eternall is thus defined by *Thomas*. *Lex eterna est aeternus divinae sapientiae conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso praecogitatum*; The eternall law is the eternall concept of Gods wisdom, as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himselfe. Or *Lex eterna est summa atq. aeterna ratio divina sapientia: quatenus res omnes ad determinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis iuxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis asserat*; It is the high and eternall reason of divine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kinde of necessitie according to their severall natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the same divine vnderstanding directeth all these to their proper ends; so it is called providence: but as it imposeth a necessitie according to the natures of all things which it directeth, so it is called a law.

Of this eternall law *Cicero* tooke knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, hee wrote in this manner. *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & a delicto avocans: qua non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est: sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad iubendum & ad vetandum ratio est recta summi Iovis*; That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling vs backe from euill, did not (saith he) then beginne to be a law when it was written: but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with diuine vnderstanding, and therefore a true law and a fit Primisse to command and forbid is the right reason of the most high God. This eternall law, (if we consider it in God, or as Gods) is alwaies one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to diuers objects, so the reason of man finds it diuers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessarie, as the motions of the heauens, stabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men; another to other creatures, hauing life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counsaile and prouidence of God: from this law all lawes are deriued, as from the rule vniuersall: and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternall, and the diuine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternall directing more largely, as well euery creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his supernaturall: but the diuine law to a supernaturall end only: the Naturall law is thence deriued, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a streame from this fountaine.

The Law humane or temporall is also thence drawne: in that it hath the forme of right reason: from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua*; a wicked imposition: and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are subjected: as well *Angels* and *Men*, as all other creatures, or things created; whether necessarie or contingent, naturall, or morall, and humane. For the law eternall runneth through all the vniuersall; and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall, and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creatour and Directour: as *Praise him all ye his Angels*; praise ye him *Sunne and Moone*, all bright *Starrs*; *heavens of heauens*, for he hath established them for euer and euer. *Hee hath made an ordinance which shall not passe*: Praise ye the Lord from the earth ye *Dragons* and all depths: *Fire*, and baile, *snow*, and vapours, *stormie winds*, which execute his Word; *mountaines*, and *hills*; *fruitfull trees* and all *Cedars*; *Beasts*, and all *Cattel*, &c. Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glorie and felicitie proposed vnto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so all other naturall things and creatures, haue in themselves, and in their owne natures, an obedience formal to it: without any proper intention, knowne cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and naturall instinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heauie to fall downward: things light to mount vpward, &c. and fire to heate whatsoeuer is apposed. This kinde

kinde of working the *Aristotelian* ascribe to common nature: others to fate; a difference vsed in termes only; it being no other then Gods generall providence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia*: so are all things which appeare in themselves, thence deriued: there vnder subiected: thence from by his eternall law and providence directed, euen from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The Schoolemen are very curious and ample in the consideration of these lawes: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and obiect of the eternall law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who haue thence from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetite, to conduct them: so is the obiect and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to St. AUGUSTINE, *Lex eterna est, quia in itum est ut omnia sint ordinatissima*; The law eternall is that, whereby it is iust, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternall law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which St. Augustine veth a sufficient argument in his first Booke of *Free-will* the sixth Chapter. For the law of *Moses* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last vntill the time of the *Pedagogia* of Gods people, or introduction to *Christ* should be expired: which time of expiration some thinke our Saviour noted to be come, when on the Crosse hee said, *Consummatus est*. But I rather thinke these words of our Saviour to haue no other signification, then that now the prophetic of their giuing him Vineger to drinke was fulfilled. For so *St. Iohn* expounds it, when he saith v. 28. *That Christ seeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, vt consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said I thirst*: though I denie not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of so much of the iudiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the *Iewes*, and agreeth not with the law of the new Testament and Gospell of *Christ*. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it selfe: but the things prescribed change according to this eternall ordinance; of which the *Wisedome* of *SALOMON*. And being one shee can doe all things, and remaining in her selfe reneweth all.

§. VI.
Of the Law of Nature.

IF the law of Nature as it is taken in general, I finde no definition among the Schoolemen: only as it is considered in man, it is called the impression of diuine light, and a participation of the eternall law in the reasonable creature. *Lex naturalis est impressio diuini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis eterne in rationali creatura*. *VLP*IAN defines the naturall law to be the same which nature hath taught all liuing creatures; *ius naturale est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*: and he afterward addeth, *ius istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quae terramariq. nascuntur, quoniam quoque commune est*; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all liuing creatures: as well to birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produceth. But this definition is not general, but of the naturall law in things of life.

The law of nature in general, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formal qualitie, which God in his eternall providence hath giuen and imprinted in the nature of euery creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *diuinum lumen* in men, enlightning our formal reason: so is it more then sense in beasts: and more then vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to flee from the enemies of their liues: seeing that Bulls and Horses appeare vnto the sense more fearefull and terrible, then the least kinde of Dogs: and yet the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, and fleeth from

Aug. in Epist. ad
III. 89. & in di-
uina. Joh. 1. 12.
47.
Vlp. de Iustitia
& Iure. l. 1. tit. 1.



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from the other, yea though by them neuer scene before, and that as soone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of *Indus* to make their nests on the smallest twigs which hang ouer Riuer, and not on any other part of the tree, or elsewhere: to saue their egges and yong ones from the Monkeys, and other beasts, whose weight such a twig will not beare: and which would feare to fall into the water. The instances in this kinde are exceeding many which may be giuen. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the female of the *Padmilla*, will not beare any fruit except the male grow in sight. But this they doe by that law which the infinite and vnsearchable wisdom of God, had in all eternitie provided for them, and for every nature created. In man this law is double: corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt where the reason of man hath made it selfe subiect, and a Vassal to passions, and affections brutall, and incorrupt where time and custom hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of Law. For it was not by the law of Nature incorrupt, which *St. Augustine* calleth the law of reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by law constrained to become Idolaters; that by the lawes of *Lycargus* it was permitted to men to vse one an others wife, and to the women to choose them others besides their husbands, to beget them with child: which law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The *Scythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to burie with them the best beloued wiues: as also they haue many other customes remembered by *G. Valentin*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authoritie it is that these lawes some men auow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithlesse among the faithlesse: to provide for our selues by another mans destruction: that iniurie is not done to him that is willing: to destroy those whom we feare: and the like. For taking the definition of naturall lawes, either out of *St. Augustine* or *Aquinas*, (the one calling it the impression of diuine light, the other, the dictate or sentence of *practique reason*) the same can teach vs, or incline vs to no other thing, then to the exercise of Iustice and vprightnesse: and not to offer or performe any thing toward others, saue that which wee would bee content should be offered or performed toward our selues. For such is the law of nature to the munde, as the eie is to the bodie; and that which according to *David* sheweth vs good, that is, the obseruation of those things which leade vs thereby to our last end; which is eternall life: though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of Gods diuine light in men, and a participation of the law increased and eternall. For without any law written the right reason and vnderstanding, which God hath giuen vs, are abilities within our selues, sufficient to giue vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrarie, we prepare and purchase for our selues. For when the *Gentiles* (saith *S. PAVL*) which haue not the Law, doe by nature these things contained in the law: they haue not the law, are law vnto themselves. Now, to loue God by whom wee are, and to doe the same right to all men, which we desire should be done vnto vs, is an effect of the pure reason: in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation. In *are ad istam rationem* is quiet habitus; Therefore, the *Gentiles* (saith *S. PAVL*) which shew the effects of the law written in their hearts, haue their consciences for witnesses of those effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law vnto himselfe (while he hopeth to abuse the world by the aduantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying

Sapra 5. 4. ex
nec ad Rom. 7.
23.

Theod. Lo de cau-
randa offit:
Gris. nram.
dilectio.

Nemo iure me-
tatur cum alteri-
us detrimentum
expliciter sibi
dedit.

Psal. 4.

Rom. 2. cor. 14.

Rom. 2. cor. 15.

betraying of his owne soule, by craftie vnrigheteousnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpeth vs not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds etc, seeing from him, who is an infinite eie, we cannot hide them: some Garlandes wee may gather in this May-game of the world, *sed floxille, dum loquimur, areseit; Those flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabitate and dwell within our selues, and become fearefull witnesses of our secrettest euils, did that reuerend Philosopher Pythagoras teach in this golden precept. *Nil turpe committas, neque coram alijs, neque tecum, maxime omnium vereere teipsum;* Commit nothing foule or dishonest, saith he, neither to be knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart: but aboue all men reuerence thine owne conscience. And this may bee a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their owne forme; as fire to giue heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, so is he aptly moved to those things which his proper forme presenteth vnto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue: and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

Gen. 1.

Job. 1. 28.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the budde of the hearbe which seedeth feede, &c. and the Beast, to which liueth thereon. He gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to moue, and to giue light, and to serue for signes and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes, the whole world would then perish, and all returne to the first Chaos, darkenesse, and confusion.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did Caine perceiue his owne wickednesse, and offence, in the murder of Abel: for he not only feared the displeasure of God, but the reuenge of Men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others might bee done vnto him againe. And that this iudgement of well and euill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall law, before the law written: *Moses* in the person of God witnesseth, Gen. the fourth. *If thou doe well shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doe not well, sinne lieth at thy dore.*

The Schoolmen are large also in this question of the naturall Law: the same being opened amply by *Reinerius, Antoninus, and Valentia.* But it is not my purpose to write a volume of this subiect.

But this law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth an *act of reason taken properly*, and not a habit, as it is an euident naturall iudgement of practique reason: they diuide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and euill eschewed) and demonstrable, which is euidently proued, out of higher and more vniuersall propositions. Again, as it answereth the naturall appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be avoided as euill (as of the first to desire to liue, and to satisifie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they diuide it, according to the diuers kinds of appetites that are in vs. For in euery man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to bee that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to liue, and to preserve our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to prouide for them: for the Father after his death liues in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable lawes of nature, for the most part. For it needes no prooue, that all creatures should desire to be, to liue, and to be defended, and to liue in their issue, when they cannot in themselves, And as

man

man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: so hee doth desire good, and shunne euill. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to desire their owne good. And so is Good defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. Which definition *Basil* vpon the 44. *Psalm* approueth: *Religio quidem Bonum desiderant, Quod omnia expectant; Rightly haue some men defined Good, or Goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.*

The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to vs, as wee haue sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, wee desire the delights of euery sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut vs with fatietie, nor hurt vs with excess. For as Sense it selfe is for the preservation of life and being: so is it meete, euen by the law of nature, that the sensitiue appetite should not carrie vs to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) wee may well say, that Nature hath giuen diuers lawes vnto them: In which sense the *Civilians* define *Naturall right*, or *Ius naturale*, to be the same which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures; Yet the *Schoolmen* admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a Law, but only a *Ius*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aime of euery Law. For so they distinguish it; where *Plinian* affirmeth, that *Ius naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures. In this place (saith *Valentinus*) *Ius* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Plinian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to liuing creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Ius naturae*, the other *Ius gentium*: the *Diuines* vnderstand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all euident dictates, precepts, or biddings of diuine reason: both in beasts and men; and restraints the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as he is a liuing creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selues: and the lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our religion.

Now although there are many other branches and diuisions of this law of nature answering the diuision of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountain or roote in the naturall or motiue facultie, which is but one, stirring vp to good, and decliming the contrarie: secondly, because all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill auoided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man; because he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of nature increaseth. *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Adueniente mandato peccatum remittit: When reason grew to perfection, then it came to passe, which was written by S. PAVL, When the Commandement came, sinne remitteth.* Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the same, are said by S. PAVL, To be deliuered ouer into a reprobate sense (or minde) to doe those things which are not convenient: and againe, that their consciences beare witness, and their thoughts accuse them. For, though this law of nature stretch not to euery particular: as to command fasting and the like: yet it commandeth in generall all good, and whatsoeuer is agreeable to right reason. And therefore, said *DAMASCENE*; *homines scilicet sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men* (saith he) *are made euill, by declining vnto that which is contrarie to nature: and S. AUGUSTINE,* *Omne vitium natura nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Euery vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrarie vnto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so strict, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inqualitytie of portions, according to vnequall merit:

by taking from the euill, and giuing to the good : and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enioy the fruits of their labours to themselves : according to the rules of iustice and equitie.

And though the law of nature command, that all things bee restored which are left in trust, yet in some cases this her law thee suffereth to be broken : as to denie a madde man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while hee was sober. But the vniuersall principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable : who according to St. PAUL, *abideth faithfully, and cannot denie himselfe.*

2 Tim. 3.

§. VII.

Of the written Law of God.



FTER the eternall, and naturall, the law *Positive* or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds : Diuine, and Humane. Again, the diuine positive law is double ; the old and new : The old was giuen vnto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the world had stood 2513. whole yeeres : and in the 67. day of this yeere whenas *Asatador* or *Ascalas* gouerned the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* the *Syrianians*, *Troopus* the *Argues*, *Cetrops* *Africa*, and *Acheres* *Egypt* : to wit, after the promise to *Abraham* 430. yeeres. And this, it seemes, was the first written law which the world receiued. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after inuented by the *Grecians* : no not in *Homers* time : who liued after the fall of *Troy* 80. yeeres at least : and *Troy* it selfe was cast downe 335. yeeres, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This law, it pleased God to ingraue in stone, that it might remaine lasting booke of his expreſt will in the Church ; and that the Priests and people might haue, whereof to meditate, till the coming of *Christ* : and that so these children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuse the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. li. 3.

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L. 10. v. 10. 11. 12.

The reason knowne to vs why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their liues long, the *Elders* of families might easily without any written law instruct their owne children : and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had besides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good, and euill, nor condemn euery sinne in particular : nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders : nor so expound diuine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gaue euery day lesse authoritie than other to the naturall law : In these respects it was necessarie, that the law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men : which before, they might, but would not reade, in their owne consciences. The *Schoolmen*, and the Fathers before them, enlarge the causes and necessity, why the law was written, whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for retraining of sinne, directly grounded vpon this place of *DAVID*, *The law of the Lord is vndefiled, conuertyng soules : The testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giuing wisdom to children.* For the humane law, saith *St. Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment ; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessarie, and hinder common profit : but the diuine law written, forbiddeth euery euill, and therefore by *David* it is called vndefiled.

Secondly, it serueth for the direction of our minds. For the lawes of men, can so only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internall motions, or of our disposition and will : and yet it is required, that we be no lesse cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *conuertyng our soules*, added by *David* : wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. *Actioes hominum*

hominum nulla essent, nisi prius in mente discrentur; The actions of men (say they) would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the minde.

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diuersitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar lawes among sundrie Nations, wee cannot be assured of; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without error: and therefore also said DAVID, That the testimony of the law of God is faithfull giving wisdom to children.

§. VIII.

Of the vnrwritten law of God, given to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

NOW, that in all this long tract of time, betwene the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appeare. For the Patriarchs of the first age receiued many precepts from God himselfe, and what former was first imposed by Adam, the same was obserued by Seth, who instructed Enos: from whom it descended to Noah, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were formerly imposed and deliuered ouer by Tradition; which kinde of teaching the *Lawes* afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptis* precepts receiued from the mouth of their Priests and Elders: to which the *Lawes* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, reserved in the bosomes of their Priests, and vnlawfull to be vttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to bee concealed from any; as being inderde the diuine law reuealed to the Patriarchs, and from them deliuered to the posteritie, when as yet it was vnwritten. The Commandements which God gaue vnto Adam in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all beaſts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of vnderstanding they were sufficiently knowne. For finding thereason of his owne name Adam of *Adama*, Earth, or red clay, hee gaue other names significant, not only to beaſts, but to his Children and Nephewes, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of Seth signifieth, as soone take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one giuen in recompence for Abel that was slaine: and Enos signifieth man or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded Adam to till the ground, and to liue by the labour thereof: God also gaue him the choise of all fruits, but the forbidden, and in Adam also was marriage first instituted: all men thence-after being commanded to cohabite with their Wiues, rather than with their Father and Mother.

That murder and crueltye was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it selfe, it is manifest. God himselfe making it appeare, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankind by the generall flood. For God said vnto Noah, *An end of all flesh is come before mee: for the earth is filled with crueltye through them: and behold I will destroy them * from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be vnknowne to all that perished: Gods mercie and iustice interpoling betwene the vntaught, and reuenge. This commandement God repeated to Noah, after the waters were dried vp from the earth. *Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for on the image of God hath he made man.*

Also the law of honouring and reuerencing our parents, was obserued among the faithfull, and the contrarie punished by the fathers curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be vnto his brethren.* Again, we finde that the vnnatural sinne of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree; as with fire from Heauen. The sinne of Adulterie and Rauishment; was before the law no lesse detested than the rest, as appeareth by that reuenge, taken for Dims forcing: and by the

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iudge.

* The eſſen reading is cut terra: but God did not destroy the earth; and why may not this propoſition in this place haue the ſame force, which it hath according to Iuſtin, Gen. 4.1. Item 44.1. And Orat. 34.1. eſpecially, concerning the words are but a repetition of that which is ſaid, 2.7. Deſiderium de ſeſterre tora. Gen. 2.6.

2-95

Gen. 25.

Gen. 34.25.

Gen. 38. 24.

judgement which *Iuda* gave against *Tamar*, That shee should be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharash* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken: for shee is a mans wife*. To these we may add the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of cleane and vncleane beasts, of Circumcision, of the Brother to raise vp seede to his Brother that left a Widdow childlesse, and diuers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being deliuered before the written Law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Diuine Law imposed*, of which the law of *Moses* containeth that which is called *The old Testament*, may be said, not only to haue been written in the hearts of men, before it was ingrauen in stone, but also in substance to haue been giuen in precept to the Patriarks. For as *S. Paul* witnesseth of himselfe, *I knew not sinne, but by the Law*: so euer the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kinde of vnwritten law; the *Angels* intuitively; Men by Reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discouise; plants by their vegetatiue powers; and things inanimate by their necessarie motions, without sense or perception,

§. IX.

Of the Morall, Iudiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of *Moses*.

Rom. 3. v. 19.



OW as the word (*Law*) in general, as is aforesaid, hath diuers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and re- strain: so this Law, called the *Law of Moses* in particular, is taken by *S. Paul* diuersly; as sometime for all the old Testament, as, *Now we know whatsoever the law saith, it saith to them which are under the law*.

Luc. 24. 44.

When it is opposed, or differenced from the Prophets, and *Psalms*, it is there taken for the five Bookes of *Moses*. For so Saint *Luke* hath distinguished them; *All must bee fulfilled which are written of mee in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalmes*.

Rom. 3. 28.

When it is opposed to the *Gospell*, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is iustified by faith without the workes of the Law*.

Rom. 6. 4. Gal. 3. 18.

When it is opposed to *Grace*, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremite of law, and summum ius: as, *For ye are not under the law, but under grace*.

John 1. 17.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the ceremonies or signes are taken for the things signified; as the *Sacrifice for Christ*, and the like: then it signifieth but shadowes and figures; as, *The law was giuen by Moses; but grace and truth came by Iesus Christ*.

Gal. 3. 23.

Luc. 16. 6.

Mat. 7. 12.

et cetera.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christ* comming, it signifieth the whole policie of the *Iewes* Common-weale; as, *Before faith came, wee were kept under the Law, &c.* or the law of the order and institution of the *Aaronicall Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets, and the Law, or the Priests, prophesied vnto Iohn*. And if the *Priesthood* bee changed, the Law also, to wit, of the *Priesthood*, must needs bee changed.

Rom. 8. 3.

Rom. 7. 23.

The word (*Law*) is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, so Authoritie, and Empire, or for contraining force; as, *The law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.*

But the *Written Law* of *Moses*, or the Lawe of the Old Testament, of which wee now speake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into the

the mindes of men by God; and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesse and Justice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the obseruers of the law, and threatening death to those which breake the law in the least. For according to *Saint James*, *Whosoever shall keepe the whole, and faileth him one point, is guilty of all*. The definition viced by the *Shoolemen*, in which both the Old and New law are comprehended, is thus given. *Lex diuina est diuinum decretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium ut apte peruenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ est ultimus humana vite finis*; The diuine law (say they) is the decree of God, prescribing vnto men a necessarie meane, whereby they may aptly attaine superna-
tural beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.

The law of *Moses* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that euill to be avoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as *Doethis for I am the Lord*, whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Again the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; the Ceremoniall of diuine ser- vice, and of holinesse; (for externall worship, and the order of hallowing our selues vnto God is called Ceremonie) and the Iudiciall teacheth the particular govern- ment, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Iewes*; and prescribeth orders for iustice and equitie. And therefore was it said of *Saint Paule*, *The commandment is iust, ho-* Rom. 7. 12.
ly and good: iust, or iustice being referred to the Iudiciall; holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morall. The Iudiciall part is touching the govern- ment of the common-wealth of the *Iewes*, in which manie things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The Ceremoniall is diuided into foure parts, according to the foure kinds of things, of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holie things, Sacraments, and Obser- uances. To Sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruits of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments Circumcision, the *Passeouer*, and such like. For the Obseruances, they consisted either in prohibi- tion of certaine meats, as not to eate the bloud and fat of beasts: or in some other
30 outward things, as in washings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to weare mixt garments of Linnen and Wollen; as also it prohibiteth other vnaturall and vnproper commixtions, as *thou shalt not yoke together in a plough an Oxe and an Asse*, or cast mingled seede in one field. It also exhorteth naturall compassion, and forbid- deth crueltie euento beasts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some reſerue these precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest, nor beate downe the first biddes of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring Oxe*, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the coming of *Christ*. For the Morall liueth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: sauing in the abilitie of iustifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to loue and worship God: and to vie charitie one towards another: which for euer shall bee required at our hands. Therein also are wee in particular directed, how this ought to bee done: which power of directing by speciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be obserued: though prin- cipally for the feare of God in the one, and for the loue of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall also liueth in the things which it foreſignified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to vs. Besides, it still liueth, in that it giueth both instruction and testimony of *Christ*, and in that it
50 giueth direction to the Church for some ceremonies and types of holy vification; which are still expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before *Christ*s com- ming, and in a farre lesse degree of necessitie.

Lastly, the Iudiciall liueth in substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and vniuersall equitie thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of iustification, the Ceremoniall as touching the vse and externall obseruation (because *Christ* himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were signes and shadowes) and the Iudiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the *Jews* Common-weale, and policie.

p. X.

A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.



For that which remaineth in the generall consideration of the diuine written Law, it may in effect bee reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignitie and worth of the law.
2. The Majestie of the law-giuer.
3. The proprietie and peculiaritie of the people receiuing it.
4. The conueniencie of the time in which it was giuen.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.
7. The end and vse of the Law.
8. The sense and vnderstanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignitie of the Law is sufficiently proued by *St. Paul* in these words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and iust, and good*: which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall.

2. The Majestie of the Law-giuer is approued in all his creatures: who as he hath giuen all things their liues, and beings, so he only gaue the law, who could only giue the end and reward promised, to wit, the saluation of mankind: but he gaue it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministerie of *Angels*: as it is said. *And the law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediatour: and in the Acts, he gaue the law by the ordinance of Angels.*

3. The proprietie and peculiaritie of the people, receiuing this law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared: Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and disfeured: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and feured they were, because of Gods choise and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God vnto *Abraham*, and his seede: not vnto his seedes, as to *Esau* and *Jacob*, but to his seede, as to *Jacob*, or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. *Now to Abraham and his seede were the promises made: he saith not to the seedes, as speaking of many, but to thy seede, as of one, which is Christ.*

4. The conueniencie of the time, in which it was giuen, is noted by *S. Augustine*: that it was about the middle time, betwene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses*: the law written in the Commandments, receiued by *Moses* in the worlds year 2514. continued to the Baptisme of *Iohn*: from which time begunne the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conueniencie are formerly giuen.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this law, the same being a disposition to, or signe of our iustification: but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in morall precepts. For through the passion of *Christ* were sinnes forgiven, who taketh away the sinnes of the

the world: and therefore *S. Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weake*, *Gal. 4.* beggerly as containing no grace, weake as not able to forgive and iustifie. The bloud *Heb. 9.* of Goates and Bulls, and the ashes of an Heifer could only cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christ's* bloud, which doth cleanse the inward soule. For if the *Gal. 3.* law could iustifie, then *Christ* died in vaine.

§. X I.

10 of the sixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.

THe old and new Testament differ in name, and in the meane and way proposed for attaining to saluation; as the old by works, the new by grace: but in the thing it selfe, or obiect and remote end, they agree: which is, mans happinesse and saluation.

The old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the old, because it preceded the new Testament, which is an explanation of the old: from which the new taketh witnesse. Yet the new of more excellencie, in that it doth more liuely expresse, and openly and directly delineate the waies of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it was to bee abrogated: in that he saith the new Testament, he hath abrogated the old. For the old law, though greatly extolled by the Prophets, and deliuered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policie perishable: but the new was given in a promise of an euermlasting Kingdome, and therefore called in the *Apocalips*, a Testament and Gospell for euer during.

The old Testament is called the law, because the first and chiefe part is the law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalmes* are Commentaries, explicating that law.

The new Testament is called the Gospell, because the first and chiefe part thereof is the glad tidings of our redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epistles or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the Acts or Storie of the *Apostles*, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word *Euangeliſtion* signifying a ioyfull, happie, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* vsed it) The reward given to the Messenger, bringing ioyfull newes. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victorie, or other pleasing successe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tidings in generall, as in *Ezay* the 52. v. 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained to signifie that most ioyfull message of saluation, as in *Luc. 2. 10.* whence also by figure it is taken for the Historie of *Christ*: and so wee vnderstand the foure Gospells.

40 Lastly, for the Preaching and diuulging the doctrine of *Christ*, as *Cor. 1. 9. v. 14.* and *Cor. 2. 8. v. 18.*

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I thinke, as they are diuided in volumes) is by *Daniel* comprised in these foure.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Couenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.

In the effects, that is, in righteounesse and iustification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was euer one Church, so was there one couenant, one adoption, and one doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new law teach *Christ*: the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one, and the same end: euen the saluation of our soules: which according to *S. Peter* is the end of our faith. For although it bee said, that *Moses* did promise

by obseruing the law an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke and hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spirituall blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly hee raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Iherusalem*: according to this place of the *Hebrewes*: *All these died in faith, and receiued not the promises, but saw them a farre off and believed them: confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpose also S. *AUGUSTINE*: *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena aeterna promissi.* Few (saith hee) doe understand the old law: not attending that by things earthly eternall are promised. And S. *HIEROME*: *Noluit Deus pascere Iudeos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut Iudei seminant: God would not feede the Iewes as beasts with corporall gifts and riches as themselves dreame.* And this may be gathered out of Gods owne words, *Ego sum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God and I will bee your God.* For the wordes, *I will be your God*, proue that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gaue them this promise; but in respect of the future: to wit the safetie of their soules. For as God created both bodie and soule, so hath he of his goodnesse, not left the better part vncaared for, which lieth euer.

The agreement between the Old and New testament in substance, inferres also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the *Apostles* and *Prophets*: in whom all the promises of God in the Old and New, are assured: the fathers hauing eaten the same spirituall foode, which we eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sinne and miserie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, serueth in subordination to the Gospell, the proper effects whereof are mercie and saluation: to which the law serueth as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sinne and miserie, God sheweth his mercie and saluation) may be said to agree with the Gospell in the effect. For otherwise if we seuer the law from subordination to the Gospell, the effects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousnesse by workes, the other by faith; the Law woundeth, the Gospell healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Gospell allureth; *Moses* acculeth, *Christ* defendeth: *Moses* condemneth; *Christ* pardoneth. The old restraineth the hand, the new the minde. *Data est lex qua non sanaret* (saith St. *AUGUSTINE*) *sed qua agrotantes probaret; The law was giuen not to helpe but to discover sickness: and S. CHRYSOSTOME, Data est lex, ut se homo inueniret, non ut morbus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quaereretur; The law was giuen that man might finde and know his owne imperfection: not that his disease was thereby holpen: but that he might then seeke out the Physitian.* For *Christ* came to saue the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a seruant, and *Christ* a sonne, so the greatest benefit was referred to be brought, as by the worthiest person, saith *Cyril*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

§. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.



He sequent consideration is of the end, and vse of the law: which is to bring vs to *Christ*: for finding no righteousnesse in our owne workes, we must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousnesse, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Cursed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

The second end of the law, is to render vs inexcusable before God: who know-
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ing to perfect a law, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteousnesse, and performance of dutie to God and Men.

The third and chiefe end of the law is, as hath beene said, to send vs to *Christ*, and his grace, being in our selues condemned and lost. For the law was deluged with thunder, and with a most violent and fearefull tempest, threatening eternal death.

The fourth end of the law was to deligne, and prefigure, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold them in one Discipline, and awe, till the coming of *Christ*: after whom the Church was to be dispersed ouer the whole world.

These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vse of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirme the truth of *Christ*, and the new Testament. The vse of the Iudiciall, to teach vs naturall equitie, and right, whereto we must conformance our selues.

The sense and vnderstanding of the law is double, littéral and spirituall: by the littéral we are taught the worship and seruice of God: by the spirituall the figures and mysticall fore-speakings of *Christ*.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the law, the same had being vntill the passion of *Christ*: before which time, and while *Christ* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered vpon the Altar of the Crosse, then the *Iewish* sacrifices and ceremonies, which were *Types* and figures of *Christ* (*Christ* being the body of those shadows) ceased to binde the consciences any longer: the myserie of our redemption being now by *Christ* and in him finished. In token whereof the vaile of the Temple rent asunder; noting that the ceremoniall vailes and shadows were now to be removed, not that the morall law of the Commandments was hereby abolished, or weakened at all: other wise then that it had not power to condemne according to the *Iewish* doctrine as aforesaid. For the obseruing of the law was by *Christ* himselfe feuerly commanded: our loue towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein *Dauid* so much reioyced, as he preferred the obseruation of the law, before all that the world could yield. In

via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus diuitijs; I haue bene delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches: And againe. The law of thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold and sauer. This is the loue of God (saith S. I O H N) that wee keepe his Commandement. And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himselfe in *Deuteronomie* witnesseth. This Commandement (saith he) which I command thee this day is not hidde from thee, neither is it farre off. It is not in heauen that thou shouldest say who shall goe vp for vs to heauen, and bring it vs, and cause vs to hear it that we may doe it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest say, who shall goe ouer the Sea for vs, and bring it vs? Or, but the word is very neare vnto thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart for to doe it. Behold (saith M O S E S) I haue set before thee this day life and death, good and euill, in that I command thee this day to loue the Lord thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandments, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou maiest liue, &c. Neither is it laid in vaine in S. MATTHEW. Si Cito uis uis ad uitam ingredi serua mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commandments: and in S. I O H N; Scio quia mandatum eius uita aeterna est; I know that his Commandement is life euerslasting. And if this be the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as S. Iohn hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandements: certainly he is but a lyar, that professeth to loue God, and neglecteth to obserue the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it is not in mans abilitie, without the speciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (*Christ* only as man excepted) yet if we rightly consider the mercifull care which God had of his people in those his Commandments, we shall finde in our selues, how wee borrow libertie, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them, from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and diuine reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedie of libertie) propoeth to it selfe. For this is the loue of God, that wee keepe his Commandments,

Genes. 49. 10.
The Scepter shall not depart from Iuda, nor a Lawe-giver from between his feet, vntill Shile come.

John 1. 5.
Deut. 30. 11, 12, 13, 14.
Rom. 10. 6, 7, 8.

1 Cor. 7. 17.
1. 12. v. 50.

ments, and his Commandments are not grievous. 1. JOHN 3. vers. 12. and if wee examine euery precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the balance of four consciences; it is not hard for any man to iudge, by what easie persuasions, we steale away from our owne power, as vnwilling to vlc it against our pleasing desires,

§. XIII.

Of the severall Commandments of the Decalogue: and that the difficultie is not in respect of the Commandments, but by our default.



Or by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serue, and loue one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? seeing euery reasonable man may conceiue and know, that infinite power cannot be diuided into many infinites: and that it is of necessity that by this almighty Vnitie, all things haue bene caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his prouidence he hath also provided for euery of them, which giueth to beasts their food, &c. there is no doubt but that they would also serue and loue him only.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatrie, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the inuention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true. *Omnia mala exempla hominis iniurijs orta sunt;* All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings. For their first erection was to keep the memorie of men famous for their vertue: vntill (saith *Lactantius*) the *Deuill* crept into them, and (hauing blotted out the first intent) working in weake and ignorant soules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serue himselfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead stocks, more worthlesse then the most worthlesse of those, that hauing life and reason, implore their helpe, which haue neither: yea, of more vnde prize and baser, then the basest of beasts, who haue sense and estimation? for what doe wee thereby (saith the Wisdome of *SALOMON*) but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, assistance in our iourneys of him that cannot goe, and successe in our affaires of him that hath no power? And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which hee praieeth, be more senselesse: *Dauid* maketh a doubt. For (saith he) they that make them are like vnto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.

The breach of the third Commandment is neither perswaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, wee are no way allured to this horrible disdain of God, vnieste the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be accounted an aduantage. For as our corruptest nature giues vs nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except euertlasting sorrow, and Hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custome hath the *Deuill* brought vp among men, without all subtile of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most forsefull aduantage ouer vs. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft giues satisfaction to neede, Adulterie to lust, Oppression to couetousnesse; but this contemptuous offence of blasphemie, and the irreuerent abuse of Gods name, as it giueth no helpe to any of our worldly affections, so the most salvage Nations of the world doe not vlc it.

The fourth Commandment, to keepe the Sabbath day holy, hath neither paine, burthen, nor inconuenience. For it giueth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in *Exod. 23. 12.* And in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine Oxe and thine Asse may rest, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be refreshed.

The

The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it selfe hath taught vs towards them, who after God gave vs life and being, have begotten vs, and borne vs, cherished vs in our weak and helpless infancy, and bestowed on vs the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporal and Iudiciall ordinances, cursing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not doe theafts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, haue made difference between slaughter casual, and furious. *Affectio est iustitia* (saith BRACCON) *imponit nomen operi tuo*; It is the affection and will that makes the worke such as it is. And certainly whosoever cannot forbear to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any vse of his owne will.

The third of the second Table, commands vs from adulterie. Now, if the preservation of Virginitie haue beene possible, for thousands of Men and Women, who in all ages haue maltreated their fleshly desires, and haue returned chaste to the graue: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and iniurie, which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God, and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living whom the desire of beauty and forme hath so constrained, but he might with care forbear the prosecution of this ill: did not himselfe giue succie to this Infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heate, heate till it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the second Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kind of violent robbrie had bene vied in *Moses* time, which many Russians practise now-a-daies in *England*, and to the dishonour of our Nation more in *England*, than in any Region of the world among *Christians*, out of doubt, he would haue censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speake not of the poore and miserable soules, whom hunger and extreme necessitie inforceth, but of those detestled T heues, who to maintaine themselves Lord-like, assault, robbe, and wound the Merchant, Artificer; and Labouring man, or breake by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Baurerie, Drunkenesse, and ypon Harlots, in one day, what other men sometime haue laboured for all their liues: impoverishing whole families: and taking the bread and foode from the mouthes of their children. And that this Commandement might easily be obscured, it would soone appeare; if Princes would resolute, but for a few yeares to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth these Hell-hounds. And if every man may presume to be pardoned once, there is no state or common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandement of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witness: from which if men could not forbear, all surerie of estate, and life, were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment; which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandments forbiddeth vs to couet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wiues for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gaine. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to observe; so esteemed by reason of our fraile affections: and yet if wee iudge hereof rightly, it may bee doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For although it be not easie to master all our suddaine passions, yet we may restrain and hinder their growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seeke for grace. How the word *Coueting* reacheth to all those it is to be considered. For *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *Est effractus habendi appetitus*. An unbridled, or unrestrained appetite of hauing: And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selues by any our naturall frailtie, or vnadvised error.

But

But, as I suppose, the word *Concupiscence* is more largely taken, either for adeterminate and vnbridled euill intent, or for some vrging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later sort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione quæ sit; principium proprium actus boni aut mali; Such passions, or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated vpon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or euill action.* And sure, it may seeme, that so long as wee resist such motions they harme vs not: as they say, *Quamdiu resurgamur nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus; As long as wee giue no assent vnto them, it is thought by some that they hurt vs not: and that then only they hurt when we suffer them to beare sway.* But these men, as it seemes, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in euery Commandement, not only the outward act, but also the inward assent vnto euill, though it breake not out into act, is forbidden; therefore, that wee may know the difference betwene this Commandement and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held: that some are with assent, and vnbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For so euen the Morall Philosopher can tell vs, that the Continent man hath euill desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrarie passions. The euill desires when they are accompanied with assent, are in euery Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if wee will haue any thing proper to this Commandement, we must needs say, that the euill desires of the Continent man (that is, euen those which we resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though hee that bridleth his euill desires, be much better than he that yeeldeth vnto them: yet such a man, euen according to the Heathen Philosopher, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For Aristotle himselfe makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but only a degree vnto it: confessing, that though the Continent man doe well in bridling his euill affections, yet he doth not all, seeing hee ought not so much as to haue them at all. Neither is it much more, that true diuinitie deliuereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the Continent man the hauing of these euill desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a vertuous man: so we, that the hauing of them is a sinne. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of Diuinitie to giue the true reason of this doctrine: which is, that euery one sinneth, that doth not loue God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth that the euill desires of the Continent man, that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be sinne: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make vs know, that by our faithfull in-
deuours to keepe his commandements, we witness our loue toward himselfe: wee may not safely giue libertie to our vanities, by casting backe vpon God (who is iustice it selfe) that he hath giuen vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and commandements impossible for vs to keepe. For as he is accursed (saith St. Hierome,) that auowes that the law is in all things possible to be obserued: so hee hath made this addition. *Male dictum qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcepisse; Accursed is hee that saith that God hath commanded things* (in themselves, and not through our fault) *impossible.* Now, as the places are many which command vs to keepe the law: so is our weaknesse also in the Scriptures laid before vs, and therefore it is thus safely to be vnderstood, that we should without euasion, or without betraying of our selues, doe our faithfull in deuours to obserue them: which if we doe vnfaidly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man iust, David witnesseth. *Enter not into iudgement with thy servant, for in thy sight no flesh that liueth shall be iustificed.* And in the first of Kings, *There is no man that sinneth not:* And againe, *Who can say I haue made my heart cleane?* But seeing there is no sinne grievous without deliberation; let euery mans conscience iudge him, whether he giue way willingly, or restraîne himselfe in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King giues to his sub-
ject

3 Moral. 1. 2. 10

immo not a verba but
regere. But it is 1.

p. 143.


p. 146.

p. 146. v. 9.

ject a commandment vpon paine of losse of his loue, to performe some seruice: if the subject neglecting the same, seekte to satisfie his Soueraigne with shifting excuscs, out of doubt such a Prince will take himselfe to bededered therein.

Þ. XIII.

If there were not any Religion nor Iudgement to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessarie to be obserued.

- 10  Nd if we consider aduisedly and soberly, of the Morall law, or ten Commandements, which God by the hand of *Moses* gaue vnto his people, it will appeare that such was his mercifull prouidence in the choise of them, as were there neither paine, nor profit adioyned to the obseruing, or not obseruing of them, were there no diuine power at all, nor any Religion among men, yet if we did not for our owne sakes strue to obserue these lawes: all societie of men, and all induours, all happinesse and contentment in this life would bee taken away: and euery state and common-weale in the world fall to the ground and dissolue. Therefore, these lawes were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might bee defended, that euery man might enioy the fruits of his owne trauaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by iustice, order, and peace, wee might lue the lues of reasonable men, and not of beasts: of free-men, and not of slaues; of ciuill men, and not of saluages. And hereof making our humane reason only Iudge, Lets vs see the inconueniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these lawes.

As first, what would the issue be if wee acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater hatred, warre, and bloud-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremonie, and diuersitie of interpretation, hath already brought into the world, euen among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one *Christ*?

- 30 And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, metall, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibilitie to receiue thence from, either helpe or comfort.

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth there-with this disadvantage, and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselfe by calling God to witnesse for him, when hee may iustly vse his holy name.

The obseruing the *Sabbath* holy, giueth rest to men and beasts, and nature herselfe requieth intermission of labour.

- 40 If we despise our Parents, who haue giuen vs being, we thereby teach our owne children to scorn and neglect vs, when our aged yeares require comfort and helpe at their hands.

If murder were not forbidden, and severely punished, the races of mankind would be extinguisht: and whosoever would take the libertie to destroy others, giueth libertie to others to destroy himselfe.

If adulterie were lawfull and permitted, no man could say vnto himselfe, this is my sonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour defend to posteritie, no induour by vertue and vndertaking to raise families: murders and poisonings betwene man and wife would be daily committed; and euery man subject to most filthie and vncleane diseases.

- 50 If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perishe, or lue as the saluages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enioy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischiefe of robbetrie, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution foure-fold, policie of State and necessitie hath made it death.

To permit false witness, is to take all mens liues and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would sweare against the vertuous: the waiter against the wealthe: the idle begger and loiterer, against the carefull and painefull labourer: all triall of right were taken away, and iustice thereby banished out of the world.

The coueting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while wee couet what appertains to others, we neglect our owne: our appetites are therein fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we doe but couet; and if we doe attaine to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wiues or goods of our neighbours, wee can looke for no other, but that our selues shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be depriued of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing? Surely, for our owne good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull and prouident God ordaine them; without the obseruation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertilitie of the earth, with all the blessings giuen vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether vnprofitable, and of no vse. For wee should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a farre more vnhappy condition.

Of humane Law, written and vnwritten.

Vmanc Law, of which now it followeth to speake, is first diuided into two, viz. Written, and Vnwritten. The vnwritten consists of vsage, approued by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*: and hee defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probatae*, to be customes approued by antiquitie or vnwritten lawes. Now custome differeth from vsage, as the cause from the effect: in that custome is by vsage and continuance established into a law: but yet there where the law is defectiue, saith *Isidore*.

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written customes, receiued and exercised by Nations, as the customes of *Burgundie*, and *Normandie*: the ancient generall custome of *England*, and the customes of *Castile*, and other *Provinces*.

The second are these pettie customes, vsed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall customes are some written, others vnwritten.

The particular or pettie customes are seldome written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitants. The customes of the *Duchie of Cornewale* comprehending also the *Stannerie of Deuen*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes, are written in *Deuen*, but not in *Cornewale*. But howsoeuer vsage and time hath made these customes as lawes, yet ought euery custome to be *rationabilis*, as well as *prescripta*. *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de iure ab initio non subsistit*; That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (saith *VLESIAN*) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis conualescere*; *Conseque* time amendeth not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessarie in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law diuine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, prouing a right birth, and necessarie continuance: it being manifest that euery custome, which is against the law, had his beginning from euill deedes, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the law-makers, though they haue beene since continued, because posteritie is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moued.

ued. *For non iussit simplex toleratio.* And it is in this sort ouer-ruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui nona legem, & nonam consuetudinem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est; The people cannot bring in a new custome, against law: save by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the Prince.*

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane Law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of practique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the aduifement of Wisemen, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Government and common profit: And more largely, *Uincid quod ratione consistit; All that stands with reason.*

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law naturall, and eternall: made by the rationall discourse of those, that exercise publique authority: prescribing necessarie obseruances to the subiect. That euery law ought to be a righteous decree, *S. Augustine* teacheth, saying: *Nihil lex esse non videtur, quia iusta non fuerit; It seemes to be no law at all to me, which is not iust: and iust it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall.* For there is no law iust and legitimate (saith *S. Augustine*) which the Law-makers haue not deriued from the eternall. *Nihil iustum atque legitimum est, quod non ab aeterna lege sibi homines deriuauerunt.* *L. de iur. Ab. cap. 6.*

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorized Magistracie, it cannot be doubted, be the Government of what kinde soeuer. For it falleth otherwise vnder the Title of those decrees called *Violentia*, or *iniqua constitutiones; Violences*, or *viced constitutions.*

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: so euery particular of the humane law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the naturall. *4. Parts.*

Secondly, it isto be considered as it is referred vnto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publique authoritie.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and diuers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall vnder it. For according to *THOMAS*, *Alia lex IULIA de Adulterys, alia CORNELIA de Sicarijs; The law of IULIAN against Adulterie is one, the CORNELIAN against Ruffians; is another.* Now the humane law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, diuised into the law of Nations, and the Ciuill.

The Law of Nations is taken lesse or more properly; lesse properly for euery law which is not of it selfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *Christian* vnderstands it: for he defineth *Ius gentium*, or the Law of Nations, to be that which is only common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations: but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other diuine Reuelations. But the law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an euident principle, yet so probable that all Nations doe assent vnto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *ambassadors* be granted betwene enemies, &c. which National law according to diuers acceptions, and diuers considerations had of the Humane law, may be sometime taken for a *Species* of the Naturall, sometime of the Humane.

ius Civile, or the *Civil Law*, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in di-
vers estates it is also divers and peculiar, and this law is not so immediately derived
from the law of Nature, as the law of Nations is : For it is partly deduced out of
such principles as all Nations do not agree in, or easily assent unto ; because they
depend on particular circumstances, which are divers, and do not fit all estates.

In Leg. 6. ta. ff.
de Iustitia Ture.

Hereof VLTIAN, *Ius civile, neque in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei feruit: itaq; cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus Iuri communi, Ius proprium, id est, Civile efficitur;* The Civil law (saith he) doth neither wholly differ from the law of nature, and nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore, when we adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Civil Law.

The law now commonly called the *Civil Law*, had its birth in *Rome*: and was first written by the *Decret-vir*, 303. years after the foundation of the *Citie*. It was compounded afcwoit out of the *Athenian*, and other *Grecian* laws, as out of the ancient *Romane* customs and laws *Regal*. The *Regal* laws were deuced by the first Kings, and called *Leges Regie*, or *Papirianæ*, because they were gathered by *Papirius*, *Tarquinius* then reigning. For though so many of the former laws as maintained Kingly authority were abolished, with thence: yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the laws of the twelve Tables. To these laws of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus-consulta*: those of the common people, called *Plebiscita*: those of the Law-ycrs, called *responsa prudentum*: and the Edicts of the *Annuali Præfites*: which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetual laws: and the *Volume* stiled *Edictum perpetuum*: as those and the like Collections of *Justinian* afterward were.

7 The difference anciently between Lawes and Edicts, which the Latins call *Regimenta*, consisted in this, that lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by foreigne authoritie (be the foueraigntie in the people, in a few, or in one), and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *infirmum Magistratus*, velle) by authoritie is made a lawe hath end with the officer, who made the same, such VARRO. *Qui plurimum Edictis tribuitur, legem annuam esse dicunt*. They who ascribe the most vnto an Edict, say that it is a law for one year: Though *Alibi* doth also expressly by the word *Constitutionis* or *Edictis*, those Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogative*: as *Constitutio vel Edictum esse quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit*. An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaime.

Lastly, the *Human Law* is divided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiastical*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporal good, to wit, the peace and tranquillity of the Common-wealth: the *Ecclesiastical* the spiritual good, and right Government of the *Ecclesiastical Common-wealth*, or Church, *sicut natura legem, hoc dominum spectat; That respecteth the Law of nature, this the law of God.* And so may *Ius Civile* be taken two waies: first, as distinguished from the law of Nations, as in the first diuision: Secondly, as it is the fame with the *Secular*, and diuers from the *Ecclesiastical*. But this diuision of the *Scholemen* is obscure. For although the *Ciuiti* be the fame with the *Secular*, as the *Ciuiti* is a law yet the *Secular* is more generall and comprehend both the *Ciuiti*, and all other laws not *Ecclesiastical*. For of *Secular* laws, in vs, among *Christian* Princes, and in *Christian* Commonweales, there are three kinds, the *Ciuiti* which hath euerywhere a voice: and is in all *Christian* states, (*England* excepted) most powerful; the Lawes of *England* called Common, and the Lawes of custome or *Provincial*. In *Spain* besides the Law *Ciuiti*, they haue the customes of *Castile*, and other Provinces. In *France* besides the *Ciuiti*, the customes of *Burgundie*, *Blois*, *Berri*, *Niuernois*, and *Lolunois*, &c. *Tous lieux situes & assis en Lolunois*, seruent gouernement, selon les customes du dit Pays; All places lying within the precincts of *Lolunois*, shall be gouerned according to the customes of that place.

There are also in *France* the customes of *Normandie*, and these of two kinds: General, and Locall; and all purged and reformed by diuers Acts of the three estates. The *Charters* of confirmation of these ancient customes, before and since their reformation have these wordes. *Nos autem, registrum praelatum, vsus laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, &c. Laudamus approbamus & autoritate Regia confirmamus; The Register afore said, laudable use, and ancient customes, we praise, approve, and by our Kingly authoritie confirme.* The common law of *England* is also compounded of the ancient customes of the same, and of certaine *Maximes* by those customes of the Realme approved. Vpon which customes also are grounded those Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other small Courts.

These ancient customes of *England* haue bene approved by the Kings thereof, from age to age: as that custome by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, distressed, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the law of the land, was confirmed by the *Statute of Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient custome of *England* that the eldest Sonne should inherit without partition: In *Germanie*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the custome for all lands (that haue not bene religned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the house shall enjoy the inheritance during his owne life: and so the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent: this is called the custome of *Tanishrie*. For example, if a Lord of land haue foure Sonnes, and the eldest of those foure haue also a sonne, the three brothers of the eldest sonne, shall after the death of their brother, enjoy their Fathers lands before the Grandchild: the custome being grounded vpon the reason of necessity. For the *Irish* in former times hauing alwaies liued in a subdiuided *Civil* warre, not only the greatest against the greatest, but euery *Baron* and *Gentleman* one against another, were inforced to leaue successors of age and abilitie to defend their owne *Territories*. Now as in *Normandie*, *Burgundie*, and other Prouinces of *France*, there are certaine peculiar, and pettie customes, besides the great and generall custome of the land, so are there in *England*, and in euery part thereof. But the greatest bulke of our lawes, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament*: lawes propounded and approved by the three estates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, because they are *Acts* of choise, and selfe desire. *Leges nulla alia causa non tenent quam quo iudicio populi recepta sunt; The lawes doe therefore binde the subject, because they are receiued by the iudgement of the subject. Tum demum humane leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint non modo institutae, sed etiam formatae approbatione communitatis; It is then that humane lawes haue their strength, when they shall not only be devised, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.*

10 Therefore listeneth these properties to euery *Christian* law, that the same be honest, 47 that it be possible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the custome of the Countrey; also for the time and place conuenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the generall good. Hee also giues foure effects of the law, which *Modestinus* comprehends in two: to wit, obligation, and intigation: the former binds vs by feare, to auoide vice: the later incoureth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet esse rationum emendationem, commendationemq; virtutum; It beloneth the law to bee a mender of vices, as a commender of vertues.* The part obligatorie or binding vs to the obseruation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes: and it is two-fold, the one constraineth vs by feare of our confusions, the other by feare of externall punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Coactiue*, and *Directiue*.

The second of these two effects remembered by *Modestinus*, is *Intigation*, or incouragement to vertue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being such as they ought to be, doe both by prescribing and forbidding,

1. *Parliament*

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36. Aug. 2

Ireland

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Vp. ff. de Leg. l. 1. §. 32.

Ang. de vera relig. cap. 3. Gratian, in dec. dist. 4. Cum in sp.

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bidding, y^e vs to well-doing: laying before vs the good and the euill, by the one and the other purchas'd. And this power affirmatiue commanding good, and power negatiue forbidding euill, are those into which the law is diuided, as touching the matter: and in which *Dauid* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, *Declina a malo, & fac bonum; Decline from euill, and doe good.*

7. fol. 36.

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§. XVI.

That only the Prince is exempt from humane lawes, and in what sort.

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NOW whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that haue written of this subiect, as well *Diuines as Lawyers*: and namely, whether Soueraigne Princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforesaid, the one *Directiue*, the other *Coactiue*: to the power *Directiue*, they ought to be subiect, but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to giue a preiudiciall iudgement against himselfe: and if equals haue not any power ouer each other, much lesse haue inferiours ouer their superiours, from whom they receiue their authoritie and strength.

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And speaking of the supreme power of lawes, simply then is the Prince so much about the lawes, as the soule and body vnit'd, is about a dead and senselesse carcasse. For the King is truly called, *ius vniuersum & lex animata; An animate and liuing law*. But this is true, that by giuing authoritie to lawes, Princes both adde greatnesse to themselves, and conserue it, and therefore was it said of *Bracton* out of *JUSTINIAN*. *Moribus debet Rex tribuere legi, quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipse sit Rex, Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the Law, which the law first attributeth to the King, for it is the law that doth make Kings.*

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Bract. 1. a.

But whereas *Bracton* ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and lawes diuine: and by humane lawes only declared to be Kings. As for the places remembred by the *Diuines* and *Lawiers*, which inferre a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to giue an accompt of their actions to God only.

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Palso.
f. de Leg.

Tibi soli peccauis, saith *DAVID*; *Against thee only haue I sinned*: therefore, the Prince cannot be said to be subiect to the law. *Princeps non subiecitur legi*; For seeing according to the *Schoolemen*, the law humane is but *quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis gubernatiue: non videtur posse eius obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humana non pertinet: sed vis potestatis humana non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neq; lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia actiua, est principium transmutandi aliud; Seeing humane law (say they) is but a kinde of organ, or instrument, of the power that governeth, it seems that it cannot extend it selfe to binde any one whom no humane power can controul, or lay hold off: but the gouernour himselfe, in whom the gouerning power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himselfe, or by his owne power be controul'd. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the law-maker himselfe: for euery actiue abilitie is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it selfe resides. And seeing Princes haue power to deliuer others from the obligation of the law: *Ergo etiam potest ipsemet Princeps siue legislator sua se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; & therefore also may a Prince or law-maker at his owne will and pleasure deliuer himselfe from the bond of the law.* Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus*

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concluded. *Subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis, Principes vero solum voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis; The subjects are bound to fulfill the law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince only by his owne will, and regard of the common good.*

- Now concerning the politique lawes, given by *Moses* to the Nation of the *Israelites*, whether they ought to be a President, from which no civill institutions of other people should presume to digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions give them greater abilitie. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, that we ought not to seeme wiser than *God* himselfe, who hath told vs that there are no lawes so righteous, as those which it pleased him to give to his Elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their severall qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no lesse than in their peculiar languages: which disagreeable conditions to governe aptly, one and the same law very hardly were able. The *Roman* civill lawes did indeede containe in order, a great part of the then knowne world, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once it was received and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much vnto the naturall customes of the sundrie people, which it governed. For whether it be through a long continued perswasion; or (as *Astrologers* more willingly grant) some influence of the Heavens; or peradventure some temper of the soile and climate, affording matter of provocation to vice (as plentie made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and opportunitie to steale, makes the *Arabians* to bee Theeves) very hard it were to forbid by law, an offence so common, with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from iust and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdome of *Congo* unhappily diuerted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great furie rejected, because plentifultie of Wiues was denied vnto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, mee thinks, it were not amisse to consider, that the high *God* himselfe permitted some things to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their naturall disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant vnto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where censure the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and iniust; there may the law, given by *Moses*, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the euill, which forsooth man, as neare as may bee, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custome hath entertained, a vicious, yet not intollerable habite, with so long and so publike approbation, that the vertue opposing it, would seeme as vnouth, as it were to walke naked in *England*, or to weare the *English* fashion of apparell in *Turkie*: there may a wife and vpright Law-giuer, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of *Moses* law required;
- 40 *eu*en as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter merely *Ecclesiasticall*, and therefore the lesse capable of dispensation, praying for the people, The good Lord bee mercifull vnto him, that prepareth his whole heart to seek the Lord God, the God of his Fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuary: which prayer the Lord heard and granted.

- To this effect it is well obserued by Matter Doctor *Willet*, that the morall Iudicials of *Moses* doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatiuely that we are tied to the same severitie of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they doe hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adiudged, where sentence of death is not given by *Moses*: Christian Magistrates ruling vnder *Christ* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemencie and Mercie, may abate of the feruencie of *Moses* law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heauie: for to shew more rigour than *Moses*, becommeth not the *Gospel*.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath beene the subiect of many

many learned discourses, neither will I take vpon mee, to speake any thing definitively in a case which dependeth still in some controuersie among worthie Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Iudiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath alwaies beene very plausible. And surely, howeouer they bee not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and only law; yet shall wee hardly finde any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Iudge may rest, with equall satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giuing sentence vpon doubts, arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Iudge could haue beene witnesse, of whom *Fortescue* that notable Bulwarke of our Lawes doth speake, complaining of a iudgement giuen against a Gentle-woman at *Salisbury*, who being accused by her owne Man, without any other prooffe, for murdering her husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the man who accused her, within a yeare after being Conuict for the same offence, confest that his Mistris was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whose terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) grievously lamented: but this Iudge, saith the same Author, *Sapienter ipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum eius de hoc facto ipse purgaret, sic himselfe often confessed vnto mee, that he should neuer during his life, be able to cleare his conscience of that fact.* Wherefore that acknowledgement which other Sciences yeeld vnto the *Metaphysiques*, that from thence are drawne propositions, able to proue the principles of sciences, which out of the sciences themselves cannot be proued, may iustly be granted by all other politique institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more iustly, by how much the subiect of the *Metaphysiques*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens; Being as it is being*, is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium, The being of being*, the only good, the fountaine of truth, whose feare is the beginning of wisdom. To which purpose well saith Saint AUGUSTINE, *Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens, illum ipsam consulit eternam, de qua nulli anima indicare datum est; The Author of temporall lawes if he be good and wise, doth therein consult the law eternall, to determine of which there is no power giuen to any soule.* And as well Prince Edward, in *Fortescue* his discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus; No man can lay a better or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.*

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CHAP. V.

The Storie of the Israelites from the receiuing of the Law,
to the death of MOSES.

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§. I.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the
Wilderneffe; with a note of the reverence given to the worship of God,
in this ordering of their troupes.



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WHEN Moses had received the law from God,
and published it among the people, and finish-
ed the tabernacle of the Arke and Sanctuary;
hee mustered all the Tribes and Families of
Israel: and having seen what numbers of men,
fit to beare armes, were found in euery Tribe,
from 20. yeares of age vpwards; hee appoint-
ed vnto them, by direction from the Lord,
such Princes and Leaders, as in worth and re-
putation were in euery Tribe most eminent.
The number of the whole armie was 603550
able men for the warres, besides women and
children; also, besides the strangers which

30 followed them out of Egypt. This great Armie was diuided by Moses into foure
grosse and mightie Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole
Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments,
which may well, in respect of their numbers, bee called Armies; as containing the
three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600
fighting men, led by *Nasheon*: in *Issachar* 54400. led by *Nathanael*: in *Zabulon* 57400
led by *Eliab*. All these marched vnder the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who
held the Vantguard, and was the first that moued and marched, being lodged and
quartered at their generall incamping on the East side of the Armie; which was
held the first place, and of greatest dignitie.

40 The second Battalion or Armie, called in the Scriptures the Host of *Reuben*, had
ioyned vnto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched vnder the
Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. vnder *Elizur*: in *Simeon*
59300. vnder *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650. vnder *Eliashaph*. These had the second place,
and incamped on the South side of the Tabernacle.

The third Armie marched vnder the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were ioyn-
ed the Regiments of *Manasse* and *Benjamin*; who, ioyned together, made in num-
ber 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West
quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. vnder *Elishama*: *Manasse* 32200.
vnder *Gemiel*: *Benjamin* 35400. vnder *Ahisham*.

50 The fourth and last Armie, or Squadron, of the generall Armie, containing
157600. able men marched vnder the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were ioyned the
two Tribes of *Nephthali* and *Asher*. And these had the Rereward, and moued last,
incamping on the North side. *Dan* had 62700. vnder *Abieser*: *Asher* 41500. vn-
der *Pagiel*: *Nephthali* 53400. vnder *Ahira*.

Besides

Besides these Princes of the severall Tribes, there were ordained Captaines ouer Thousands, ouer Hundreds, ouer Fifties, and ouer Tens; as it may appeare by that mutinie and insurrection against *Moses*, Numb. 16. v. 1. & 2. For there arose vp against *Moses* 250. Captaines of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renoume: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principall Mutiners, with those 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the twelue Princes of the Tribes, or Generall Colonells, before spoken of, as by their names Num. 1. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gaue to his children, tooke place not only in the diuision of the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but euen in sorting them vnder their severall Standards in the wilderness it was obserued. For *Iudab* had the precedencie and the greatest Armie, which also was wholly compounded of the sonnes of *Lea*, *Jacobs* wife. *Reuben* hauing lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had vndergone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. *Joseph*, who in temporall blessings had the prerogative of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and diuided into two Regiments: the yonger (according to *Jacobs* propheticke) taking place before the Elder. He was assisted by *Beniamin*, his best beloued brother, the other sonne of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest sonne of *Jacobs* Concubines, was giuen the leading of the fourth Armie, according to *Jacobs* propheticke. Hee had with him vnder his Standard none of the children of *Lea*, or *Rachel*, but only the sonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, sur-rounded by the *Leuites*. Neare vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approach, by reason of these foure powerfull Armies, which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come neare it, who were not of the *Leuites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the moueable Temple of God, and with such reuerence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the seruice and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their severall offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people obserued the former order in their incampings: so did the *Leuites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on euery side of the Tabernacle; The *Geshurites* on the West, with in the Armie, and Standard of *Ephraim*, ouer whom *Elisaph* commanded, in number 7500. The familie of *Cobath* on the South side, guided by *Elisaphan*, within the Armie of *Reuben*, and betwene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third companie were of the familie of *Merari*, ouer whom *Zurriel* commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North side within the Armie of *Dan*; On the East side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Iudab* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the other *Leuiticall* families, was *Eleazar* the sonne of *Aaron*, his successeur in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Armie of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching: the Tabernacle of God being alway set in the middle and center thereof. Thereunder care, which *Moses* the Prophet and chosen seruant of God, had in all that belonged euen to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, *Arke* and *Sanctuarie*, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeale borne towards God himselfe. The industrie vsed in the framing thereof, and euerie, and the least part thereof, the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutifull obseruance in the laying vp and preserving the holie Vessels; the sollemn remouing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the prouident defence of the same, which all Ages haue in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Familie, by the

Anabaptist

Anabaptist, Brownist, and other Sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of *Papery*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: in such as Time would soone bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines, and vnder the Hedges; and the Offices of the *Ministerie* (robbed of all dignitie and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-Government, left to newnesse of opinion and mens fancies: yea, and soone after, as many Kindes of Religions would spring vp, as there are Parish-Churches within England.

10 every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancies with the *Spirit of God*, and his imagination with the *gifts of Renovation*; in such as when the *Truth*, which is but one, shall appeare to the simple multitude, no lesse variable than contrarie to it selfe, the Faith of men will soone after die away by degrees, and all Religion bee held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gaue a great Prince of Germany cause of this answer to those that perswaded him to become a *Lutheran*, *Sine adiungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab alijs: Sine alijs adiungo, à vobis condemnor; Quid fugiatis video, sed quid sequar, non habeo*; If I aduoyne my selfe to you, I am condemned by others; if I ioyne with others, I am condemned by you; What I should auide I see, but I know not what I should follow.

§. 11.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: The Passouer of the second year; The departing of IETHRO.

10 **N**OW when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessarie, provided for the seruice of God, written the Lawes, numbered his Armie, and diuided them into the battailes and troupes before remembered, and appointed them Leaders of all forts: The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, sixe couered Chariots, and twelue Oxen to draw them, therein to transport as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged therunto: the *Sanctuarie* excepted; which for reuerence was carried vpon the shoulders of the sonnes of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was conueyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Leuites* for that seruice, namely to the sonnes of *Gershan* and *Merari*.

Besides these Chariots each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered vnto God, and for his seruice in the Temple, a charger of fine siluer, weighing 130. shekles: a siluer Boll of 70. shekles: after the shekle of the *Sanctuarie*; and an incense-Cup of gold of ten shekles: which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated vnto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conquest: besides the beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law Ceremoniall, the weight of all the twelve siluer chargers, and twelue siluer Bolles amounted vnto 2400. shekles of siluer: and the weight of gold in the incense-Cups, to 120. shekles of gold: which makes of shekles of siluer 1200 every shekle of gold valuing ten of siluer, so that the whole of gold and siluer which they offered at this time, was about foure hundredth and twentie pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gaue order for the celebrating of the *Passouer*: which they performed on the fourteenth day of the second Month of the second year: and on the 20. day of the same the cloude was lifted vp from about the Tabernacle, as a signe of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this invocation to God, *Rise vp Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee*. Then all the people of Israel remoued from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine *Sinai*, towards *Param*

Nam 6.

The Hebrew
Gersh weighed
eth sixtence
graines: 10 a
Gerah of siluer
is about three
half pence: the
Side of the Sanctu-
arie (as it is ex-
pounded in Exod.
39.13.) conteineth 10 Gerahs
so a Sanctuarie
Side of siluer is
about 7 graines
the eimom, &c.
is but half e
so much, to wit,
ten Gerahs: as
is a visibly ex-
pounded in
V. 13. p. 134.
labours to preu-
the com-
the Sanctuarie
were all one,
Nam 8. v. 5.
Nam 10. v. 1.
Exod. 39. 13.
Nam 9. 17.

led them on and preferred them, but to bring them, their wives, and children to be
slaughtered, and giuen for a prey and spoile to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was
reported vnto them, by the searchers of the Land, That the Cities of their enemies
were walled and defended with many strong Towers, and Castles: that many of
the people were *Giantlike* (for they confessed that they saw the sonnes of *Anac* there)
who were men of fearefull stature, and so late ouer-topped the *Israelites*, as they ap-
peared to them, and to themselves, but as *Graihoppers* in their respect. Now, as
this mutinie exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to
chooſe them a Captaine (or as they call it now-a-daies, an *Electo*) to carrie them
backe againe into *Egypt*: so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than
any of the former. For he extinguished euery soule of the whole multitude (*Iosua*
and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, perswaded the people
to enter *Canaan*, being then neare it, and at the mountaine foote of *Idumea*: which
is but narrow, laying before them the fertilitie thereof: and affuring them of victo-
rie. But as men, whom the passion of feare had bereaued both of reason and com-
mon sense: they threatned to stone these encouragers to death: accounting them as
men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the liues, goods, and children of
all their bretheren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and
interpoling the feare of his bright glorie betweene the vnadvised fume of the multi-
tude, and the innocencie and constancie of his seruants, persued them thereby
from their violence: threatening an intire destruction of the whole Nation, by send-
ing against them a consuming and mercilesse pestilence. For this wasthe tenth in-
surrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God deliuered them from the
slauerie of the *Egyptians*. But *Moses* (the mildest or meekest of all men) praised vnto
God to remember his infinite mercies: alledging that this so seuer a iudgement,
how deserv'dly soeuer inflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations:
and giue them occasion to vaunt that the God of *Israel* failing in power to performe
his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitlesse Deserts. Yet as
God is no lesse iust than mercifull, as God is slow to anger; so is his wrath a consuming
fire: the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: and
therefore, as with a hand lesse heauie than hoped for, he scourged this iniquitie, so by
the measure of his glorie (euermore jealous of neglect and dension) hee suffered not
the wicked to passe unpunished; reseruing his compassion for the innocent: whom,
because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, hee was pleased to
preserve, and in them to performe his promises, which haue neuer bene frustrate.

Num. 14. 10.

Num. 14. 2. 25.

Num. 12. 9. 5.

§. IIII.

Of their unwillingnesse to returne: with the punishment thereof, and of diuers
accidents in the returne.

40 Now when *Moses* had reuiled the purposes of God to the people:
and made them know his heauie displeasure towards them: they be-
ganne to bewaile themselves, though ouer-late: the times of grace
and mens repentance, hauing also their appointment. And then
when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among
them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings, They
would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt: and make
offer to enter the Land contrarie againe to the aduise of *Moses*: who assured them,
that God was not now among them: and that the Arke of his couenant should not
moue, but by his direction, who could not erre: and that the enemies sword which
God had hitherto benighted and rebated, was now left no lesse sharpe than death:
and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no lesse cruell. But as men from whom
God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwaies follow those counsells which carrie
them

109 8446

them to their owne destructions: so the *Hebrewes* after they had forsaken the opportunitie by God and their Conductors offered: and might then haue entred *Iudea* before their enemies were prepared and ioynd: did afterward, contrarie to Gods commandement, vnderake the enterprise of themselves: and ranne headlong and without aduise into the mountaines of *Idumaea*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being ioynd and attending their aduantage, set on them, brake them: and of their numbers slaughterd the greatest part: and following their victorie and pursuite, consumed them all the way of their flight euen vnto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites* in reuenge of their former losse, and ouerthrowe at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their displantation and destruction threatned. Of which powerfull assemblie of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings ioynd together for their common safetie) it pleased God to forewarne *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For hee commaunded him to returne by those painefull passages of the deserts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the banks of the red Sea againe: in which retraite before they came backe to passe ouer *Jordan* there were consumed 38. yeares: and the whole number of the sixe hundreth and odde thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses* *Ishmael* and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderness, the stubborne and carelesse generations were wholly worne out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children: which were increased to 600000. and 20 more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the Land vpon the returne of the discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of heauen. For although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israhelites* worshipped the Sunne and Moone in after-times it is proued out of sundrie other places.

Amos 5. 5. v. 37.
 All 157. v. 40.
 2. Kings 16. 17.
 v. 16. & 17. 31.
 v. 3. & 12. v. 4
 5. 11.
 2. Chron. 33. 0. 3
 Hierem. 6. 19.
 v. 13. & c.

Num. 33.

Now after the broken companies were returned to the Campe at *Cades*, *Moses*, according to the commandement receiued from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recouer the shoares of the Red Sea. And so from *Cades* or *Rithma* he remoued to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and diuided among them. From thence hee went on to *Lihnah*, taking that name of the frankincense there found. From *Lihnah* hee crost the valley, and sate downe at *Respha* neare the foot of the mountaine. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at *Ceclata*: where one of the *Hebrewes*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* alwaies keeping the valley, between two great ledges of mountaines (those which bound the Desert of *Sim*, and those of *Pharan*) crost the same from *Ceclata*; and marched Eastward to the mountaine of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the Twentieth mansion. From thence hee passed on to *Harada*; then to *Maacloth*; and then to *Thahab*, and so to *Thara* or *Thure*: the foure & twentieth mansion. Where while *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutinie, of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*: who for their contempt of God and his Ministers were some of them swallowed vp alive, and by the earth opening her mouth deuoured, others euen two hundred and fiftie which offered incense with *Korah* were consumed with fire from heauen; & 14700. of their partie, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest meruilles and iudgements of God, that hath bene shewed in all the time of *Moses* his gouernment, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men who would haue vsurped Ecclesiasticall authoritie, were suddenly swallowed vp alive into the earth with their families and goods; euen while they fought to ouerthrowe the Order, Discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the *High Priest* and *Magistrate*, to whom God had committed the gouernment both of his Church and Common-weale of his people. And the bet-

ter

ter to assure the people, and out of his great mercie to confirme them, it pleased him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his servant *Aaron*, by the twelve rodde given in by the Heads of the twelve Tribes; of which *Moses* received one of every Head and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and drie Wands, and on every rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aaron* on that of *Leui*, it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* received by his power a vegetable Spirit, and having laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the *Ark* one night, had on it both Buds, Blossomes, and ripe *Almonds*.

- 10 From *Tharab* the whole Armie removed to *Atelbra*; and thence to *Esfonah*; and thence to *Moseroth*, (or *Mosur* after *S. Hierome*), and from *Moseroth* to *Beneiakan*; and so to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Ietabata*, the thirtieth Manzion; where from certain fountaines of water gathered in one, *Adrielomius* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, betwene *Ma'in* and *Afiongeber*.

Now although it be very probable, that at *Afiongeber*, where *Salomon* furnished his Fleets for the East *Indus*, there was store of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* Her. 3. maketh mention of a great River, in *Arabia the Stone*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (saith he) the Inhabitants conueigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* relieved the Armie of *Cambyses*; yet is *Adrielomius* greatly deceived as many times he is, in finding these springs at *Gadgad*, or *Ietabata*, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Manzion. For it was at *Paranon*, that those springs are spoken off, which in *Deut.* the 10. v. 7. is also called *Ietabata*, or *Ietabath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zedech*, the next adioyning. And that these springs should fall into the *Red Sea* at *Afiongeber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot beleue, for the way is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are diuers Torrents of fresh water in those landie parts of *Arabia*: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunke vp by the hot and thirstie sand, before they can recouer the bankes of the *Red Sea*.

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- 30 From *Ietabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and incamped at *Hebron*; and from thence to *Esfiongeber*: which Citie in *Iosephus* time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Strabones* *Ephra*. From thence keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded: *Esfiongeber* *Deut.* 3. being the fiftieth place towards the South-east, that *Moses* trauielled in that passage.

It seemeth that *Esfiongeber* or *Afiongeber*, *Enloth* and *Atathan* were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, That the Lord spake vnto *MOSES* *Num.* 20. v. 13 and *AARON* in the Mount *Hor*, neare the coast of the Land of *Edom*; so as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Iudaea*. And if *Esfiongeber*, and the other places neare the *Red Sea*, had at this present bene subiect to the *Iudeans*, *Moses* would also haue demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the possession the *Iudeans* obtained those places: for it is said. And they arose out of *Midian*, and came to *Paran*, and tooke men with them; which were those companies that followed young *Ahaz* of *Iudaea* into *Aegypt*, when he fled from *Iobab*. Likewise it is said of *Salomon*, that he made a naue of ships in *Esfiongeber* besides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*.

- 40 From *Esfiongeber* he turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the Wilderness of *Zin*, which is *Kadesh*; or in *Horoth*, of the children of *Isaac*; where they fate downe in the first Moneth of the fortieth year after they left *Aegypt*. For at the next Manzion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth year: the nine and thirtieth

§. V.

Of *MOSES* arrivall at *Zin Kades*: and the accidents while they abode there.

- 50 From *Esfiongeber* he turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the Wilderness of *Zin*, which is *Kadesh*; or in *Horoth*, of the children of *Isaac*; where they fate downe in the first Moneth of the fortieth year after they left *Aegypt*. For at the next Manzion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth year: the nine and thirtieth

Nam. 20. 1.

Nam. 20. 3.

Nam. 20. 9.

Nam. 21. 3.

tieth yeare taking end at *Esiogaber*. And at this Citie of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or neare it, died *Miriam* or *Marie*, *Moses* sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seene in Saint *Heremes* time, as himselfe auoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcitie of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heauen; by being deuoured and swallowed vp by the earth; by the suddaine pestilence which often seized them nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the loue or wrath of God, could preuaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satished in euery of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and calling vngratefully on *Moses* all their misaduentures, yea though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Deserts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeare, wherewith all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in sight of the Land promised, they againe as oblatinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end; he commanded *Moses* to smite a Rocke adioyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattails were satished. Neuarthelesse, because God perceiued a kinde of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place: therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might inuite them. But it pleased him to end the trauailes of *Aaron* at the Mountaine of *Hor*, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of *Hor*, *Aaron* was deposed of the Garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his Sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* descended the Mountaine; but God receiued *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more seene.

Of this Mountaine called *Hor*, otherwile *Mosera*, as in *Deuter. 10. vers. 6.* those *Horites* tooke name, which the *Idumians* had formerly vanquished: Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the scuen and twentieth Mansion; and *Mosera* which they write *Moseroth* for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places: because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Esiogaber*, incamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Hefibuna*, and before he came to *Beniatacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came vnto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* sister died; the first being the seuen and twentieth, and the second being the foure and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mosera*, it should haue bene written, *Hor iuxta Mosera*; *Hor* neare *Mosera*: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, diuided into diuers tops, as *Sinai* and *Hor* are: whereof the West part *Moses* calleth *Mosera*, and the East part *Hor*. By the West part *Moses* incamped, as he past towards the Red Sea, on his left hand; by the East part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards *Moab*; as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceiue.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent Messengers to the Prince of *Idumea*, praying him that hee might passe with the people of *Israel* through his Territorie into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the nearest way of all other from the Citie of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then incamped; whereas otherwile taking his iourney by the Riuer of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, hee might haue runne into many hazards in the passage of those Riuer, the farre way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of *Idumea* herunto, *Moses* remembered him, that he was of the same race and familie with *Israel*: calling him by the name of Brother, because both the


Edomites

Edomites and Israelites were the Sonnes of one Father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby, that hee had more reason to fauour and respect them, than hee had to assault the *Canaanites*; against whom *Esaú* his Ancestor had made warre, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Ser*, calling it by his owne name *Edom*, or *Edumaea*. Hee also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises, assured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that hee would no way offend his people, or waste his Countrie, but that hee would retrain his Armie within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high waies, paying money for whatsoeuer he vsed, yea euen for the water, which themselves or their Cattel should drinke. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to prouoke the children of *Esaú*. But the King of *Edumaea* knowing the strength of his owne Countrie, the same being neare *Canaan*, rampard with high and sharpe mountaines: and with all suspecting, as a naturall wise man, that 600000. strangers being once entred his Countrie, it would rest in their wills to giue him law, resolutely refused them passage, and deliuered this answer to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible means. And not knowing whether such a deniall might satisfie or exasperate, hee gathered the strength of his countrie together, and shewed himselfe prepared to defend their passage. For as it is writtē: Then *Edom* came out against him (to wit, *Moses*) with much people, and with a mightie power. Whereupon *Moses* considering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of *Ser* or *Edumaea*, and that the Land promised was that of *Canaan*: like vnto himselfe, who was of a naturall vnderstanding the greatest of any man, and the skill fullest man of warre that the world had, he refused to aduenture the Armie of *Israel* against a Nation, which being ouer-come, gave but a passage to inuade others; and which by reason of the seat of their mountainous Countrie, could not but haue endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendred them lesse able, if not altogether powerlesse, to haue conquered the rest.

30

§. VI.

Of their compassing *Idumaea*, and trauelling to *Arnon*, the border of *Moab*.

40  E therefore leauing the way of *Idumaea*, turned himselfe towards the East, and marched towards the Deserts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* vnderstood, and that *Moses* had blanced the way of *Edumaea*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Israel* aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to finde his enemies in his neighbours Countrie, than to be found by them in his owne: which he might haue done with a farre greater hope of victorie, had *Moses* beene enforst first to haue made his way by the sword through *Idumaea*, and thereby, though victorious, greatly haue lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than *Arad* hoped for, yet being resoluēd to make triall, what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came nearer his owne home, leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Desert, he set vpon some part of the Armie; which, for the multitude, occupied a great space, and for the many herds of Cattle that they draue with them, could not incampe so neare together, but that some quarter or other was euer more subiect to surprisē. By which aduantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance vnexpected, he slew some few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Prodecesour, which

Num. 14. 45.

ioyned his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gaue an ouerthrow to those mutinous *Israelites*, which without direction from God by *Moses* would haue entred *Canaan* from *Cadeshbarne*. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Armie were of the *Canaanites*, because in the first of *Deuter*. 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are said to haue beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the same that had a victorie ouer *Israel*, neare *Cadeshbarne*, or if it were his Predecessor that then prevailed, this man hindring that *Moses* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moses* purpose to compass *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the Desert to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* utterly destroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be vnderstood, to haue bene done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Iosua*. For had *Moses* at this time entred *Canaan* in the pursuit of *Arad*, hee would not haue fallen backe againe into the Deserts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and haue fetcht a wearisome and needlesse compass, by the Riuers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Num. 33. 40.

Neither is their coniecture to bee valued at any thing, which affirme, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it selfe, but that his Territory lay without it, and neare the Mountaine *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin* Cades were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*.

Againe, *Horma* (for so farre the *Israelites* after their victorie pursued the *Canaanites*) is seated in the South of *Judaa*. There is also a Citie of that name in *Simoon*. But there is no such place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutinie which followed presently after the repetition of this victorie, it were enough to proue, that the same was obtained in the future, and in *Iosua* his time, and not at the instant of *Arads* assault. For had the *Israelites* at this time sackt the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day haue complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water, and bread. But it was in the time of *Iosua*, that the *Israelites* tooke their reuenge, and after they had past *Jordan*: *Iosua* then gouerning them; who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his Citie so called; and with him the King of *Elon*: to which place the *Israelites* pursued the *Canaanites*. And hee nameth them amongst those Kings, which hee vanquished and put to death.

Now after this assault and surpris by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, hee led the people Eastward to compass *Idumaea* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plaines of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the *Amorites*. But the *Israelites*, to whom the very name of a Desert was terrible, beganne againe to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fire Serpents, (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement set vp.

From the Mount *Hor*, *Moses* leauing the ordinarie way which lieth betwene the *Red Sea*, and *Calefryia*, incamped at *Zalmora*: and thence hee removed to *Phanun*, where hee erected the Brazen Serpent; making these iourneys by the edge of *Edumaea*, but without it. For *Phanun* was sometime a principall Citie of the *Edomites*. Now where it is written in *Numbers* 21. Vers. 4. That from Mount *Hor* they departed by the way of the *Red Sea*, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant that the *Israelites* turned backe towards the *Red Sea*; neither

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Amorites are named *Amor*
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the future, to wit, in the
the pursuit of *Arad*,
of *Zim* and *Moad*, and
Riues of *Zared* and

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Per. 4. The first
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neither did they march (according to *FONSECA* per viam, que habet a laterem mare rubrum, By the way that sheld the Red Sea, but indeede they crost, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Trachonitis*, and the Countries of *Moab*, to the Red Sea, that is to *Eijongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, so *Israel* to *Ihunn* the border of *Edom*, and to take the vtmost East part of *Moab*, crost the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phannon* he went to *Obooth*; where they entred the Territorie of *Moab*, adjoining to the Land of *Sapha*, a Countrie bordering on the Dead Sea, and from thence to *Abaram*, the eight and thirtieth Manzion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountoues of Hills, on the East border of *Moab*; From thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the Riuer of *Zared*, which riseth in the mountaines of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the Dead Sea, not farre from *Petra* the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And hauing past that Riuer, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblahaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremie* the Prophetie 48. v. 22. calleth the House of *Diblahaim*, the same which afterward was destroyed among the reit by *Nabuchodonosor*. From thence they came to the Riuer of *Arnon*, and incamped in the mountaines of *Abaram*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Helmon*, *Diblahaim*, but speaketh of his remoue from the Riuer of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*, calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, betweene them and the *Amorites*: speaking, as he found the state of the Countrie at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Amorites*, by *Schon*, King of the *Amorites*: euen from the Predecessour of *Balaac Peor* then reigning. From *Diblahaim*, *Moses* sent Messengers to *Schon*, King of the *Amorites*, to desire a passage through his Countrie: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to giue a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he undertooke. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Schon* did, yet hee had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Seon* obserued the same precept, which he left to his posteritie, and successours, for a law of the war, namely in *Deut.* 20. v. 10. in these words, When thou comest neare vnto a Citie to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open vnto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries vnto thee, and serue thee, but if it refuse, &c. then shalt smite all the Males thereof with the edge of the sword. Which ordinance all Commanders of Armies haue obserued to this day, or ought to haue done.

§. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Storie, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture which are lost.

40 **N**OW concerning the Warre betwene *Israel* and *Schon*, *Moses* seemeth to referre a great part of this Storie to that Booke intitled *Liber bellorum Domini*: The booke of Gods battailes; and therefore passeth ouer many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater breuitie in this place. His wordes after the Geneva translation are these. Wherefore it shall be spoken in the booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things hee did in the Red Sea, and in the Riues of *Arnon*. The Vulgar copie differeth not in sense from this: But the Greeke Septuagint varieth. For the Greeke writes it to this effect; For thus it is said in the booke: The Warre of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) *Zoob*, and the brookes of *Arnon*. *Iustinus* for the Red Sea, which is in the Geneva and Vulgar Edition, names the Region of * *Sapha*, a Countrie bordering the Dead Sea towards the East, as hee coniectureth. The Text hereadeth thus. *Iacobi dicit solet in recensione bellorum* *ΙΕΝΟΥΧ*, contra *ΒΑΠΕΒΥΜ* in Regione *ΣΥΡΗ*: & contra *flumina*, *flumina Arnonis*; Therefore it is spoken 18. §. 3.

Num. 31. v. 21. f. 4.

Num. 31.

* Of the constellation of *Sapha* see more Chap. 10

§. 4. f. 2.

and of the force of the Word

Sapha alio chap.

18. §. 3.



spoken in repeating of the battailes of *IEHOVAH*, against *VAHER* in the Countrey of *SVPH*: and against the Rivers, the Rivers of *Arnon*. In which wordes he vnderstands, that amongst the Warres which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous memorie in the mouth of most men, concerning the Warre of *Schon* against *Yahab*, the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Countrey neare *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Yahab* was the immediate Predecessor of *Balaç*; who liued with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Balaç* was the sonne of *Zippor*, and not of *Yahab*. For it comes (as it is plain in the succession of the *Edomites*) that these Kingdomes were electiue, and not successiue. And as *Iunius* in this translation vnderstandeth no speciall Booke of the battailes of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any speciall booke be meant; and if any; whether it bee not a prediction of Warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the booke of *Judges*. *Siracides*. 45. tells vs plainly, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by *IOVNA*. Who was there (saith he) before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord. But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe over matters of great weight in few wordes, referring the Reader to other bookes, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a booke as this there was; wherein the severall victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with diuine discourse, haue perished in the long race of time, or haue been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the bookes of *Hesch*, howsoever they haue been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an Epistle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen* *sept. apoc.*, and by *Tertullian*.

That worke also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, of *Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Acliba*, is no where found. The bookes remembered by *Iosua* c. 10. v. 13. and in the second of *Samuel* c. 1. v. 18. called the Booke of *Iesser*, or *Iustorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sunne and Moone in the midst of the Heavens is recorded, and how they stood still, till *Israel* had auenged themselves of their enemies: out of which also *David* tooke the precept, of teaching the children of *Iuda*, to exercise their bowes against their enemies.

Some thinke this to be the Booke of eternall Predelination, in which the iust are written, according to the 69. *Isaie* v. 28. where it is said, *Let them be put out of the booke of life, neither let them be written with the righteous*. *HEROME* thinks, that *David* by this booke vnderstood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Salomon*, that the bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the iust *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Iacob*, and *Moses*, are written; others, that it was the booke of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentarie vpon *Iosua* by an vnknowne Author.

The booke of *Chosai*, concerning *Messie*, remembered in the second of *Chrom.* 33. v. 18. & 19. Of this booke, also lost, *Iherome* conceiues that the Prophet *Isay* was the Author.

The same mischance came aswell to the Storie of *Salomon*, written by *Abia Silonites*, who met with *Ierobam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of *Israhel* from the sonne of *Salomon*: as to the bookes of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Ieda* the Seer, remembered in the second of *Chrom.* c. 9. v. 29. with these haue the bookes of *Shemaiab* and of *Idda*, remembered in the second of *Chrom.* c. 12. v. 15. perished: and that of *Iehu* the sonne of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Iehosaphat*, cited in the second of *Chrom.* c. 20. v. 34. Also that booke of *Salomons* which the *Hebrews* write *Hiskarm*, of 5000. verses, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum* only remaineth, 1. *Kings* 4. 32. and with this diuers other of *Salomons* workes haue perished, as his booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1. *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembered by *Origen*, *Iosephus*, *Iherome*, *Cedrenus*, *Cicero* *Aluianus*, *Pierius* *deirondalus*, and others.

Of these and other bookes many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnessar* burnt the Temple of *Iherusalem*. But let vs returne thither where we left.

2. VIII.

Of MOSES his sparing the issue of *Lot*: and of the Giants in those parts: and of *SEHON* and *OG*.

10 **W**hen *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposit to the Cite of *Nebo*, leaving the Cite of *Midian* on his left hand, and attempting nothing vpon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Mosab* did at this time inhabit on the South side of *Arnon*, hauing lost all his ancient and best Territorie, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to prouoke them to battaile, God hauing giuen that Land to the children of *Lot*: the same which was anciently possit by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called *Anakims*, or the sonnes of *Anac*.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, euen to the Desert of *Arabia*, aswell on the West, as on the East side of the Mountaines of *Gilead*, were inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Issradites* did not at any time passe those Mountaines to the East of *Basam*, but left their Countrie to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We finde also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the flood: so these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it selfe, had among them many families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the Cite of *Arbath*, which *Arbath* 29. c. 14. v. 13. 7. 14. v. 15.

30 in *Iofua* is called the Father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also bene Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chiefe Cite was *Arcoer* or *Ar*, neare the Riuer of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gaue the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same ancient *Cananites*: and their chiefe Cite was *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphus*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti*, horrendi, Gigantes, Strong men, and fearefull Giants, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Him*, in the same Province, and not farre to the North of *Arcoer*.

Now *Moses* hauing past *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and hauing (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Countrie, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proude by his former conquest vpon *Zabab* the *Moabite*, which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and vipers, (themselves being of the sonnes of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speede as he could, because *Moses* incamped in the Countrie of his new conquest, to wit, the Plaines of *Moab*; the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which *Moses* waiked with the multitude of his people, and cattle. Towards him therefore halting himselfe, they encountered each other at *Iabaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited: and the victorie so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. Hee also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essehon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basam* also were: and descended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus*: for *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now haue taken a ready way and passage into *India*: being at this time, and after this victorie at the banks of *Jordan*: yet hee knew it to bee 10. 1. v. 8.

perilous

perilous to leaue ſo great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of *Baſan* or *Tracanis*: and therefore heled on his Armie to invade *Og*: a perſon of exceeding ſtrength and ſtature: and the only man of mark remaining of the ancient Giants of thoſe parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defended: lying between the mountaine of *Hermen* (which mountaine ſaith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites* *Shenir*) and the Riuer of *Jordan*. And it beſell vnto the King of *Baſan* (who attended *Moses* coming at *E-drei*) as it did vnto *Sihon*: for he and his ſonnes periſhed, and all his Cities were taken and poſſeſt. After this *Moses* with-drawing himſelfe backe againe to the mountaines of *Abarim*, left the perſecution of that warre vnto *Iair* the ſonne of *Manſſe*: 10 who conquering the Eaſt parts of *Baſan*, to wit, the Kingdome of *Argob*, euen vnto the Nations of the *Geffuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities: called the ſame after his owne name *Hawoth Iair*: of all which conquiſts afterward the halfe Tribe of *Manſſe* poſſeſt the North part as faire as *E-drei*, but the Eaſt part that belonged to *Sihon* the *Amorite*, with the mountaines of *Gilead* adioyning, was giuen to *Ruben* and *Gad*.

p. I X.

Of the troubles about the *Medianites*, and of *Moses* his death.

20



FTER theſe victories, and while *Iſrael* ſojourned in the valley of *Midia*; the *Medianites* and *Mosabites* (ouer both which Nations it ſeemeth that *Balaam* King of the *Mosabites* then commanded in chiefe) fought, according to the aduife of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrewes* to the loue of their daughters, and by perſwading them to honour and ſerue their Idols, to diuide them both in Loue and Religion among themſelues: thereby the better both to defend their owne intereſt againſt them, as alſo to beat them out of *Moab*, and the Countreies adioyning. The *Iſraelites* as they had euer beene inclined, ſo were they now eaſily perſwaded to theſe euill courſes, and thereby drew on 30 themſelues the plague of peſtilence, whereof there periſhed 24000. perſons: beſides which puniſhment of God the moſt of the offenders among the *Hebrewes*, were by his commandement put to the ſword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the ſonne of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Coſbi* a Daughter of one of the chiefe of the *Medianites*, the plague ceaſed, and Gods wrath was appeaſed. For ſuch was the loue and kindeſneſſe of his all-powerfulneſſe, reſpecting the ardent zeale of *Phineas* in proſecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chiefe among the *Hebrewes* became an Idolater) as hee forgaued the reſt of *Iſrael*, and ſtaied his hand for his ſake.

In this valley it was that *Moses* cauſed the people to be numbred the third time: 40 and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601730. of which as his laſt enterpriſe, he appointed 12000. to be choſen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Mosabites* praſticed with *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*: and after that ſought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worſhip of the true God, to the ſeruire of *Beth-Peor*: and to the reſt of their barbarous Idolatrie. Ouer which companies of 12000. *Moses* gaue the charge to *Phineas*, the ſonne of *Eleazar* the high Prieſt: who ſlew the ſiue Princes of the *Medianites*, which were, or had lately beene, the vaſſalls of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Ieſuab*. Theſe ſiue Princes of the *Medianites* ſlaine by *Eleazar* were at this time but the vaſſalls of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Emi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba*, the Dukes of *Sehon*, ſaith *Ieſua*. Hee ſlew alſo all the men, male-children, and women: ſauing ſuch as had not yet vſed the companie of 50 men, but thoſe they ſaued and diſperſt them among the children of *Iſrael* to ſerue them.

And *Moses* hauing now liued 120. yeares, making both his owne weakeneſſe of body

Num. 35. v. 9.

Num. 26. v. 51.

Num. 31. v. 8.

Iſa. 13. v. 17.

Cap. 13. v. 31.

Deut. 32. v. 2.

body knowne to the people, and his vniablie to trauaile: and also that he was fore-
warned of his end by the spirit of God: from whom he receiued a new commande-
ment to ascend the Mountaines of *Aburim*, and thereon to render vp his life: Hee
hastned to settle the Gouvernement in *Iesus*: whom hee perswaded with most liuely
arguments to prosecute the conquest begunne, assuring him of Gods fauour and
assistance therein. And so hauing spent these his later daies after the Conquest of
Og and *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the Law (or
an iteration of the Law, according to *S. Augustine*) vsing both arguments, praier,
and threats vnto the people: which he often repeated vnto them; thereby to con-
firme them in knowledge, loue, feare, and seruice, of the all-powerfull God: Hee
blessed the twelue Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with severall and most comfort-
able blessings: praising the greatnesse and goodnesse of him, vnto whom in his
praier he commended them: Hee also commanded the Priests to lay vp the booke
of the Law, by the side of the *Arke* of God: The last that he indited was that Pro-
phetical Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heuens and I will speake, and let the earth heare*
the word of my mouth: and being called by God from the labours and sorowes of this
life, vnto that rest which neuer after ward hath disquiet, hee was buried in the Land
of *Mash*, ouer against *Beth-peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulchre to this day,
which happened in the year of the World 2554.

Observations out of the Storie of MOSES, how God disposeth both the smallest
occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of
his purpose.

NOW let vs a little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of sun-
drie of the great euents, which haue beene mentioned in this Storie
of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promise, and
fore-choise of this people) hee wrought in all things else by the me-
dium of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And so we shall find
that the feare which *Pharao* had of the increas of the *Hebrewes*, multiplied by God
to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the sorrowes and losse,
which befell himselfe, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he sought
by cruell and vngodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the
male-children of the *Hebrewes* to be slaine, God (whose providence cannot bee resi-
sted, nor his purposes preuented by all the foolish and saluage craft of mortall men)
moued compassion in the heart of *Pharao*'s owne Daughter, to preserve that child,
which afterward became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and milde,
the most excellently learned in all Diuine and Humane knowledge, to be the Con-
ductor and deliuerer of his oppressed Brethren, and the ouerthrow of *Pharao*, and all
the flower of his Nation; euen then, when he fought by the strength of his men of
Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them vnder and burie them in the dust.
The griefe which *Moses* conceiued of the iniuries, and of the violence offered to one
of the *Hebrewes* in his owne presence, moued him to take reuenge of the *Egyptian*
that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatening him to dis-
couer the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moued him to flie into *Midian*: the conten-
tion betweene the sheepe-herds of that place, and *Iethro*'s Daughters, made him
knowne to their Father: who not only entertained him, but married him to one of
those Sisters: and in that solitary life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre
from the presse of the world, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne)
with the lot of a poore Herds-man, God found him out in that Desart, wherein he
first suffered him to liue many yeares, the better to know the waies and passages
through which he purposed that hee should conduct his people, toward the Land
promised:

promised: and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his Will and diuine Pleasure for his returne into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by Gods direction performed in the *Storie of Israel* before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seeme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many yeares after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their comming out of Egypt; and of the men of renowne in other Nations, about the times of MOSES and IOSEA, with the summe of the Historie of IOSEA. 25. 6

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to haue warre, were diuers waies, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.



* It seemeth also that *Him*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, & *Ber*, his Brother, planned themselves in the Eastside of *Iordan* about *Bathan*: where they finde the Land of *Itasin* which both *Him* dwelt, as one of the issue of *Him* the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *Esau*, his frind, which is called a *Raght*. See hereafter Chap. 10. §. 7.

IN like manner if we looke to the qualitie of the Nations, with whom the *Israelites*, after their comming out of *Egypt*, had to doe, either in the *Wildernesse*, or afterward: we shall finde them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmitie: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*: and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Mosabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Ismaelites*) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the *Israelites* still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diuersitie in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the *Israelites*: and so to serue for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must vnderstand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountaines of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the same mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea* on the South: and by the *Mediterran Sea* on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sonnes of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem* were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with * one familie, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and Possessors of those Territories: by procelle of time diuided into severall families and names: whereof some

some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamuzimims*, or *Zucchi*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabit the vtter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Hennites*, *Heitites*, and others, who tooke name after the sonnes of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrie in generall was still called.

As for the *Hebrewes* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another familie, and strangers in that Countrie: especially the *Israelites*, and this was some cause that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them: no more than the *Phylishtims* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himselfe being a stranger was highly esteemed and honoured among them: especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the West part of Iordan: yet now euen they which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those partes, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*: as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they dayly contracted affinity: than of their oldie ptegrity from *Abraham*.

True it is that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themselves and matched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so far possit themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to bee aequal in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. For of *Lor* came those two great families of the *Amorites*, and *Amorites*: of *Esfau* the *Idumians*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael*, the eldest sonne of *Abraham* came the *Ismaelites*, with whom are joynd as of the same nation, the *Amalekites*, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to haue been a tribe of *Edom*, because *Esfau* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason conuinceth it to haue bin otherwise. For the *Israelites* were forbidden to prouoke the *Edomites*, or doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Edom* was cursed and endlesse warre decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere. Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismaels* eldest Sonne *Naboth* sprung the *Arabians* of *Edom*. *Petrea*, called *Nabathai*. Now euen as *Abraham* besought God to blesse *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him those twelue Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betwene *Hanilath* vpon *Tigris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the Desert of Arabia *Petrea*. Yet howeuer the strength of these later named nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great: yet it is not unlikely, but that some reason which moued them not to fliour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of feare: because all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these families before named, were not so vnited, in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for Dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood a-part or vnited, they were taught by the care of their owne preferuation, to joyne themselves together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolutely as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edomians* only denied the *Hebrewes* a passage: which the *Mobites* durst not denie: because their Countrie lay more open; and because themselves had lately bene beaten out of the richert part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Amorites* their Countrie lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the *Amorites* was strong by reason of the mountaines which diuided it from *Basan*. Again, that which moued the *Mobites* in their owne reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his Confederate: was that the *Mobites* might hope after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recouer againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying betwene the mountaines of Arabia and Iordan: But as soone as *Sehon* was slaine, and that the King of

Mob;

Moshe, *Balaac*, perceived that *Moses* allotted that valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, he beganne to practise with *Balaac* against *Israel*, and by the Daughters of *Midian*, as aforesaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at length the *Mosabites* by speciall occasion were more and more stirred up to enmitie against *Israel*. And as for diuers of therest that were descended from *Abrahams* kindred, wee may note, how in the beginning, betwene the Authors of their Petigrees, God permitted some enmities to be as were prelages of future quarrells, which in the posteritie might bee the easier incensed, by the memorie of old grudges: and withall by some dislike from the elder in nature to the yonger. For the *Ismaelites* being descended from the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest sonne of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, being but a second sonne, of a second brother, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses being naturall men, might scorne to giue place, much lesse to subiect themselves, to their inferiours, as they took it, and for a more aggravation the issues of *Esau* Princes of *E. Iamaea*, might keep in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Jacob* taking his advantage, and that he was deceived of his Fathers blessings also by him: and that *Jacob* after reconciliation came not vnto him as he promised into *Seir* or *Idumaea*.

Gen. 25.
Gen. 27.
Gen. 33. 14.

So also in the posteritie of *Ismael*, it might remaine as a seede or pretence of enmitie, that their fore-father was by the instigation of *Sara*, cast out into the *Desart*, with his Mother *Hagar*: and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angell²⁰ to relieue them. *Ismael* also had an *Aegyptian* both to his Mother and to his Wife: and *Amalec* was also an *Horite* by his Mother: which *Horites* were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Edumaeans* also, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternall line descended of the *Canaanites*. For *Esau* took two Wives of that Nation: one of them was *Adah*, the Daughter of *Eloa*, the *Hittite*, and the other *Aholibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon* the *Henite*, Lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esau*, and called after his name *Edom* or *Edumaea*.

Gen. 36.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those families of the *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Mosabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in processe of time corrupted, and drawne from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conuersation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those Wives of the *Canaanites* which they had married: only a few of the *Kenites* and those *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whercof *Iethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and euer-living God.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the *Canaanites* and *Madianites*, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the *Israelites*.

OF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedek* 40 may be thought to be of a better Petigree) wee finde foure named by *Moses*: and one and thirtie remembered by *Iosua*, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities ouer which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territorie adioyning, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a general consideration are to be vnderstood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Heuites*, &c. and so here wee vnderstand this name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and also we call the Countrey of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God had appointed that the seven principall Families should be rooted out: and that his owne people should inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the East, and by the *Mediterran Sea* on the West, in which narrow Countrey, and in the choicest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemor* Gen. 34. of the *Hittites*, whom *Simcon* and *Leui* slew, together with his Sonne *Sichem*, in revenge of their Sisters ravishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the Dead Sea; the same which surpris'd *Israel*, as they incamped in the *Wildernesse* in the edge of *Edom*. Num. 21. 1. 2.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Effelon*, who before *Moses* arrivall had beaten the *Moabites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petraea* or *Nabathæa*, and thrust them over *Arnon* into the *Deserts*, the same whom *Moses* over-threw in the plains of *Moab*: at which time he tooke *Effelon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*. Num. 21. 14.

Presently after which victorie, *Og* was also slain by *Israel*, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountains *Traceni* or *Galaad* and *Jordan*, Num. 31. 35. who was also a King of the *Amorites*.

The fifth was *Adonizedek* King of the *Lebanites*, and of *Iherusalem*, with whom *Joshua* nameth four other Kings.

Hobab, King of *Hebron*.

Piram, King of *Jarmuth*.

Idapha, King of *Lachis*: and

20 *Deber*, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* overthrowne in battell: and hanged by *Joshua*. After this overthrow *Joshua* nameth *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, and *Iobab*, King of *Madon*: whom he also slaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this *Iabin* seem'd to have some Dominion over the rest, for it is said in the Text, For *Hazor*, before-times was the head of all those Kingdomes. Jos. 10. 10.

After these *Adonizedek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands, and fetter'd 70. Kings, inforcing them to gather crummes under his Table: who after *Isa* and *Simcon* had serv'd the same execution upon himselfe, acknowledged it to be a iust revenge of God: this King was carried to *Iherusalem* where he died. Jos. 10. 10.

30 The last King named is *Iabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Joshua*. For at such time as he imploied *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom hee oppressed twentie yeares, after the death of *Ehud*, He inhabited *Hazor*. This *Iabin*, *Barac* (incouraged by *Deborah*) overthrow, and his Capitaine *Sisara* had by *Zael*, the Wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a naile driven into his head while hee slept in her Tent. *Iabin* himselfe perishing afterward in that warre. Jos. 4. 17.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathæa*: to the South-east of the Dead Sea. They descended from *Madian*, *Abrahams* sonne by *Cethura*. *Raguel* surname *Gethoglen* or *Iethres*, with *Josephus*, called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Keturah* in the first of *Judges*, *Exod. 3.*

40 the sonne of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Iexan*, or *Iotham*, the great-grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whose Daughter, or Niece, *Moses* married: and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Jethro* if he were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his Father: and this *Hobab* had seven Daughters. Hee guided *Moses* in the *Wildernesse*: and became one of the *Israelites*: of him defended the *Kenites* so called of his Father *Raguel* surname of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Iabin* the second, euen now remembred. Jud. 1.

At such time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gave them warning to separate themselves: and yet the *Kenites* had strong Gates, and lived in the mountains of the *Deserts*. 1 Sam. 15. 6.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named were these.

1. Hemor the Heire of Sichem
 2. Arad of the South parts
 3. Schon of Essebon
 4. Og of Basan.
 5. Adonizeck the Jebusite, King of Hierusalem
 6. Hoham of Hebron
 7. Piram of Iarmuth
 8. Iapia of Lachis
 9. Debir of Eglon
 10. Iabin of Hazor
 11. Jobab of Madon
 12. Adonizeck of Bezek and
 13. Iabin the second King of Hazor.

Of the MADIANITES these.

* Eni or Enis.

Rekam or Recem who built Petra the Metropolis of Petraea so called by the Greeks: and by Esai cap. 16. vers. 1. and Selah, which is as much as Petra: and so also is called 2. Reg. 14. 7. where it is also called Ioktheel.

Zur

Hur and

Reba

¶ Zeb

Zeb

Zebub

Salmunna.

* These five
 first were all at
 one time Kings
 of several por-
 tions of the
 Madianites:
 slaine by Phi-
 nehas and the
 12000. which
 hee killd against
 them. Num. 31.
 vers. 8.
 ¶ These foure
 last were like-
 wise at one
 time, slaine in
 the pursuite of
 Gedeon videlicet
 iud. 7.
 v. 24. & 25. &
 v. 26.

After the death of Baras, Judge of Israel, the foure last named of these Madianite Kings, vexed Israel seven yeares: till they being put to flight by Gideon, two of them to wit, Oreb and Zeb, were taken and slaine by the Ephraimites, at the passage of Jordan, as in the 6. 7. & 8. of Judges it is written at large. Afterward in the pursute of the rest Gedeon himselfe laid hands vpon Zebab and Salmunna, or Salmunna, and executed them, being prisoners, in which expedition of Gedeon there perished 120000. of the Madianites and their Confederates. Of the Idumeans, Moabites, and Ammonites, I will speake hereafter in the description of their Territories.

§. III.

Of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.

Gen. 27. 30.
 Iud. 6. 7.



F the Kings of the Amalekites and Ismaelites, I finde few that are named, and though of the Ismaelites there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according to the promise of God made vnto Abraham) yet the Amalekites, who together with the Medianites were numbred among them, were more renowned in Moses time than the rest of the Ismaelites. So also were they when Saul gouerned Israel. For Saul pursued them from Sur vnto Hamath, to wit, ouer a great part of Arabia Petrea, and the Desert. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelue Princes which came of Ismael, were content to leaue those barren Deserts of Arabia Petrea, called Shur, Paran, and Sin, to the issue of Abraham by Cetura, that ioyned with them (for so seeme the Amalekites to haue bene, and so were the Medianites:) they selues taking possession of a better soile in Arabia the Happie, and about the Mountaines of Gilead in Arabia Petrea. For Nabaioth the eldest of those twelue Princes planted that part of Arabia Petrea, which was very fruitfull though adioyning to the Desert, in which Moses wandred, afterward called Nabathes: the same which neighboureth Iudaea on the East side. They also peopled a Province in Arabia the Happie, whereof the people were in after-times called Napathes (B) changed into (P).

Kedar

Kedar, the second of *Ismaels* Sonnes, gaue his owne name to the East part of *Babylonia*, or *Batanea*, which was afterward posselt by *Manasse*, so much thereof as lay within the Mountaines *Trachon*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Plinie* *Cedreans*.

Adbeel, late downe in the Desert *Arabia*, neare the Mountaines which diuide it from the *Happie*: and gaue name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomie* calleth *Agubens*.

Abbsam, was the Parent of the *Mysmanenses*, neare the Mountaine *Zamath*, in the same *Arabia* the *Happie*.

10 The *Raabens* were of *Stilisma*: who ioyned to the *Orebens*, neare the *Arabian* gulf, where *Ptolomie* setteth *Zigamais*.

Of *Dama* were the *Dumans*, betwene the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the Citie *Dumeth* sometimes stood.

Of *Mossa* the *Missians*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar* the *Asbrius*, who bordered the *Naptheans* in the same *Happie* *Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountaines, where also the Citie of *Thema* is seated.

Of *Ietur* the *Ithurians*, or *Chamathens*: of whome *Tobus* was King in *Danids* time.

20 Of *Naphri* the *Nabeien Arabians*: inhabiting *Syria Zola*: ouer whome *Adadeser* *Pha. 16. c. 28.* commanded, while *Dauid* ruled *Israell*.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of *Ismaels* sonnes, was the Ancestor of the *Cadmonians*: who were afterward called *Asite*: because they worshipped the fire with the *Babylonians*. 95

The *Amalekites* gaue their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians* *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans*, *Arctas*, as names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses*, after he past the Red Sea: *Exod. 17.* when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

30 Afterward they ioyned with the *Canaanites*, and beate the *Israellites* neare *Cades*. *Num. 14.* borne. After the Gouvernement of *Orthoniel*, they ioyned them with the *Mosabites*: after *Barac* with the *Madianites*: and invaded *Israell*. God commanded that as soone as *Israell* had rest, they should roote out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldea*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*. 369

In *Dauids* time they tooke *Siklag* in *Simoon*: but *Dauid* followed them, and surprised them, recouering his prisoners and spoiles. And yet, after *Dauid* became King, *1 Sam. 30.* they againe vexed him, but to their owne losse. *1 Sam. 8. 13.*

40 In *Ezekias* time as many of them as ioyned to *Edumaea* were wasted and displanted *1 Chron. 4.* by the children of *Simoon*.

§. IIII.

Of the illustration of civillitie in Europe about the first times, and of *PROMETHEVS* and *ATLAS*.

10 **H**ere lived at this time, and in the same age together with *Moses*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the World was but euen now enriched with the written Law of the living God, so did Art and Civillitie (bred and fostered farre off in the East, and in *Egypt*) beginne at this time to discover a passage into *Europe*, and into those parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Asia* and *Indea*. For if *Pelasgus* besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of *Acadia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from raine

and storme: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who before liued for the most part, by Hearbs and Rootes: we may thereby iudge how poore, and wretched those times were, and how falsely those Nations haue vaunted of that antiquities accompanied not only with ciuill learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge, And it was in this age of the World, as both *Ensebius* and *S. Augustine* haue obserued, that *Prometheus* flourished. *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientia Doctor fuisse perhibetur*; Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of Wisedome. and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the inuention of fire ascribed to *PROMETHEVS*, *Ad inuenta sapientia pertinere*; To haue reference to wise inuentions: and *Aeschylus* affirmeth, That by the stealing of *Jupiters* fire was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the Starres, and other celestiall bodies. Again, it is written of him, that hee had the art so to vse this fire, as thereby hee gaue life to Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom hee liued had nothing else worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrailes the while deuoured by an *Eagle*, was meant the inward care and restless desire hee had to inuettigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heauenly bodies, for so it is said: *Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, et sereno caelo quam longissime astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret*; That hee ascended *Caucasus*, to the end that hee might in a cleare skie discerne a farre off the settings and risinges of the Starres: though *Diodorus Siculus* expound it otherwise, and others diuerly.

Of this mans knowledge *ÆSCHYLVS* giues this testimonie.

Æschylus Prometheus
v. 104.

*Aut agitant omnia,
Ut fors ferebat: donec ipse repperi
signorum obitus, ortusq. qui mortalibus
Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremq. Musarum auxi ego Memoriam
Perutilem canitibus, &c.*

But Fortune gourn'd all their workes, till when
I first found out how Starres did set and rise:
A profitable art to mortall men:
And others of like vse I did deuise:
As letters to compose in learned wise
I first did teach: and first did amplify
The Mother of the *Muses* *Memorie*.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* farre more ancient, and but 94. yeares after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* saies that hee liued at once with *Inachus*, who liued with *Isaac*.

There liued also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the Sonnes of *Iapetus*, of whom though it bee said, that they were borne before *Moses* daies, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the aduantage of their long liues gaue them a part of other ages among Men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these Sonnes of *Iapetus*, *Aeschylus* findes two other, to wit, *Oceanus*, and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gaue name to the Euening, and so to the euening

euening Starre. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Lybia* or *Mauritania*, there were others, which bare the same name; but of the *Libyan*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountaines which crosse *Africa*, to the South of *Morocco*, *Sai*, and *Iles*, with the Sea adioyning tooke name, which memorie *Plato* in *Critias* bestowes on *Atlas*, the Sonne of *Neptune*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions, affirmeth that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to expresse diuine knowledge. *Nec verò ATLAS sustinere celum, nec PROMETHEVS afficere Caucasum, nec sibi illam CERES cum Ixore traditur, nisi diuina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorum fabula transferretur.* Neither should *ATLAS* be said to beare up heauen, nor *PROMETHEVS* to be fastened to *Caucasus*, nor *CERES* with his wife to be satisfied, unless their diuine knowledge had raised upon their names these erroneous fables.

Orpheus sometime exprest *Time* by *Prometheus*, sometime hee tooke him for *Saturne*, as *Rhesus* saith of *Promethen*. But that the storie of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction: and that he liued about this time, the most approoued Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and *S. Augustine* haue not doubted, For the great iudgement which *Atlas* had in *Astronomie*, sixth *S. Augustine*, were his Daughters called by the names of constellations, *Platades* and *Hyades*: Others attribute vnto him the finding out of the Moones course, of which *Archeus* the sonne of *Orechomeneus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Archeus* *Aradia* in *Peloponnesus* tooke name, and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone. *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be vnderstood, sixth *Natalis Comes*, before there had beene any obseruation of the Moones course: or of her working in inferior bodies. And though there bee that bestow the finding out thereof vpon *Encymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isaieus Tzetzes*, a curious searcher of antiquities gaue it *Atlas* of *Lybia*: who besides his gifts of minde, was a man of vnequall'd and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milelian*, as it is said, had the ground of his *Philosophie*.

30

p. V.

OF DEUCALION AND PHAETON.



ND in this age of the World, and while *Moses* yet liued, *Deucalion* reigned in *Theffalie*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argines*. This *Deucalion* *Ant. Alex. lib. 5.* was the Sonne of *Prometheus*, sixth *Hiero dotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gaue him *Pandora* for Mother, the rest *Clymene*; *Homer* *Strabo* lib. 9, in the sixteenth of his *Odysses* makes *Deucalion* the Sonne of *Minos*: but he must needs haue meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Phisys* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Phisys* after his returne from *Troy* finned himselfe to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was sonne to this later *Deucalion*, the sonne of *Atmos*: but this *Minos* liued but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* serued in that Warre) and this *Deucalion* the Sonne of *Prometheus*, who liued at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalions* time happened that great inundation in *Theffalie*: by which in effect euery soule, in those parts, perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrhus* his Wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this flood in *Theffalie*, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villanie: and as the impietie of men is the forcible attractiue of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foule finnes perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and crueltie of all mankind drew on them that generall destruction by the flood *Vniuersall*. Only *Deucalion*, and *Pyrhus* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be louers of Vertue, of Iustice, and of Religion. 38 Of whom *Ouid*:

*Non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior aqua
Vir fuit: aut illa reuerentior villa deorum.*

No man was better, nor more iust than hee:
Nor any Woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that *Prometheus* fore-told his sonne *Deucalion* of this ouer-flowing: and aduised him to provide for his safetie: who hereupon prepared himselfe a kinde of Vessell, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue of Timon* calls *Cibotium*: and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out of the Dove, to discover the Waters fall and decrease, I should verily thinke that this *Storie* had bene but an imitation of *Noahs* flood deuised by the *Greekes*, did not the times so much differ, and *S. Augustine* with others of the Fathers and reuerent Writers approve this *Storie* of *Deucalion*. Among other his children *Deucalion* had these two of note, *Hellen* of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*, and *Alcathion* on whom *Neptene* is said to haue begot *Delphus*, which gaue name to *Delphos*, fore-nowned among the Heathen for the Oracle of *Apollo* therein founded.

And that which was no lesse strange and meruailous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened vnder *Phaeton*: not only in *Ethiopia*, but in *Isyria*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cuma*, and the Mountaines of *Veſuuius*: of both which the *Greekes*, after their manner, haue inuented many strange fables.

§. VI.

OF HERMES TRISMEGISTVS, (I) TER MAXIMVS

BVt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous, and renowned: the same which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter maximus*: and of the *Greekes* *Hermes*. Many there were of this name: and how to distinguish, and set them in their owne times, both *S. Augustine* and *Lactantius* finde it difficult. For that *Mercurie* which was esteemed the God of Theeues, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercurie*, of whose many workes some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certaine of the *Greekes* reckon five *Mercuries*. Of which two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worshipped; one, the Sonne of *Nilus*, whose name the *Egyptians* feared to viter, as the *Iewes* did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercurie*, which slew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is said to haue deliuered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to haue giuen them Lawes. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying: That letters were not found out by that *Mercurie* which slew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercurie*, otherwise *Theut*; whom *Philo Biblius* writeth *Tautus*; the *Egyptians* *Thoth*; the *Alexandrines* *Thot*; and the *Greekes* (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Tautus*, *Sanconiathe*, who liued about the Warre of *Troy*, giues the inuention of letters. But *S. Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the sonne of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to haue slaine *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercurie*, the slaier of *Argus*, to be the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which liued while *Moses* was yet young. And yet *L. Vner* vpon *S. Augustinus* seemes to vnderstand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest haue remembred. But that coniecture of theirs, that any *Græcian Mercurie* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there bee any

*Angeli de Cui.
Det. 1. 8. c. 10.
ex Eusebio &
Hieronymo.*

*Ioh. Vinct out
of Cicero in Aug.
de Cui. De 1. 8.
c. 10.*

*Euseb. l. 1. c. 6. de
Prep. Euang.*

*original Mercurie
Trismegistus*

any truth in prophane antiquitie) that all the knowledge which the *Greeks* had, was transported out of *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*; and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian* into *Egypt*. For they all confesse, that *Cadmus* brought letters first into *Bœotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phœnicia*: it being true, that betweene *Mercurius*, that liued at once with *Moses*, and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* King of the *Argives*, with whom *Moses* liued, and in whose time about his tenth yeare *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sibonellus* who reigned eleuen yeares; after him *Danaus* fiftie yeares; after him *Lyncus*: in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true,

- 10 that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom *S. Augustine* remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out Letters, and taught the use of them to the *Iewes*; of whom the *Phœnicians* their Neighbours received them; and the *Greekes* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this invention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the *Iewes* and the *Phœnicians* had them first from him. For euery Nation gaue vnto those men the honour of first Inuentors, from whom they received the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercurie*, vpon part of whose

- 20 workes he Commenteth, to haue bene foure descents after *Moses*, which hee hath out of *Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that liued with *Moses*, the maternall grand-father of the first famous *Mercurie*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counsailler and Instru-
30 ctor of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But *Ficinus* giueth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercurie* instructed *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an inscription was found on a pillar erected on the Tombe of *Isis*. *Lo. Pri-
us* vpon the sixe and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Booke of *S. Augustine*, *De
Ciuitate Dei*, conceiue, that this *Mercurie*, whose workes are extant, was not the
first which was entituled, *Ter maximus*, but his Nephew or grand-child. * *Sancho-
nastus*, an ancient *Phœnician*, who liued shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this
30 *Mercurie*; affirming that he was the Scribe of *Saturne*, and called by the *Phœnicians*,
Tautus; and by the *Egyptians* *Thoot*, or *Thoth*. It may bee, that the many yeares
which he is said to haue liued, to wit, three hundred yeares, gaue occasion to some
Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those which
haue collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philosophie and Diuinitie, he is found
more ancient than *Moses*: because the Inuentor of the *Egyptian* *Wise domes*, wherein
it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

- It is true, that although this *Mercurie* or *Hermes* doth in his Diuinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which
40 *Moses* of all things most detested, yet whosoever shall read him with an euen iudg-
ment, will rather resolute, that these workes which are now extant, were by the
Greekes and *Egyptian* Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that euery
they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and Spirit deuised. For
there is no man of vnderstanding, and master of his owne wits, that hath affirmed
in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrarie in doctrine,
and in nature. For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was neuer any man of those
elder times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reuerend and diuine, vnto
almightie God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two *Treatises*, now
among vs; the one conserued by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had
bene found in all things like themselves: I thinke it had not bene perilous to haue
50 thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himselfe; and that the *Egy-
ptian* Theologie hereafter written, was deuised by the first, and more ancient *Mercurie*,
which others haue thought to haue bene *Ioseph*, the sonne of *Iacob*: whom, af-
ter the exposition of *Pharaohs* dreames, they called *Saphenai phume*, which is as much
to say, as *absconditum in reperiore*; *A finder out of hidden things*. But these are ouer-
turous

*Virgil lib. 4. Æ-
neid.
Ficinus Prolog.
Tautus, Mer-
curij Trisagium.*

* Or *Sancho-
nastus*. See *Eu-
angel. lib. 1. c. 6.
c. 7.
Ficinus lib. 8. c.
16. de Ciuit.
Dei.*

Mafius.

175
L. x. 6. 6. fol. 4.

trous opinions. For what this man was, it is knowne to God. Enie and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him : of whom, whosoeuer he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this sort. *Hic scripsit libros, & quendam multos, ad cognitionem diuinorum verum pertinentes, in quibus maiestatem summam & singulari Dei asserit, isdemq; nomibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem;* *Hee hath written many Bookes belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of diuine things, in which he affirmeth the maiestie of the most high and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which we doe.* The same Father also teacheth not to number him among the Sybils and Prophets. And so contrarie are these his acknowledgments to those idolatrous fictions of the *Ægyptians* and *Græcians*, as for my selfe I am perswaded, that whatsoeuer is found in him contrary therunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himselfe confesseth; *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & Spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex eius esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opifex, &c.* God (saith hee) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and Spirit: and all things are in him and vnder him. For his Word out of himselfe proceeding being most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling vpon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing. And he was therefore (saith *Suidas*) called *Ter maximus*, quia de Trinitate loquens est: in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens; Because he spake of the Trinitie, affirming that there is one God in Trinitie. *Hic rursus* (saith *Ficinus*) *presidit* 20
præfice Religioni, hic ortum nouæ fidei, hic aduentum Christi, hic futurum iudicium, resurrectionem sancti, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This *Mercure* foresaw the ruins of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith: and of the coming of Christ, the future iudgement, the resurrection, the glorie of the Blessed, and the torment or a flaction of the wicked or damned.

18 Pref. Alteru.
Trijms.

To this I will only adde his two last speeches reported by *Caleidius the Platonist*, and by *Volateran* out of *SEYDAS*. *Hactenus filii, pulsi à patria, vixi peregrini & exuli, nunc incolamus repleti: cumq; post paulum à vobis corporis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote me quasi mortuum iacentem:* Nam ad illum optatam beatitudinem, *Ciuitatem* regredior: ad quam vniuersi scies mortis conditione venturi sunt. *Ibi namq; solus Deus est* 30
summus Princeps: qui ciues suos replet suauitate misericors: ad quam hac, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita; *Hitherto, O Sonne, being driuen from my Countrie, I haue liued a stranger and banished man: but now I am repairing home-ward againe in societie.* And when I shall after a few daies (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and blood depart from you, see that you doe not beuaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that best and blessed Cite, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) shall repaire. Therein is the only God, the most high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or saeath his Citizens with a sweetnesse more than mercurious: in regard whereof this being which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death, than a life. The other and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus conuerted by others, agreeing in sense but 40
not in wordes with *SEYDAS*. *O cælum magni Dei sapiens opus, ten, O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando vniuersum constituit mundum, aduro per vniuersum eius verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miserere mihi;* I aduocate thee O heauen thou wise worke of the great God, and thee O voice of the Father, which he first vnttered, when he framed the whole world, by his only begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, haue mercie vpon me.

But *Suydas* hath his inuocation in these wordes; *Obtestor te cælum magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum, cum omnem mundum firmasset, obtestor te per vniuersum Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius eis;* I beseech thee O heauen, wise worke of the great God, I beseech thee O voice of the Father, 50
which he spake first when he established all the World, I beseech thee by the only begotten Word containing all things, be fauourable, be fauourable.

CHAP. 6. 36.

CHAP. 6. §. 7. of the Historie of the World.

§. VII.

OF IANNES and IAMBRES, and some other that lived about those times.



Here were also in this age both *Asculapius*, which after his death became the God of *Physicians*, being the brother of *Mercutius*, as *Vines* thinks in his *Commentarie vpon Augusline, de Civitate Dei*, lib. 8. and also those two notorious *Sorcerers*, *Iannes* and *Iambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that ever have been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himselfe doth not charge them with any familiaritie with *Devills*, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldom came out of his mouth, how euer by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophists* or *Venefici* and *Incantatores*, *Sophists*, poisoners, and *Incantators*: by *Hierome* *Sapientes* & *malefici*, *Wise men*, and euill doers: and so by *Vatablus*, who also vlieth the word *Magi*. The *Greeke* it selfe seemes to attribute somewhat of what they did to naturall *Magick*: calling them *πασιμαχοι*, workers by drugges. The *Generall Sorcerers* and *Incantors*: *Ιυννις* *Sapientes*, *Præstigiatores* & *Magi*. *Magicians* and *Wise men* here by him are taken in one sense: and *Præstigiatores* are such as dazell mens eyes, and make them seeme to see what they see not: as false colours, and false shapies. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (religion and superstition hauing one face and countenance) so did the workes and workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharao*s *Sorcerers* appeare in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the *Devill* changeth himselfe into an *Angell* of light: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary every worke which surmounteth the *Wisedome* of most men, is not to be condemned as performed by the helpe or ministerie of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath giuen to naturall things, are such as where hee also beloweth the knowledge to vnderstand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to passe, which seeme altogether impossible, and aboue nature or art: which two speculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names; *Opus de Beneficiis* & *opus de miracula*: the one they call *sapientiam naturæ*, The *Wisedome of nature*: the other *Sapientiam diuinitatis*, The *wisedome of diuinitie*: the one *Jacob* practised in breeding the pield Lambs in *Mesopotamia*, the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, hauing receiued from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so farre as it pleased God to proportion him both which he vlied to his glorie that gaue them: as summing to himselfe nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also *S. Augusline* noteth that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt* to the death of *Isaas*, diuers other famous men liued in the world, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inuentions, were numbred among the Gods: as *Dionysius* otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Greekes* the vse of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted *Musickall* plaies to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regaine his fauour, who brought barrenness and scarcitie vpon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his Temple and set it on fire: so did *Erichonius* institute the like games to *Minerva*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of Oile, in memorie of her that first prest it out of the Oline.

In this age also *Xanthus* rauished *Europa*: and began on her *Radumenthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, which three are also giuen to *Jupiter* by other Historians. To these Saint *Augusline* addeth *Hercules*: the same, to whom the twelve labours are ascribed, native of *Tyrinthia* Citie of *Peleponnesus*: (or as others say, only nursed and brought vp there) who came into *Italie*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Ensebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*

1652 L'Annee in 1652 Augst. de Cuiet. Diu. 36.

Φαρισαοι ΜΕΛΙΧΡΑ Exod. 9. 11.

Col. 2. 11. 2

Lib. De Civit. Dei cap. 12.



rules, according to *Philostratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Aegyptian*: *Monifellum fit, non Thebanum HERCVLEM, sed Aegyptium ad Gades peruenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terra* (saith *PHILOSTRATVS*) It is manifest that it was the *Aegyptian HERCVLES*, and not the *Theban*, which traileth as farre as the streights of *Gades*, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also while *Moses* wandered in the Deserts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whosever they were, or how worthy soever they were that liued in the daies and age of *Moses*, there was neuer any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to worke greater things, whom he fauoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) hee so often appeared; neuer any man more familiar and conuersant with Angels; neuer any more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge; neuer a greater Prophet in *Israd*. He was the first that receiued and deliuered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posteritie by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuersall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed it.

Syracides calleth *Moses* the beloued of God and Men, whose remembrance is blessed. He made him (saith the same Author) like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glorie, caused him to heare his voice, sanctified him with faithfulness and meeknesse, and chose him out of all men.

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetic*: by *Meagsthenes* and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long lines which the Patriarchs enioyed before the flood, remembred by *Moses*, *Eusebius*, *hieronymus Aegyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Elanicus*, *Aculianus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander the Historian*, confirme. The vniuersall flood which God reuealed vnto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others haue testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Eusebius*, and *Sylla* haue approved. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecateus* wrote a Booke of him. *Damascenus* before cited speaketh of *Abraham* passage from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the bookes of *Moses*. *Eusebius* writeth the very fame of *Abraham*, which *Moses* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the ouerthrow thereof by diuine power, he saith that *Abraham*, borne in the tenth generation, in the Citie called *Camerina*, or *Vrien*, excelled all men in wisdom: and by whom the *Astrologie* of the *Chaldeans* was inuented. In iustitia pietateq; fuis (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Author) sic Deo gratus fuit, vt diuino precepto in Phoenicem venerit, ibiq; habitauerit; For his iustice and pietie he was so pleasing vnto God, as by his Commandement he came into *Phanicia*, and dwelt there. Likewise *Diodorus Siculus* in his second Booke and fifth Chapter speaketh reuerently of *Moses*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which confirme the bookes of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Gospel*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words, *MOSES enim affirmabat, docebatq; Aegyptios non recte sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemq; Afros & Graecos, qui Dijs hominum figuram affinxerunt: id verò solum esse Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod caelum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cuius profectò imaginem, nemo sanamentis, alicuius earum rerum, quae penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effigitione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constitutendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum. MOSES affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amisse, which attributed vnto God the Images of beasts and cattail: Also that the Africans and Greekes greatly erred in giuing vnto their Gods the shape of men: whereas that only is God indeede, which containeth both vs, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heauen, the world, and the nature of all things, whose image, doubtlesse, no wise man will dare to fashion out vnto the likeness of those things, which are among it vs: That therefore (all denying of Idolls cast aside) a worthy Temple*

Temple and place of prayer was to be erected vnto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure as all therein.

Now concerning the *Egyptian* wisdom, for which the Martyr Stephen commended *Moses*, saying, That *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, and in might in his workes and wordes; the same is collected (how truly I know not) by *Pyodorus*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Iudeus*, and *Eusebius Cæsarianus*, and diuided into foure parts, viz. Mathematicall, Naturall, Diuine, and Morall.

In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguished into *Geometrie*, *Astronomie*, *Arithmetick*, and *Musick*; the ancient *Egyptians* excelled all others. For *Geometrie*, which is by interpretation, measuring of grounds, was vsfull vnto them: because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yearly ouerflowne and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged vnto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomie*, the site of the Countrey being a lencil and spacious Plaine, free and cleare from cloudes, yeilded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmetick also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied: because without it, in *Geometrie* and *Astronomie*, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of *Musick* they made no other account, nor desired further knowledge; than seemed to them sufficient to serue and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from *Peripatetick Philosophie*, teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and liuing creatures haue their being; that Heauen is round like a Globe; that all Starres haue a certaine fouent heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceede and bee from mutations in the aire; that the Planets haue their proper foules, &c.

The Diuine part of this wisdom, which is called *Theologie*, teacheth and beleaueth that the world had a beginning, and shall perill; that men had their first originall in *Egypt*; partly by means of the temperatenesse of that Countrey, where neither Winter with cold, nor Sommer with heate are offensive; and partly through the fertilitie, that *Nilus* giueth in those places; That the soule is immortall, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and diuers Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not knowne; that many of the Gods haue bene in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefites bestowed on mankind, haue bene Deified; that those beafts, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victorie, were adored for Gods: because vnder those Ensignes they prevailed ouer their enemies. Moreover, the *Egyptian* Diuines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mytical and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to bee concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clement distributeth the whole summe of this latter *Egyptian* learning into three severall sorts, viz. *Epistoliar*, which is vsed in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacred*; which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which is expressed by letters Alphabetically in obscure and figuratiue wordes; as for example, where it is written: The *Liby* by the Hornet participateth the beautie of the Hawke; which is red thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of diuine beautie; the other symbolically, or by signatures, which is three-fold, viz. Imitatiue, Tropical, and *Ænigmati*cal: Imitatiue, which designeth things by characters,

acters, like to the things signified, as by a Circle the Sunne; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropical or Transfrent, which applies the diuers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to signific the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods and of Men. So with the *Aegyptian* Diuines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Horne signifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird *Ibis* signifieth the Moone: by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skillfullnesse: by a Lyon, Fortitude: by a Horle, Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudencie: by a Fish, Hatred is to be vnderstood: *Aenymaticall* is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lyons body hauing a Mans head, was grauen on their Temples and Altars, to signifie, that to men all diuine things are *Aenymaticall* and obscure. So the Image of the Sunne set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liueth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth, that the Sunne nourisheth Meteors in the Aire, aswell on the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eie, and an Eare, signifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and Governing all things. The *Scythians* are thought to haue bene delighted with this kinde of writing. For *Pherceides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending letters, threatened *Idanthurus*, King of the *Scythians*, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdome, vnlesse he would acknowledge subiection: *Idanthurus* returned to him a Mouſe, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which *Orontopagus*, Tribune of 20 the Souldiers, interpreted to signifie, that by the Mouſe, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their aire: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their lands: were signified to be ready to be deliuered to *Darius*, as their Soueraigne Lord. But *Xyphodes* made an other construction, viz. that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his Men did hasten away, as a Bird through the aire, or creepe into holes as a Mouſe, or runne into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his armes, but either be slaine, or being made Captiues, till his grounds. The same Historie is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*.

Herod. l. 4.

The fourth and last part which is Morall, and Politique, doth containe especially 30 the Lawes, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus* deuised: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Alepius*, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) of the *Trinitie*, and of the comming of *Christ*, as of the last and fearefull day of Iudgement: that (as saith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not only to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Jamblicus in his Bookes of Mysteries of the *Aegyptians*, taking two very ancient 40 Historians for his Authors, to wit, *Selencus* and *Menasus*, affirmeth that this *Mercurius* was not only the Inuentor of the *Aegyptian* Philosophie, but of all other learning, called the *Wisdome of the Aegyptians* before remembred: and that he wrote of that subiect 36523 Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fierie Spirits, one hundred Bookes; of Aerall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the *Aegyptian* language conuerted by certaine learned Philosophers into the naturall Greeke, they seemed to haue bene first written in that tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Bookes of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wisdome of the Aegyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. of Physick 50 fixe bookes; of the orders of *Priests* ten; and of *Astrologie* foure.

Clem. Strom. l. 6.

§. VIII.

A Brieſe of the Hiſtorie of IOſua: and of the ſpace betwene him and OTHONIEL:
and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of ſome Con-
temporaries to IOſua: and of the breach of
Faith.



After the death of Moſes, and in the one and fortieth year of the Egref-
ſion, in the firſt moneth called *Niſan*, or *March*, *Iofua* the ſonne of *Nun*,
of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wiſedome,
tooke on him the Gouvernement of *Iſrael*: God giuing him comfort,
and encouraging him to paſſe the River of *Jordan*, and to poſſeſſe, and
diuide among the *Iſraelites* the Land promiſed.

The beginning of *Iofua*'s rule St. *Auguſtine* dates with the raigne of *Amintas*, the
eighteenth King in *Aſſyria*; with *Corax* the ſixteenth King in *Sydonia*, when *Danaus* Lib. 18 de Ciuit.
gouerned the *Argues*; and *Erichonius*, *Atheni*. Vol. 6. 11.

Iofua imitating in all things his Predeceſſor, ſent ouer *Jordan* certaine diſcouers
to view the ſeat and ſtrength of *Ierico*, the next Citie vnto him on the other ſide of
the River, which hee was to paſſe ouer. Which diſcouers being ſaued, and ſent
backe by *Rahab*, a Woman of ill fame, becauſe hee kept a Tauerne or Vitling houſe,
made *Iofua* know, that the Inhabitants of *Ierico*, and thoſe of the Countrie about it,
hearing of the approach of *Iſrael* had loſt courage. Whereupon the day after the re-
turne of the Spies, which was the ſixth day of the one and fortieth year after the re-
greſſion, *Iofua* remoued from *Sittim* in the Plaines of *Moaſ*, and drew downe his
Armie to the banks of the River *Jordan*; and gaue them commandment to
put themſelves in order to follow the *Arke of God*, when the *Leuites* tooke it vp, and
moued towards the River: giuing them withall this forcible encouragement, That
they ſhould thereby aſſure themſelves of his fauour and preſence who is Lord of all
the world; when the River of *Jordan* ſhould be cut off and diuided, and the waters
comming from aboue ſhould ſtand ſtill in a heap, whereby thoſe below towards the
Dead ſea wanting ſupply, they might paſſe ouer into the land of *Canan* with drie feet.

He alſo commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*, to prepare
themſelves (according to their Couenent made with *Moſes*) to march in the head of
the reſt, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the
Deſerts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, thoſe of the Tribe of *Iuda* had
performed. For theſe Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and the
Countrie and Cities of the *Amorites*, by the helpe of the reſt, conquered for them: It
agreed with iuſtice & equalitie, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe of *Manaſſe* ſhould alſo
aſſiſt their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies poſſeſſion.

On the banks of *Jordan* they reſted themſelves from the ſixth day to the ninth;
and on the tenth day of the firſt Moneth *Niſan* or *March*, they paſt ouer to the o-
ther ſide, taking with them twelue ſtones from the drie ground in the middle of the
River: which, for a memorie of that miracle by God wrought, they ſet vp at *Gilgal*,
on the Eaſt ſide of the Citie of *Ierico*, where they incamped the firſt night. At which
place *Iofua* gaue commandment, that all borne in the laſt fortieth year in the De-
ſerts ſhould bee circumciſed, which ceremony to that day had beene omitted. Of
the neglect whereof St. *Auguſtine* giueth for cauſe, The peoples contempt of their
ſuperiours. *Thom* excuſeth it in this fort; That the *Iſraelites* knew not the certaine
time of their remouing from one place to another: *Dani* ſeen, That it was not need-
full by circumciſion to diſtinguiſh them from other Nations; at ſuch time as they
ſhould by themſelves and a-part from all Nations.

On the fourthenth day of the ſame Moneth, the children of *Iſrael* celebrated the
Paſſover now the third time; firſt, at their leaving *Egypt*; ſecondly, at Mount *Sin*
ai; and now at *Gilgal*. After which being deſirous to taſte of the fruits of the Coun-
trie, and hauing, as it were, forfeited on *Men*, they parched of the Corne of the
land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof.

And as *Moses* beganne to distribute those Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites*, which *Og of Basan*, and *Sihon* held, so did *Iosua* performe the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition, and distribution, was not done at once, but at three severall times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad, Ruben*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands ouer *Jordan*; Secondly, by *Iosua*, to the Tribe of *Juda*, *Ephraim*, and the other halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fifth yeare of his gouernment: proved in the 14. of *Iosua*, v. 10. and a third diuision was made to the other twen Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Iosua* leated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

The victories of *Iosua* against the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set downe in his owne bookes, as I shall not neede to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or *Reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much vnderstanding, as to vnite themselves together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custome of those estates, from whose Gouernours God hath taken away all wisdom and fore-sight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves and to their owne defences: hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off, might againe haue been quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so far as their owne Territories and Cities. But after such time as *Ierico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; five of those 31. Kings (all which at length perished in that warre) ioyned themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendered themselves to *Iosua*. Only hue (the rest looking on to see the success) namely the King of the *Iebusites*, in *Iebus*, or *Licriusalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Iarmoth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addrest themselves for resistance: whose Armie being by *Iosua* surpris'd and broken, themselves despairing to scape by flight, and hopelesse of mercy by submission, creeping into a Caue vnder ground, were thence by *Iosua* drawne forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victorie hee also tooke *Makkedah*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the reliefe whereof *Horam* King of *Gozar* hastened, and perished. After which *Iosua* posselt himselfe of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countries were posselt, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings, and People made dust: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the ouer-late counsailes of necessity, vnited themselves, to make one grosse strength and bodie of an Armie: which *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, practis'd and gathered together, being at that time of all the *Canaanite* Kings the most powerfully which Armie being by *Iosua* discouered, as the same rested neare the Lake of *Merom*, hee vs'd such diligence, as he came on them vnawares; and obtaining an absolute victorie ouer them hee prosecuted the same to the vttermost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities: of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reseruing the rest for *Israel* to inhabite and enioy.

Secondly, I note, that *Iosua* shewed himselfe a skillfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he vs'd the stratageme of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the first hue Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon*, by surprise. For he march'd all night from his camp at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day; when they suspected no enemy at hand: as hee did also at *Merom*, when he ouerthrew *Iabin*, and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victorie, he assaulted the great Citie of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the Riuer of *Jordan* at the Springs, to as the Armie of *Israel* pass't it with a drie foot; the fall of *Ierico* by the found of the Hornes; the shewers of Haile-stones; which fell vpon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished, than by the sword of *Israel*: againe, the arrest of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lengthened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those, which fled after the ouerthrow: a wonder

16, 14. 3.

16, 18.

16, 10.

16, 10.

16, 10. v. 9.

16, 3. v. 27.
Cap. 10. v. 11.

of wonders, and a worke onely proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the passage between *Ihu* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is too plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evasion, it admitteth no distinction, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousness, and horrible deceit of this latterage, called *A quoisition*. For notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Heuteis*, expressly and by name by the commandment of God, yet

Now if cuer man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promise made, *Ishma* had it. For first, the commandment which hee received from God to roote out this Nation among the rest, preceded by farre the peace which hee had granted them. Secondly, he might iustly have put these men to the sword, and have fined their Cities; if there bee any censure from a promise made, whereof the living God is called to witnesse. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* that hee gave peace, because hee knew them to bee a people hated of God. Hee told them, that if they were of the *Henites*, it was not in his power to make league with them. But it was to a strange people that hee gave faith, and to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israell* had done in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, fought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Israell* made with these craftie *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their tale, that is, beleaved what they had said, and counselled not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who were knowne Idolaters, and served those Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apath Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witnesse of the true God, in whome they beleaved not. I say therefore, that if cuer man might have served himselfe by any censure or distinction, *Ishma* might iustly haue done it. For hee needed not in this case the helpe of *Acquisition*, or *Mental Reservation*. For what hee sware, hee sware in good Faith; but hee sware nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yer, to the end that the faithlesse subtiltie of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises hee made in the name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying Man, hee held them firme, and inuiolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom hee had sworn it, were worshippers of the Deuill.

For it is not, as faithlesse men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the name of the liuing Lord, and in his presence. That this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that wee therein neglect: wee therein professe that wee feare him not, and that wee set him at nought and despise him. If hee that without Reueration of honour giueth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point 50 of Honour giue the lie to the King himselfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giueth Faith in the presence of God, promising in his name, and makes him a witness of the Couenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promise, Will; or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake the

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which haue bene made in former times, and confirmed by publique faith. For though it were 400. yeares after *Iosua*, that *Saul*, euen out of deuotion, slaughtered some of those people defended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God who forgot not what the Predecessours and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased, till seven of *Sauls* sonnes were deliuered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged vp.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to sweare one thing by the name of the liuing God, and to reserve in silence contrarie intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subiects to Kings, of Seruants to their Masters, of Vassalls to their Lords, of Wiues to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trialls of right, will not only be made vncertaine, but all the chaines, whereby freemen are tied in the world, be torne asunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot pass): that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies. it is by oath that warres take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull; but this; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his wordes are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witness, and in whose presence he taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poore euasions, which play with the severitie of Gods Commandements in this kinde: But this indeede is the best answer, That he breaks no faith; that hath none to breake. For whosoever hath faith and the feare of God dares not doe it.

The *Christians* in the *Holy Land* when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Caliph of Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not only loose it againe, but were soone after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it selfe: by reason (saith *William of Tyre*, a reuerend Bishop which wrote that storie) that *Americ* the fiftieth King after *Goffrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadach*, and his *Viceroy*, The *Soldan Sana*; who being sodainly invaded by *Americ* drew in the *Turke Syrac* to their aide: whose Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his owne, beate the *Christians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Crosse (the very Crosse, say they that *Christ* died on) giue them victorie ouer *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge: seeing they had forsworne themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if bee a direction from the holy Ghost, That bee that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed, and that the mouth which uttereth them, slaieth the soule: how much more perilous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soule) to sweare a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungarie* after his great victorie ouer *Amurath* the *Turke*, and when the said King had compelled him to pence, the most aduantageous that euer was made for the *Christians*, to breake his faith, and to prouoke the *Turke* to renew the warre. And though the said King was farre stronger in the field than euer; yet he lost the battaile with 30000. *Christians*, and his owne life. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods iudgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it against *Infidels*, *Turkes*, or *Christians* of diuers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oathes now-a-daies, is rather made a matter of custome than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable; That it pleased God to leaue so many Cities of the *Canaanites* vncaptured by *Israell*; to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatrie, and as it is said in the Scriptures, To bee Thorns in their eyes to prouoke them, and to teach them to make Warre. For these Cities hereafter named did not only remaine in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Iosua*; but soone after his death, the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforst to inhabit the Mountaines, and places of hardest access. And those of *Juda* were not able to bee Masters of their owne Vallies; because, as it is writ-

Plal. 5. 6.
W. G. 1. 11.

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rem in h. 1. 1. 1. 1.
698 b.
10. 3. 3.
Ind. 1. 1. 1. 1.
3. 3. 3.

Ind. 1. 1. 1. 1.

ten in the *Judges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of Iron. And those principall Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adjoining vnto *Iuda*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistims*: as *Asazah*, *Gath*, *Asdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembered in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* ouer *Jordan* expell the *Geshurites*, northe *Maschathites*: which inhabited the North parts of *Basam*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Neftalims* possesse themselves of *Bethsheemsb*: nor of *Bethanah*, but they inforst those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asser* expell the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Azon*, *Athab*, *Achab*, *Heblab*, *Aphike*, and *Rehob*, nor in-
to force them to tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enioy *Kistron*, and *Nahalol*, but received tribute from them. Also the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*: and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bethshean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*; yea *Hierusalem* it selfe did the *Iebusites* defend about foure hundred yeares, euen till *Dauids* time.

Now *Iosua* liued one hundred and ten yeares, eightene of which he gouerned *Israell*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not exprest in the Scriptures, which causeth diuers to coniecture diuersly of the continuance. *Iosephus* giues him five and twentie yeares, *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Author of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twentie: And *Massius* fixe and twentie: *Aluimianus* cited by *Massius*, fourteene: *Ioannes Lucidus*, euenteene: *Caetanus*, ten: *Eusebius* giueth him seuen and twentie: and so doth *S. Augustine*: *Melancthon*, two and thirtie: *Codeman*, five and twentie. But whereas there passed 480. yeares from the deliuerance of *Israell* out of *Egypt*, vnto the building of the Temple, it is necessarie that wee allow to *Iosua* only eightene of them; as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to mee seems the most likely, and as I thinke, a well approved opinion.

The same necessitie of retaining precisely 480. yeares from the departure out of *Egypt* vnto the building of the Temple, conuinceth of error, such as haue in-
30 ted yeares betwene *Iosua* and *Othniel*, of whome *Eusebius* finds eight yeare, to which *Arim Montanus* adhereth; and for which hee giueth his reason in his foure and twentieth and last Chapters vpon *Iosua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine yeare: *Bucholzer* and *Keusner* but one, *Codeman* twentie, and *Nicephorus* no lesse than three and thirtie: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. yeares, there can be no void yeares found betwene *Iosua* and *Othniel*, vnlesse they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed vnto *Iosua* by the accompt already specified. The praises and acts of *Iosua* are briefly written in the fixe and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him. *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battells of the Lord?*

40 That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arim Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter ver. 26. And *Iosua* wrote these wordes in the booke of the Law of God: which seemeth rather to haue bene meant by the covenant which *Iosua* made with *Israell* in *Sichem*, where they all promiskd to serue and obey the Lord: which promise *Iosua* caused to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were *Caetan* and *Abulenfis*: *Theodore* doth likewise conuince that the booke of *Iosua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled *Liber Iussorum*: remembered by *Iosua* himselfe, and others, that it was the worke of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* giueth his opinion vpon these wordes of the 26. verse. And *Iosua* wrote these wordes, &c. this place hath nothing in it to proue it, for when the
50 people had answered *Iosua* A: The Lord our God will we serue, and his voice will we obey, it followeth that *Iosua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the same in the booke of the Law of God.

There liued at once with *Iosua*, *Erichonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speede: And
F f 3 about



about the same time the fiftie Daughters of *Danaus* (as it is said) slew the fiftie Sonnes of *Aegyptus*, all but *Lyncus* who succeeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There lived also with *Iosua*, *Phenix* and *Cadmus*, and neare the end of *Iosua*'s life. *Jupiter* is said to haue rauished *Europa* the Daughter of *Phenix*, (afterward married to *Asterius* King of *Creta*) and begot on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But *S. Augustine* reports this rauishment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sonnes of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was Father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in person a yong or strong man at the same *Troian* warre. And so doth *Neslor* reckon vp in the Councell of the *Greekes*, *Thesew*, and *Perithous* for men of antiquite, and of ages past: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof elsewhere.

L. 19. 18. c. 12. De
Civ. Dei.

Homer, Odys. &
Jud.

Hom. Iliad. 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Israel, that were planted in the borders
of Phœnicia, with sundrie Stories depending
upon those places.

§ I.

The Proame to the description of the whole Land of Canaan, with
an exposition of the name of
Syria.



THE Storie of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Iosua*, after whome the Common-wealth of the *Iewes* was governed by Kings, of which so many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, shall bee remembered when wee come to the description of *Samaria*: But because the Land of *Canaan*, and, the borders thereof, were the Stages and *Theaters*, whereon the greatest part of the Storie past, with that which followeth hath bene acted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a *Geographicall* description of those Regions: that all things therein performed by the places knowne, may the better bee vnderstood, and conceiued. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I haue bestowed on euery Tribe his proper portion: and doe shew what Cities and Places of strength, were by the *Iewes* obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leaue vnconquered: by whom he might correct and scourge them, when vngrateful for his many graces, they at sundrie times forgot or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deafe and dead Idolls of the Heathen. *Diuina bonitas* (saith *S. AUGUSTINE*) *ideo maxime irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro: & misericorditer temporalē ad labet seueritatem, ne eternam iuste inferat ultionem*; The diuine goodnesse is especially therefore angrie in this world, that it may not be angrie in the world to come, and doth mercifully of temporall seueritie, that it may not iustly bring a pious eternall vengeance.

To the Cities herein described, I haue added a short Storie of the beginnings, and ends of diuers Kingdomes and Common-weales: and to helpe my selfe therein

I haue

I have perused diuers of the best Authors vpon this subiect: among whom, because I finde so great disagreement in many particulars, I haue rather in such cases aduertured to follow mine owne reason, than to borrow any one of their old patternes.

And because *Canaan*, with *Palestina* of the *Phylisins*, and the Lands of *Ug* and *Sihon* Kings of *Babian*, and the Arabian *Anabiter*, were but small Provinces of *Syria*: it shall be necessarie, first to diuide and bound the generall, and so to descend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

Syria, now *Soria*, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently taken, embraced all those Regions from the *Euxine* Sea to the Red Sea: and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which looke into *Pontus* called *Leuco-syrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, vnto *Idumæa* towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sunne rising, and the *Mediterranean* Sea Westward: it then containeth besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, *Arabia* the Desert, and *Arabia Petraea*, that Region also which the Greekes call *Mesopotamia*, the Hebrewes *Syria*, of the two Riueres, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aram-Naharajim* is expounded: also *Padan Aram*: that is, *Ingum Syria*, because the two Riueres goe along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edessa, sometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the Metropolis of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many small Provinces, as *Caldeya* which the Latines call *Syria Cana*, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley betweene the Mountaines of *Lybanus* and *Anti-Lybanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were situate. Then *Damascena* or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the Citie *Damascus*, and the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, the Regall seat of the *Adades*, the first Kings of *Syria*. Adioyning to it was the Province of *Sophene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobab*: ouer which *Adadecer* commanded in *Salomons* time. Then *Phoenicia* and the people *Syraphenices*: and lastly *Syria Palestina* bordering *Egypt*: of which *Ptolomie* maketh *Iudæa* also a part: and to that Province which *Moses* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giueeth the name of *Syria Iudæa*.

§. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land.

BY that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phoenicia*, and stretcheth from behinde *Lybanus* to the great *Deserts* betwene *Idumæa* and *Egypt*: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the West, and the Mountaines of *Hermon*; *Galaad*, and *Arnon* towards the East: the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traceni* or *Tracemita*, and *Ptolomie* *Strab. l. 10.*

40 *pus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Sonne of *CHAM*, & lingua appellata fuit CANAAN; The language was also called CANAAN, faith *Montanus*: and after the name of the Hebrewes: who tooke name from *Heber*, the Sonne of *Sale*, according to *S. Augustine*. But *Arius Montanus* not so well allowing of this derivation, maketh it a common name to all those of *Noahs* Sonnes, which past ouer *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, faith he, is as much as *transiens* or *transmittens*, of going or passing ouer. And because the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certaine abiding: therefore as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebrei*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *G. Sigonius*, and of *Ensebius* *Ensb. Prep. 2. cap. 17. c. 3.* long before them both. It had also the name of *Iudæa* from *Iudæa*, and then afterwards intituled the holy Land, because therein our Saviour *Christ* was borne, and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was againe diuided into foure, namely into *Edom*, (otherwise *Seir*, or *Edumæa*) *Gablee*, *Samaria*, and *Iudæa*. *Gablee* is double, the superior called *Gentium*, and the inferiour: and that *Galilee* and *Iudæa* are distinguished, it is plain in the *Euangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phenicia*. *Math. 2. 1. 14. 1. 23. 23. 4. 1.*

Now

Now besides these Prouinces of *Phanicia*, and *Palestina* (both which the Riuer of *Jordan* boundeth; sauing that *Phanicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*; that part also to the East of *Jordan*, and within the Mountaines of *Itrem*, *Gilead* and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traceni*, fell to the possession of halfe *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also: aswell because anciently possit by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the *Israelites*, which Eastermost parts are againe diuided into *Basan* or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Galab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Machati*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, *Husi*. They are knowne to the later *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in general: and by the names of *Tracenis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, &c. of which I will speake in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the later Prouinces, which fell to *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, for these be his wordes. Then the border of the *Canaanites* was from *Zidon*, as thou comest to *Gerar* vntill *Azzah* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Countrey North and South: then it followeth in the Text. And as thou goest vnto *Socome* and *Gomerah*, and *Amish*, and *Sebojim*, euen vnto *Laba*: by which wordes *Moses* setteth downe the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomie* it seemeth to be farre more large. For it is therein written: All the places whereon the sole of your feet shall treade shalbe yours: your coast shalbe from the wilderness, and from *Libanon*, and from the Riuer *Perah*, vnto the uttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Countrey North and South, this description agreeth with the former: only *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*: and the *Wildernesse* for *Gerar* and *Azzah*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promised stretcheth it selfe both ouer *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Desert* as farre as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Israelites* neuer possit: nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceiue that by the Riuer *Perah*, was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this place of *Iosua*: Behold I haue diuide d vnto you by lot these Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from *Jordan* with all the Nations that I haue despoiled, euen vnto the great Sea Westward.

And though it bee true that *Dauid* greatly enlarged the Territorie of the holy Land: yet as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place bee taken for *Euphrates*, then was it but per gentes in amicitiam receptas. For *Dauid* did not at any time enter so farre to the East as *Affyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries giue aduantage to those that would make any irreligious cause, as touching the promise of God to the *Israelites* vnperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and seruice, it pleased him not only to inclose them within that Territorie, which was for so many people exceeding narrow: but therein and elswhere to subiect them vnto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish Gods themselves also serued and obaied. And first the promise by which the *Hebrewes* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the last thing enioying thereof, to wit, as long as the heauens were aboue the earth, was tied to those conditions both in the Verbes preceding, and subsequent: which the *Israelites* neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect: who know that all sorts of comforts from the mercifull goodness of God looked for, aswell in this life as after it, are no longer to bee attended, than while we perseuer in his love, seruice, and obedience. So in the eighth Verse of the eleuenth of *Deuteronomie*, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition ioyned to the prosperitie of *Israel*. For therein it is written: Therefore shalbe ye keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and goe in, and possesse the Land, whether ye goe to possesse it. Also that you may prolong your daies in the Land which the Lord swore vnto your Fathers, &c.

The like condition was also annexed to the enioying of the land conquered, and the

Deut. 11. 34.

23. v. 4.

Vadian. Epitome. trium terre partium, cap. Palestinae.

Deut. 11. v. 31.

Deut. 11.

the possession thereof, so long as the heavens were about the earth. For if yee keepe *Dist. 11.*
aligently, saith he, *all these commandments, which I command you to doe, that is, to love*
the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and yee
 shall possess great Nations, and mightier than you. And here, though it be manifest,
 that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandments, and their falling away from
 the worship of his all-powerfull Majestic, to the Idolatrie of the Heathen, the con-
 ditionall promises of God were absolutely voided, as depending vpon obedience vi-
 performed: yet I cannot mislike that expolition of Melancthon: For, saith he, *ostendit*
promissionem precipiam non esse de hoc Politico regno, He beweith that his chiefe
promise is not of a ciuill Kingdom. To which agrees that answer, which S. Hierome
 made to a certaine Heretique in his Epistle ad Dardanum, who accused S. Hierome
 that he ouerthrow the reputation of the Iewes Storie, and brought the truth thereof
 in question, by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie, and ad illam duntaxat vinctum
 terram qua in caelis est; (that is) Only to that Land of the living which is in Heauen.
Quoniam tota Iudaeorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut rix longitudinem habeat 160.
miliarium, latitudinem vero 40. & in his etiam regiones loca vrbes & oppida sunt plurima,
nunquam a Iudeis occupata, sed tantum diuina pollicitatione promissa; Becaus the whole
Countrie of the Iewes is so narrow in compasse that it scarce bath 160. miles in length, and
40. miles in breadth, and in these are Countreies, Places, Cities, and many Townes, which the
Iewes neuer possesse, but were only granted by diuine promise. In like manner the same
 Father speaketh vpon Esay touching the blessings promised vnto Hierusalem: where
 he hath these wordes. *De quo dicimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palestina Regione*
petendam: quae totius Provinciae determinatio est: & saxosis montibus asperatur, & penuriam
pauit suis: ita ut celestibus rotatur pluuijs, & varietatem fontium cisternarum extructione
foletur: sed in Dei manibus ad quam dicitur festinauerunt structores tui; From whence,
 saith he, we learne, that Hierusalem is not to be sought in that Region of Palestina, which is
 the worl of the whole Prouince, and ragged with craggie Mountaines: and suffereth the pe-
 nurie of thirst: so as it preserueith raine water, and supplieth the scarcitie of Wells by building
 Cisternes, but this Hierusalem is in Gods handes, to which it is said, *Thy builders haue haste-*
 ned, so saith S. Hierome, where also to preuent mistaking, he thus expoundeth him-
 selfe. *Neque hoc dico in suggestione metum Iudae, ut Hareticus Syrophanta mentitur:*
aut quo auctorem historiae veritatem: quae fundamentum est intelligentiae spiritualis, sed ut de-
cuciam supercilium Iudeorum: qui Synagoga angustias latitudinis Ecclesiae praeferrunt. Si enim
occidentem tantum sequuntur litteram, & non spiritum viuificantem: ostendant terram pro-
missionis laetare & melle manantem; Neither (saith he) say I this to disgrace the land of Iu-
daea (as the Hereticall Syrophanta doth belime me) or to take away the truth of the Historie, which
is the foundation of spiritual vnderstanding, but to beate downe the pride of the Iewes:
which enlarge the straits of the Synagoge further then the breadth of the Church: for if
they follow only the killing letter, & not the quickening spirit, let them leaue the Land of
40 promise, flowing with milke and honny.

By this it may also be gathered, how foucer it be vnlike (seeing the West-bound
 in the place, *Deut. 11. 24.* had his truth in the littell sense, that *Euphrates* or *Perath*,
 which is made the East-bound, should be taken only in a spirituall sense) yet neuer-
 thelesse that Hieroms opinion inclineth to this, as if this Perath were not to be vnder-
 stood for *Euphrates*: and that the promise it selfe was neuer so large: much lesse the
 plantation and conquest of *Israel*.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because *Aster*,
Nephtholim, and *Zabulon*, held the Northernmost part, and were seated in *Phanicia*, I
 will beginne with these three, taking *Aster* for the first: of which Tribe yet before
 I speake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the
 other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the
 diuers fancies of Translators, are diuersly expressed, so that to the vnskillfull they
 may seeme diuers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diuersitie (as
 by those learned in the *Iehew* I am taught) is, partly because the ancient Editions
 of

of the Hebrew want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew Editions haue; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omitted diuers consonants, otherwise than the latter thinke fit.

S. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

†. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

THe *Asherites* descended of *Asher* the Sonne of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maide of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 41 500. and odde persons, all men about twentie yeares of age, and able to beare armes at the time, when they were muliered by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number perishing in the *Deserts*, 20 there remained of their issues, besides women and children, 53 400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the River of *Arnon*, into the *Plaines* of *Moub*, and after the Conquest of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phenicia*, from *Zidon* and the fields of *Libanus*, vnto *Ptolemais Acon* alongst the Sea-coast: containing thirtie English miles or thereabout: and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelue miles: though *Antoninus* makes it somewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oile, and Wheate, besides the *Balsamum*, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that *Prophecie*, *Asa serpinus panis*: concerning *Asher*, his bread shall be fat: And hee shall giue pleasures for a King.

†. II.

of Zidon.

THe first Citie seated on the North border of the Territorie of *Asher*, was *Zidon*, which *Iosua* calleth the great *Zidon*: both for strength and magnitude. The *Greekes* and *Quintus* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Iustine* denues the name from the abundance of Fish found on those shores: whereof it hath been called *Zidena*. But that it was farre more ancient *Moses*, *Iosua*, and *Iosephus* witnesseth, 40 the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan*s Sonnes: and so strong it was in *Iosua*s time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the *Asherites*, or any of their Successors master it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, euen vnto the coming of *Christ*, a Citie interchangeably gouerned, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the *Prophets Ely, Hieremie, Ezeckiel, and Zacharie*, it was often afflicted both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wall of the *Phenician Sea*, which is a part of the *Mediterran* or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*: which standeth betwene it and *Tyrt*, 50 the distance betwene which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyrt*, is fourteene thousand paces, saith *Seiglerus*: but *Padianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Weisburie* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make fise and twentie miles. This difference

Ant. lib.

Gen. 49.

Iust. lib. 18.

Gen. 10. In Ephe.

U. 6. 23. Hier. 47
Ezeck. 28. & 31.
Zach. 9.

Palest. Scip. 1. 13
Padian. Ptoem.
f. 278.
Strab. 2. 16.

of distance as well between these two knowne Cities, as all thereto, make it our difficult to devise any new scale to the Map and description of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till *Agenor's* time there is no memorie: The Storie which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time confumed and lost. It seemeth to bee more ancient than *Tyre*: which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*, and a Cite subiect to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became firre more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zobabel*, their principall workmen, both in Timber and Stone; for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other *Athenicall* Arts and Trades: the Prophet *Zacharie* calling them the wife *Zidonians*. The Cite was both by nature and art exceeding strong, having a Cattle or Citadell on the North-side, standing vpon an vnaccessible Rokee, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became *Christians*, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Cattle it hath on the South side by the Port of *Agypt*, which the *Templers* guarded. It also sent many other *Colomes* besides that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as vnto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Babylonia* in *Greece*.

Strabo and *Plinie* giue the *Zidonians* the invention of * Glasse, which they vied to make of those sands which are taken out of the Riuer *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterranean* Sea, near *Ptolemais* or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of those cleare Glasse which they make at *Morana*: as *S. Hierome* and *Plinie*. *Zidon* insignis artifex vitri: *Zidon* vitrarj: officijus Nobilis; *Zidon* a famous Glasse-maker, or a skilfull worker in Glasse-bowles.

They were in Religion *Idolaters* (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Bad* and *Astarte*: which *Idolls* though common to the other of the ilite of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1. *Sam.* 31. 10. and *Judg.* 10. 6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the Gods of the *Zidonians*: as appears 1. *Kings* 11. 5. in the storie of *Solemon's* Idolatrie: where *Astarte* is called the God of the *Zidonians*: and 1. *Reg.* 16. 33. in the storie of *Achab*, the chiefe worshipper of *Bad*, where it is said that he marrying *Iezabel* the Daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Bad*. Diuers *Bad*s and diuers *Astartes* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plurall names of *Basim* and *Astartoth*, 1. *Sam.* 12. 10. and elsewhere: for euent the name *Astartoth*, as I am informed by a skilfull *Udian*, is plurall: the singular being *Astarte*: whence *Iud.* 2. 13. the *Septuagint* readeth *idolatrias astartoth*. They worshipped the *Astartes*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Bads* and *Astartes*, may be diuersly vnderstood: either in respect of the diuersitie of the formes of the Images; or of the worship in diuers places, or of the stories depending vpon them: which (as fables vse to be) were double in diuers Cities diuers.

Au. *gustine* quæst. 16. in *Judg.* thinks *Bad* and *Astarte* to be *Iupiter* and *Iuno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Idolaters*) call *Iuno* by some such name as *Astarte*. *Tullie*, lib. 3. de *Nat. Deorum*, making diuers *Goddes* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Astarte*: whom he makes to be borne of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to haue bene the wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macro.* 2. *Satur.* cap. 21. Eies that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the *Assyrians*: and *Hierome* vpon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seeme that in the worship of *Astarte*, or *Venus*, they did bewaile her husband *Adonis*: as also the *Græcians*, did in their songs of *ADONIS*. *Mourner* for *ADONIS* the faire, dead is *ADONIS* the faire.

Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifices of *Isis*: whose losse of her husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the *Agyptian* Idolatrie, as with the *Græcians*, *Venus* losse of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, de *Iside* & *Osiride*; that *Osiris* with the *Agyptians* is called *Ammuz*: which word may seeme

Hered. 1. 5.

Vid. lib. 5. c. 9.

It seems

that euen in

antiquitie they

practised glasse

making, whence

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

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supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

Isauius vbi

supra. in *Isa.*

seeme to be the same with *Ezekiel's Thammuz*. But how soeuer these *Zidonians* were thus anciently fostered with the milke of Idolatrie: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine and Gospell of *Christ* after his Ascension, than the *Jewes*: who had bene taught by *Moses*, and the *Prophets* so many yeares, whereof our Saviour in *Matthew* and *Luke*. We be to thee *Chorazin*, &c. for if the great workes which were done in thee, had bene done in *Tyrrus*, and *Zidon*, they had repented long agoe, &c. but I say unto you it shall bee easier for *Tyrrus*, and *Zidon*, at the day of iudgement than for you.

Tyr. 11. B. 11.
Sacr. 14.
Viriac. 17.

Niger Postellus.

It received a *Christian* Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Diocese of *Tyre*. But in the yeare of our Redempe: on 636. it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*: and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then King of *Jerusalem*, in the yeare 1111. by the helpe of the *Danes* and *Normans*, who came with a flecte to visit the holy Land, and tooke Port at *Ioppa*, it was againe recovered, the commandment thereof being giuen to *Eustace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Countie. And againe in the yeare 1250 it was reedified and strengthened by *Lodowicke* the French King: while hee spent foure yeare in the Warre of the holy Land. Lastly, in the yeare 1289. it was reconquered by the *Saracens*: and is now in possession of the *Turkes*, and hath the name of *Zat*.

†. III.

Of *Sarepta*, with a brife Historie of *Tyre* in the same coast.

Sarepta, or after the *Hebren*, *Sarphath*, is the next Citie Southward from *Zidon*, betweene it and the River called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a Citie very famous for the excellent Wine growing neare it: of which *Sidonius*.

Vinamibinon sunt Gazetia, Chis, Falerna,
Quaq. Sareptano palmite missa bibet.

I have no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Faleria* wine,
Nor any for thy drinking of *Sarepta's* wine.

This Citie had also a Bishop of the Diocese of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, as the rest: and is now called *Saphet*, saith *Postellus*.

Virgil.

Plin. l. 5. c. 19.

Mercul. l. 22.

Not farre from *Sarepta* was situate that sometime famous Citie of *Tyre*, whose flects of ships commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatneesse and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Tyrus*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Affrica*, of which *Virgil*. Vrbis antiqua fuit *Tyrrus* tenerae *Coloni* *Carthago*. And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quasi Phoenicum*, a *Colonie* of the *Phenicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italy*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the *Helic*, *Dromus* *Aethiis*, which Citie the *Scholust* of *Apollonius* placeth neare the River *Phyllis*, in *Bithynia*.

Gr. Wm. l. 4. c. 6.

Cap. 25.

cap. 23.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Isaiah* the 19. taking name from the situation: because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end the *Latines*, as it seemes, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *offron Sarraunum*, by which name *Iuuenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it vpon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day: the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a *Colonie* of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Esay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*: which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Eusebius* by a similitude of name makes *Thiras* the Sonne of *Iaphet* to bee the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for so much the Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, Is not this your glorious Citie whose antiquitie is of ancient date:.)

dues: yet, that *Thoris* the sonne of *Iaphet* set himselfe in the bolome of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region: I see nothing to perfwade mee.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to bee the worke of *Agenor*: nor: and of this opinion was *Curtius*: and *Iosephus*, and *Iulius Pollox* make this Citie elder than *Salem*: Temple 240. yeares: *Ceasar* 361. who also addeth that *Tyrus* the Wife of *Agenor* gaue it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speake more at large in the storie of their Kings.

- For strength and for the commoditie of the harbour, and the better to receiue
 10 Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Iland, 700. paces from the continent: and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the midst of the Sea, as *Ezech.* 26. 27. some reade, or as others in the inner-moat part of the Sea, whence hee calleth it *Mar* situate at the entrie of the Sea, as also the same Prophet calleth it the *Mart* of the people for many Iles: and *Esay* a *Mart* of the Nations: and so Proude, Wealthie, and Magnificient was this Citie, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof 27. 8. Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the world.

- It excelled both in learning, and in manu-facture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet cloth: which, saith *Iulius Pollox*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dogge, who passing alongst the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fifth *Conchus* or *Purpura*: the haire of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the same Idolls that *Zidon* did: sauing that *Hercules* became their *Patron* in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrans* presented him with a crowne of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that hee had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their Citie: and the Ancestor of the *Macedonian* Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they lent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountaine of old *Tyre*: where he might performe that ceremonie: but this auailed not. For *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitions, hee desired to enter the Towne, which being denied, hee as one whome no perill could feare, nor labour wearie, gathered together as many
 30 ships as he could; and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of Cedars, and so many waightie Stones, from the old Citie of *Tyre* adioyning, as notwithstanding that his materials were often waist away with the strength of the Sea, and the Tides, yet he neuer rested, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Iland: and hauing once approached their Walls; hee ouer-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (hauing filled the body of force with the violent mouing Spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the sword that resisted, after which he caused 2000. more to be hung vp in a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which execution vpon cold blood he performed (as some Authors affirme) vpon the issues of those slaues which had formerly slaue all their
 40 Masters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Gouernement to themselves. His victorie of *Alexander* ouer the *Tyrans* *Iosephus* remembereth: *Ioseph.* anti. iude. 1. 12. 8. and how *Samballer* reuolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Princiuall Gouernour, which *Darius* seated in *Somaria*: the same who hauing married his Daughter to *Atanasse*, brother to *Iudas* the high Priest of *Iherusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might bee built on the Mountaines *Gorism* ouer *Somaria*: that the forces of the *Iewes* being diuided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The Honour of which Priest-hood he bestowed on his sonne-in-law *Mnasse*, whom the *Iewes* oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes and with a Gentile: but while *Alexander* besieged
 50 *Gaza*, *Samballer*, whom *Gul. Tyrinus* calleth *Sambula*, died. *De bell. ier. 13. 6. 4.*

Long before this desolation of *Tyre*, by the crueltie of *Alexander* it was attempted by *Solomon* for the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the reit of *Syria*, became enuious of the beautie, riches, and power of that Citie. He besieged it both on the Land-side,

and with three-score ships of Warre held the Port : to the end that neither any victualls nor any supply of men might enter it : but the *Tyrians* with twelue saile scattered that fleet, and tooke 500. prisoners of the *Afrians* : notwithstanding, the *Afrian* continued his resolution and lay before it by his Lieutenants five yeares, but with ill successe. And this sieg *Menander Ephesus*, cited by *Iosephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as hee found the storie among the *Annals* of the *Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* converted into Greeke) adding that *Eluleus*, whom *Tyrius* calleth *Heliassus*, was then King of *Tyre*, having gouerned the same fixe and twentie yeares. Soone after this repulse of *Salmanassar*, and about 200. yeares before the victorie of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonosor* at such time as he destroyed *Iherusalem* with the Temple, came before this Citie : who indeed gaue to *Alexander* the example of that despairfull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawley and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Against *Nabuchodonosor*, for many yeares, the *Tyrians* defended themselves: for so long did these *Babylonians* continue before it, *As every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare*, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Esay* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this people. In the end and after thirteene yeares siege or more, the *Tyrians* despoiled of all their hopes, and remembring ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ships, abandoned their Citie, transporting with them selues the ablest of all that remained : and with their wiues, children, and portablen riches sailed thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritime Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfie so many labours and perills, or any person vpon whom to auenge themselves for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make *Nabuchodonosor* victorious ouer the *Egyptians* : and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Armie. Whereupon Saint *Iherome* noteth, that God leaueth not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happinesse referred for his *Seruants* and *Saints*: yet such is the boundlesse goodnesse of God, as he often repaieth them with many worldly gifts and temporall blessings.

Now of this enterprife of *Nabuchodonosors* against *Tyre*, prophane Historians haue not been silent. For both *Dioctes*, and *Philostratus* (as *Iosephus* citeth them) the one in his second Booke, the other in his *Phenician* Histories remember it.

After these two great *Vastations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*: this Citie of *Tyre* repaired and recouered it selfe againe : and continued in great glorie about 300. yeares, euen to the coming of our Saviour *Christ*: and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith neare 600. yeares : the *Archbishop* whereof gaue place to none but to the *Patriarke of Iherusalem* only : who within his owne Diocesse had fourteen great Cities, with their Bishops and Suffragans : namely *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphiria*, *Acon* or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cesarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthofia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Tortosa*) and *Marada*. But in the yeare 636. it was with the rest of that beautifull Region of *Phenicia* and *Palestina*, subiected to the cruell and faithlesse *Saracens*. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whose tyrannie it suffered with the other *Palestine* Cities 488. yeares.

In the yeare 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine*, King of *Iherusalem*, but in vaine : yet in the yeare 1124. by *Guaremonde*, *Patriarke of Iherusalem*, *Viceroy* to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their fleet of Gallies, so it was againe recouered, and subiected to the Kings of *Iherusalem*; and so it remained 165. yeares.

Finally, in the yeare 1189. *Saladine* having first taken *Iherusalem*, remoued his whole Armie and late downe before *Tyre*: drawing his fleet of ships and Gallies from

Ioseph. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 14.
xi. cont. 49.
x. Gual. Tyrius. de bell. Sac. 13. 4.
Ioseph. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 15.

Ezek. 39. 18.
Ezek. 23. 46.

Ezek. 39. 17. 19.

Ioseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 13.

Gual. Tyrius. de bell. Sac.

Gual. Tyrius. de bell. Sac. 17.

from *Alexandria* into the port, this cittie as then onely remaining in the Christian power.

The citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certain rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleet, and falling out resolutely upon his armie, slew so great numbers of them, and followed their victorie with such furie, as that the Saracens forsaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two yeares after which victorie the bodie of that famous *Fredericke Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christians* enemies over a River unfordable perished by the weight of his armor therein) was brought and interred in the Cathedral church of *Tyre*, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeares before therein buried: but in the year 1289. the Saracens againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subiect to the *Turks*.

†. IIII.

of *Ptolemais* or *Acon*.

THE third Cittie alongst the coast of the Sea, which the *Assyrians* could not obtaine, on the fourth bound of *Aster* was *Acho*, which was the ancient name there: after *Herome*, though other good Authors affirme that it tooke name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolemy*. *Pliny* calleth it *Ace*; and otherwise the *Colonie* of *Claudius*, *Plin. lib. 5. cap. 9.* It had also the name of *Cash* or *Cad*, and by *Zieglerus* it is called *Flactipos*. In de scriptor. sent.

But lastly, it was intitled *Ptolemais* after the name of one of the *Aegyptian Ptolemies*: which cittie also as it is 1. *Macc. 11.* an other of the *Ptolemies* infidiously wrested from his sonne in law *Alexander*, which called himselfe the sonne of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: the same *Alexander* hauing married *Cleopatra* daughter of the said *Ptolemy* not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan Maccabeus* treacherously surprized

and slaine as it is 1. *Macc. 12. 48.* by the peridioulnesse of *Tryphon*, whom soone after *Antiochus* pursued as it is in the storie ensuing: and by like reason about the same time was the aforesaid *Alexander* in the warre against *Demetrius* one of the sonnes of *Antiochus* the great with whom *Ptolemy* ioynded, ouerthrowne and treacherously murdered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*: to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented vnto his father in law *Ptolemy*: who enioyed not the glory of this victorie and treason about three dayes, for God stricke him by death.

For the beautie and strength of this Cittie, this *Alexander* made it his regall seate; two parts of the same being inuironed by the Sea, and the Port for situate and capacite not inferiour to anie other in all that Tract. This Cittie is distant from *Jerusalem* some foure and thirtie miles: foure miles to the North from the Mountaine *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lambertii*: from *Tyre* *Antoniensis* maketh it two and thirtie Italian miles. In the middle of the Cittie there was a Tower of great strength sometime the Temple of *Bel-zelub*: and therefore called the Castle of *Phis*, on the toppe whereof there was maintained a perpetual light, like vnto that called *Pharus* in *Aegypt*: to giue comfort in the night to those ships, which came neere and sought that part. It had in it Bishops (seate, of the Diocesse of *Tyre*, after it became *Christian*: but in the yere 636. (a fatal yere to the *Christians* in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Harunius* the *Saracen*. In the yere 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the first, by the helpe of the Gallies of *Genoa*: to whom a third of the reuencue was giuen in recompence. Again, in the yere of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred foure score and seauen *Salasine* King of *Aegypt*, and *Synis*, became Lord thereof. In the yere of Christ, one thousand one hundred ninetie and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France* it was repossessed and redelivered to the *Christians*. Lastly, in the yere 1291. it

was by the furie of the *Saracens* beleiged with an Armie of 150000. entred, sackt, and vterly demolished: though in some sort afterward reedified, and it is now *Turkish*.

†. V.

of the Castle of St. GEORGE.

Recho

fin. 4.

Of the place & memorie of his death. See Chap. 9 §. 1.

Flue miles from *Patolomais* towards the East, is the Castle of S. George seated, in which he was borne: the Valley adioyning bearing the same name. And though for the credit of S. Georges killing the Dragon, I leaue every man to his owne belief: yet I cannot but thinke, that if the Kings of England had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Successours Roially haue continued, should haue borne his name, seeing the world had not that scarcitie of Saints in those daies, as that the English were driuen to make such an erection vpon a Fable, or Person fained. The place is described by *Adrichomius* in his description of *Affer*, to haue beene in the fields of *Libanus*: betweene the River *Adonis*, and *Zidon*: his owne wordes are these. *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe à Beryto, memorant inclytum Christi Militem D. GEORGIVM, Regis filium ab immanissimo Dracone assensuisse: eam, maculata bestia parenti restituisse. In cuius rei memoriam Ecclesia postmodum fuit edificata; In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not farre from Berytus, men say that the famous Knight of Christ Saint GEORGE, did rescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and hauing killed the beast, deliuered the Virgin to her Parent. In memorie of which deede a Church was after built there: Thus farre Adrichomius. His Authors he citeth *Lodouicus Roman. Patric. Navigationum, l. 1. c. 3. and Bredenbach ltm. 5.* The Valley vnder this Castle sometime called *Affer*, was afterward called the Valley of S. George. If this authoritie suffice not, we may rather make the Storie allegorically, figuring the victorie of Christ, than accept of George the *Arrian* Bishop mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.*

†. VI.

of *Acziba*, *Sandalium*, and others.

Betweene *Patolomais* and *Tyre* alongst the Sea coast, was the strong Citie of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which *S. Hierom* calleth *Achazeph*, and *Iosephus* *Ecdappos*, *Plinie* *Ecdippa*, one of those which defended it selfe against the *Asserites*. *Belforrest* findes *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Castle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelue searchers of the Land which *Moses* sent from *Cadesbarne*, traualled as farre to the North as *Reob*, or *Rechoh*, in the Tribe of *Affer*, which *Rechoh*, as also *Berath* which by *Ezekiel* cap. 47. v. 16. is placed in these North borders, belonged in *Dauids* time to the King *Hedabhezor*, as it may be gathered out of the second of *Samuel* the 8. cap. and 8. verse, & cap. 10. v. 6. and it defended it selfe against the *Asserites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achziph*, *Patolomais*, *Alab*, *Helbah*, and *Aphék* did.

This *Aphék* it was, whose Wall falling downe, slew seuen and twentie thousand of *Benhadads* Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had beene slaughtered by the *Israelites*, vnder the conduct of *Abab*. Here *Iunius* finds that the *Philistims* incamped a little before the battaile at *Gilboa*, though in his Note vpon the first of *Samuel*, the 50. p. and 1. he takes *Aphék* there mentioned (at which battaile the *Arke* was taken) to haue beene in *Iuda*. Of which see *Ios. 15. and 53.* and in the second of *Kings 13. 17.* hee reads, *Fortiter*, for, in *Aphék*. Where others conuert it, *Percutens Syras* in *Aphék*.

The

2. Sam. 10. 6.

ter *Hiran* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appears 2. *Chron.* 8. 14. And it seems they were conquered by *David* from the *Syri Reschobas*, whose Citie *Reob*, or *Reschob*, was in these parts.

Almost of equall distance from the Castle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Gisela*, and *Gadara*: of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed ouer *Jordan*: *Gisela* was made famous by *John* the Sonne of *Lewi*, who from a meane estate gathering together four hundred Theeues, greatly troubled all the vpper *Galilee*: at such time as the *Romanes* attempted the conquest of *Judas*: by whose practise *Iosephus*, who then commanded in the vpper *Galilee*, was greatly endangered: whereof himselfe hath written at large, in his second Booke of those Warres. This *John* betraying in all hee could in the Citie, gaue opportunitie, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarims*, to surprize it: who at the same time forst it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Iosephus* authoritie rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by composition. They finde also the Cities of *Cana Maior*, and * *Cades*: (or *Cedes*) of the first was that *Syro-phenician*, whose Daughter *Christ* deliuered of the euill Spirit. Neare the other, they say, it was that *Ionathas Machabaeus* ouer-threw the Armie of *Demetrium*.

* See *Reliq*
in *Nephthali*.
Matth. 15.
Marc. 7.
Matth. 17. 73.
Iosephus Antiq.
13. cap. 8.

a Of which
Iosua in *vita*
sua.
b Of both
which *Iosua* 19. 37
Eccl. 47. 15.
c Or *Enph*.
Ioseph Antiq. lib. 1.
cap. 4.

18. 1. 30.

There are besides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of *Asher*, diuers others: as on the South border, and neare the Sea, *Messall* or *Mysicall*: within the Land * *Besara*, b *Bethdane*, and *Bethemes*, standing on the South border betwene *Asher* and *Zabulon*: on the North side ioyning to *Syro-phenicia*, is the Citie of *Ethalon*, or *Chelelon*, the utmost of the holy Land that way: vnder which towards the Sea is *Chali*, and then * *Enoch* supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his Sonne *Enoch*, but without probability, as I haue formerly proued: there are others also besides these as *Ammon* or *Chammon*, of which *Iosua* 19. 28 where also we reade of *Nehiel*, *Rema*, *Alamelec*, and *Beton*: the Cities of *Aleath*, or *Chelath*, *Habdon*, and *Rechob*, and *Mysal*, which we haue already mentioned, were by the *Asherites* giuen to the *Leuites*. Others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made, *Iudg.* 1. 30. to which out of *Iosua* we may adde *Ebron*, *Amhed*, and others, on which no storie dependeth; and therefore I 30 will not pester the description with them.

†. VIII.

Of the Riuer and Mountaines of *Aser*.

Ase. Tab. 4.

Plin. l. 9.

Ase. Tab. 4.

Peß Ortiofium
et Eleutherum
est Tripoli.

d The word
Nachal is am-
biguous, either
for a Valley or
for a Riuer: but
this word *Ghe*
is alway a Val-
ley, as in *Ghe-
mon* and *Ghe-
mam*.

THE riuer to the north of *Aser*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Ziegler* ioy-
neth *Lycus*, *Ptoleme*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neare *Berytus*: which
Riuer of *Leontis*, *Montanus* drawes neare vnto *Zidon*: finding his head notwithstanding
where *Ptoleme* doth, betwene *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a Riuer called
40 *Fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brocard* intituleth *Eleutherus*: for
which he also citeth *Plinie*; and the first of *Machabees* the 11. Chap. but neither of
those authorities proue *Eleutherus* to be in *Aser*: for this Riuer falleth into the Sea
at the Ile of *Aradus*: not farre from *Balanea*, witnesseth *Ptoleme*: and therefore *Pto-*
lemy calleth it *Valania*, and *Possellus Velana*: which Riuer boundeth *Phenicia* on the
North side: to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principall Riuer of *Aser*, *Arius*
Leicifan (which *Leicifan* in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land)
calleth the maine Riuer *Fons hortorum Libani*: and one of the streames which run-
neth into it from the North side, *Near*, and an other from the South-west *Chabul*:
50 the Citie adioyning of the same name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also an
other Riuer described by *Adrichome*, named *Iepthach*, which I finde in no other Au-
thor, and for which he citeth the nineteenth of *Iosua*, but the word * *Ghe* which is
added thereto *Iepthach*, is not taken for a Riuer, but for a Valley; and for a Valley
the

the *Pulgar*, the *Genena*, and *Arias* *Montanus* turne it. There is also found in *Affer* the River of *Belus*, remembred by *Iosephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Paghras*, faith * *Plinie* : out of the sands of this River are made the best Glasses, which sometime the *Zidamians* practised : and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias* *Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chechemum*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is known to flow from out the Lake *Cendusa*, as all *Cosmographers* both Ancient and Moderne, and the later Travellers into those parts witnesse. It is true that the River of *Chisoutaketh* water from *Chechemum* : but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it : neither doth it finde the Sea at *Ptolemaus* *Acen*, according to *Montanus* : but farther to the South betwene *Caphas* and *Sicannum*, witnesse *Ziegler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Besides these Rivers there are divers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of *living waters* adioyning to *Tyre* : and * *Miserephat*, or after *S. Hierome*, *Miserephat-mam*, whose Well filled by the flood of the Sea adioyning, (they say) the Inhabitants by seething the water make salt thereof, as at *Nantwich*.

The Mountains which bound *Affer* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Calefrya* : two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phoenicia*, and *Syria*, extend themselves farre into the Land Eastward : four hundred stadia or furlongs, according to *Strabo* : for that length he giueth to the Valley 20 of *Calefrya* : which those Mountains inclose : but *Plinie* giues them 1500 furlongs in length from the West (where they beginne at *Theophsophon*, or *Des fides*, neare *Tripolis*) to the Mountains of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus* : where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges where they beginne to part *Traconitis* and *Basar*, from the Desert *Arabia*, are called *Hermon* : which *Moses* also nameth *Sien*, the *Phoenicians* *Syrian*, and the *Amorites* *Sanur*, neither is this any one Mountain a-part; but a continuation of Hills : which running further South-erly, is in the Scriptures called *Galead* or *Gilead* : the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Jeremie* propheth : *Galead in mibi caput Libani* : noting that this *Galead* is the highest of all those Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knowes them by the name of *Traconitis* : and *Ptolemy* by *Hippus*. *Arias* *Montanus* calleth these Mountains bordering *Affer*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrarie to all other *Cosmographers*, but hee giueth no reason for his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, because according to *Tacitus*, the highest of them are couered with snow all the Sommer, the Hebrew word *Libanon* (saith *Wessenberg*) signifieth whitenesse. Others call them by that name of the Frankincense which those trees yeeld : because *libanotis* is also the Greeke word for that Gumme.

Niger out of *Aphradisus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus*, there falleth a kinde of hony dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Saccular*, from whence came the Latine word *Saccarum*.

The Rivers which *Libanus* belteth on the neighbour Regions are, *Chyrrhos*, *Jordan*, *Elenthus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the Mountaines of *Affer*, are those Hills about *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitfull : but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus* : from *Nebo*, or the Mountain of *Abarin*, in *Ruben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* three-score miles distant.

1649 lib. 2. Be.
1648.3.

L. 5. c. 19 in
1648.3. 19. 1. 26

It called sin-
claw, of which
name many va
decidant on o-
ther It comes
164.3.3. which
running by Pe-
tra of Arabia,
falleth into the
Lake Sabotus,
& dividech it
557 from the
promised Land
wherabout
they place Hil-
lariet, &c. &c
which circula-
tion teacheth
clear in that
place of 164.3.3
but howe ever
whether this
Strabo, 164.3.3
be a River or a
cave it appears
that its name
is found, both
in the North
bound of the
hol Land, 167,
19. 26. and in
the South bound
167. 15. 4.

a See the mar-
ginal Note a-
bout in the se-
cond Section
of this Pa-
graph.

Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

Strabo, v. 28.

Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

Strabo, L. 10.
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Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

Strabo, L. 10.
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Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

Strabo, L. 10.
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Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

Strabo, L. 10.
164.3.3. 6. 30.

§. IIII.

THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

†. I.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis,
and Abila.

19



He next Portion of the Land of Canaan bordering *Asher*, was the vpper *Galilee*: the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the Sonne of *Isaac* by *Billa*, the hand-maide of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able to beare armes, numbered at Mount *Sinai*: all which leauing their bodies in the *Desarts*, there entered the Holy Land of their Sonnes 45400. Besides Infants, Women, and Children, vnder twentie yeares of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of *Jordan*, and the Hills of *Libanus* adioyning, as farre South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the West 20 by *Asher*, and on the East and South-east by *Jordan*.

Guil. Tyr. Bell.
fact. 19. c. 19.
Theodorica. Hist.
Ecclesiast.
Metaph. cap. 9.
Iustin. Gestellus
Histor.
Iosephus Florib.
laci.
Engelb. 8. De
monst.
Polat. 11. f. 243
* Also a third
in Episcopus cal-
led Abel Ma-
chala, and a
fourth in Ro-
mans called Abel-
Satum, also a
bel Misraim, at
the Foode of
Jordan, and (as
it seems) in the
same Tribe of
Reuben, of all
which in that
which follows
to which also
we may adde
Abel-Mogum,
the Name as
some thinke of
a Cite, other-
wise called Beth
Sama, near the
border of the
Philiistins, or
according to o-
thers of the
great Stone in
the border.
1. Sam. 6. 18.
Ioseph ant. 17.
c. 20.
1. Sam. 20.
1. Reg. 15.
1. K. 25. 15.

On the North-side of *Libanus*, and adioyning to this Territorie of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabit, in which Tract and vnder *Libanus*, was the Cite of *Heliopolis*: which the height of the Mountaines adioyning shadowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. *Posseilus* calls it *Balbec*; *NIGER*, *Marbech*, and *Leontianus*, *Beelbeeca*.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great Cities in *Egypt*: the first called *On*, by the Hebrewes, and the Chaldaean *Paraphrast*, otherwise *Beisemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solus oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; The Cite of the Sunne: into which, saith *Plinian*, *Senecus* the Roman Emperour sent a Colonie: the other *Gestellus* nameth *Deamrach*: 30 and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a Cite in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also in the same Valley adioyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the Region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, ouer which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Berenice* the Queene commanded.

Abila also gaue name to the Region adioyning, of which *Lysanius* the Sonne of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or *Gouernour*: whereof *Ptolome* gaue it the addition of *Lysanij*, and called it *Abila Lysanij*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which hee notes that one *Diogenes* a famous *Sophister* was native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Aphileus* not *Abileus*. After that this Cite of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had received the *Chri- 40* stian Faith, *Priscillianus* became Bishop thereof: saine afterward by our *Briij* *Macimus* at *Treuer*. For distinction of this Cite (sit be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembered that in the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, loyning upon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is an other Cite of the same name, sa- 50 uing that it is written with an (E) for an (I) and called *Abela*, remembered in the 20. Chapter of the second of *Samuel*. The same *Iosephus* calls *Abelmachab*, and *Elereme* *Bethmachab*. In the place of *Samuel* for distinction like it is written, *Abel Beth-Machab* (for belike it was the Towne of *Machab*, the Wife of *Maier*, the Sonne of *Manasse*, the Father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This Cite *Isa* bel- 60 lieged: because *Seba* the Sonne of *Bisbri*, who rebelled against *Dauid*, fled thence to succour: but a certaine wife woman of the Cite perswading the people to call *Seba* his head ouer the wall, *Isa* retired his Armie. The same Cite was afterward taken by the King of *Damascus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalasar*.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signifie bewailing, or a plaine ground, and therefore no meruaile, that many Townes (with some addition for distinction

stinction fake) were thus called: for euen of bewailing many places tooke name, as *Bechem*, *Indeg. 2.* & do doublelie * *Abel-Misram*, *Gen. 50. 11.* and yet *Imas* in his note vpon *Nam. 33. 49.* thinks that *Abel-Sittim*, was so called, rather by reason of the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*) and so perhaps *Abel-Melechi* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Towne of *Elisha* the Prophet: also *Abel-Veaurum* of the *Ammonites*, whether *Iephth* purified them.

* And Abel
Magnum.
1 Sam. 6 : 8.
Judg. 7. 26 & 1.
Eccl. 19 15.
Judg. 11. 35.

†. II.
Of Hazor.

IN this Tribe of *Zeplhalim*, was that famous Citie of *Iabin*, in *Iofas* time called *Afor* (or after the Chaldean *Paraphraz.* *Hefzor*) by *Iofephus Afora*, by *Iunus* *Chalzor*: which *Lusitan* names *Hefzor* the Regall Citie and Metropolis of *Canaan*: seated in the West part of *Nephthim*, towards *Alber*. In this Citie was that great *Rendeleus*, and assembly of those foure and twentie Kings against *Iofua*: who being all overthrown, flaine, and scattered, this their powerfull Citie was by *Iofua* taken and burnt to duft. But in proceffe of time the fame being rebuilt by the *Canaanites*, a fecond King *Iabin*, 137. yeares after the death of this firft *Iabin*, invaded the *Israelites*: and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatrie, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable feruitude twentie yeares: till *Deborah* the Prophetesse overthrew *Sifera*, *Iabins* Lieutenant, and his Armie, neare the mountaine *Tabor*. This Citie *Sadomon* reflored at fuch time as he also redified *Gegar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Agypt*, with *A Megido*, *Bethoren*, and other Cities; but about 260. yeares after, it fell into the hands of *Tegulphafar*, King of the *Affrians*. It is now, fith *Abdrichomins*, called *Antiochia*: it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*. There is an other Citie of this name in the Territory of *Beniamin*, feated on the confines of *Afcalon*, called the new *Hazor*. ^b fith *Elerome*.

20 City of Simeon, *fol.* 193. a *King*, 19. b *Hieron. loc. Hebr. l.E.* Out of *Nehem.* 11, 33, as it seems.

†. III.
Of Casaria Philippi.

There was also on the border, and within the Territories of *Nephthalim*, that renowned City of *Lais*, or *Lajish*, as *Hebrews* write it, or *Lejesh*; which Citie the children of *Dan* (being straightened in their Territory vnder *Judas*) invaded and mastered: and gave it the name of their own Parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Gen*. the fourteenth, at which place *Abraham* surprised *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates: and followed his victorie as far as *Sobab*, formerly remembered in the division of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sophena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the loynt-name of *Lejeshem Dan*. *Weßnyß* writes it *Laxis*, the *Geneus Lajsh*, *Josephus*, *Dona*, *BENJAMIN*, *Balinas*, *BREITENBACH*, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witness *Naburiginis*, *Tyrus*, *Polsterranus*, *Brochaer* the *Monke*, and *Pogellus*: who also taketh this Citie to be the same, which in *Matthew* the 15. v. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greeke* Text hath *Magedals* in that place, and in *S. Marke*, speaking of the same storie, *Dalmannitha*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free Citie, of the alliance and confederacie of the *Zidonians*, or else subiect vnto the Kings thereof: for it is written in the eighteenth of *Judges*: And there was none to helpe, because *Lais* was farre from *Zidon*: and they had no business with other men, for it was aboute thirtie English miles from the *Mediterran* sea, and from *Zidon*.

Ind. 18.27.
10.19 47.

Inde. 18.

Chen S 1996

Verf. 28.

Plin. l. 5. c. 15.

Moz. l. 1. c. 35.

* Of an other *Cesaria* (or *Cesarea*) called *Cesaria* *Palestina*. See hereafter in the former part of *Munus* Of *Dinecarea* See *Sephera* in *Zabulon*.

Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 14.
Joseph. l. 6. c. 15

* *Iosaphus* in the Booke of the *rew* *Waz* 18. faith, that *Philip* the *Tetrarch* cast chaffe into aountain called *Phuala*, distant 120. stadia North-east from *Cesaria*, which Chaffe being carried vnder ground was cast vp againe at *Pun* *li* or *Dax*, whereby it is coniectured that the full Spring of *Iordan* is from this Fontaine called *Phuala*, from whence *Ior* and *Dax* receiue their waters.

In after-times when these Regions became subiect to the State of *Rome*, it had the name of *Panetas*, from a Fontaine adioyning so called: and therefore *Ptolomeus* calls it *Casaria Paneta*. *Hegesippus* calls it *Pannum*, faith *Weissenburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copie: for in *Hegesippus* set out by *Badus*, it is written *Pannum* without an (*R*): and at such time as *Philip* the sonne of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Gouernour of *Traconitis*, sometime *Basana*, this Citie was by him amplified and fortified; and both to giue memorie to his owne name, and to flatter *Tiberius Casar*, he called it * *Casaria Philippi*: and so it became the *Metropolis*, and head Citie of *Traconitis*: and one of the first Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the succeeding age greatly adorned: by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memorie of his impietie: so in *Tiberius* time the Citizens remembred their former *Panetas*, and so recalled it, with the Territorie adioyning by the ancient name. Of this Citie was that Woman whom *Christ* healed of a bloudie issue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a constant Faith: who after ward as shee was a woman of great wealth and abilitie, being mindfull of Gods goodnesse, and no lesse gratefull for the same, as *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two Statues to be cast in pure Copper: the one representing *Christ*, as neere as it could be moulded: the other made like her selfe, kneeling at his feete, and holding vp her hands towards him. These hee placed vpon two great Bases or *Pedestalls* of the same Metall, which hee placed by a Fontaine neare her owne house: both which (faith *Eusebius*) remained in their first perfection, euen to his owne time: which him selfe had seene, who liued in the Raigne of *Constantine* the Great. But in the yeare after *Christ* 353. that Monster *Julian Apostata*, caused that worthe Monument to be cast downe and defaced: setting vp the like of his owne in the same place: which Image of his was with fire from heauen broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts, sundred and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time liuing. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fifth booke and twentieth chapter.

This Citie built by the *Danites* was neare the ioyning together of those two Rivers which arise from the springs of *Ior* and *Dan*, the two apparent Fountaines of *Iordan*: in a soile exceeding fruitfull, and pleasant, for as it is written *Iudg. 18*. It is a place which doth want nothing that is in the world. In the fields belonging to this Citie, it was that *S. Peter* acknowledged *Christ* to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was answered, *Tu es PETRVS & super hanc Petram*, &c. After this Citie receiued the *Christian* faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate: and it ranne the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians*: vnder *Enleb* the fourth King of *Hiersusalem*, and after the death of *Goofry of Babilon*, the King of *Damascus* wrestled it from the *Christians*: and shortly after by them againe it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth with all that part of the world subiect to the

†. IIII.

Of *Capernaum*, and the Cities of *Decapolis*.

AMong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capernaum* is not the least: so often remembred by the *Euangelists*. This Citie had the honour of *Christ*s presence three yeares: who for that time was as a Citizen thereof, in which hee first Preached and taught the Doctrine of our saluation: according to that notable prophetic of *Eysay*. The people that walked in darkenesse haue seene a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the shadow of death, vpon them hath the light shined.

Capernaum was seated on *Iordan*, euen where it entred into the Sea of *Gadite*: in an excellent and rich soile: of whose destruction *Christ* him selfe prophesied in these

these wordes. And thou Capernaum which art lifted up into heauen, shalt bee brought downe to Hell, &c. which shewed the pride and greatnesse of that Citie: for it was one of the principall Cities of Decapolis, and the Metropolis of Galilee. And although there were some markes of this Cities magnificence in S. Hieromes time, as himselfe confesseth: it being then a reasonable Burge or Towne: yet those that haue since, and long since scene it, as Brochard, Breidenbach, and Salinius affirme, that it then consisted but of fixe poore Filther-mens houses.

The Region of ten principall Cities called Decapolitana or Decapolis, is in this description often mentioned, and in S. Matthew, Marke, and Luke, also remembred; but I finde no agreement among the Cosmographers, what proper limits it had: and so Plinie himselfe confesseth: for Marius Niger speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the mountaine *Calvus* in *Castotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Aegypt* and *Arabia*: by which description it embraceth *Phoenicia*, a part of *Celestria*, all *Palestina*, and *Iudaea*.

Plinie also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numbred foure of them to be situated towards *Arabia*: to wit, first these three *Damascus*, *Opetus*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Amana*, saith *Stephanus*, or as I ghesse *Amona* rather because it was the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, knowne by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Pro. Philadelphia* gave it this later and new name.) Then *Sytopolis* sometime *Nysa*, built (as is said) by *Baschus*, in memorie of his Nurse, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of *Bethsan*, for the sixth he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Celestria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Selenia*: but it is *Gadara* in *Basjan*, which *Plinie* in this place meaneth, seated on a high hill, neare the River of *Hieromaix*. This River *Otelius* takes to bee the River *Iaboc*: which boundeth *Gad* and *Manasse* ouer *Jordan*: but he mistaketh it: for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, betweene *Hippus* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Iaboc* entrencheth the same Sea betweene *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the seventh he nameth * *Hippus* or *Hippion*, a Citie so called of a *Colonie* of Horsemen there garriisoned by *Hierod*, on the East side of the *Galilean* Sea, described hereafter in the T ribe of *Manasse* ouer *Jordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is also called *Buitis*, and *Beronice*, seated in the South border of the Region ouer *Jordan* called *Peræa*. For the ninth *Gelasa*, which *Iosephus* takes to be *Gerasa*: and *Gerasa* is found in *Celestria* by *Iosephus*, *Hegesippus* and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomie* (whom I rather follow) in *Phoenicia*. The tenth and last, *Plinie* nameth *Canatha*, and so doth *Suetonius*, and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*, but *Hegesippus* rightly *Camala*, a Citie in the Region of *Basjan* ouer *Jordan*, so called, because those two Hills on which it is seated, haue the shape of a *Cammell*. But the collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Salinius*, which make them to bee these: *Cæsaria* *Philippi*, and *Asor*, before remembred, *Cedes* *Nephthaim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capernaum*,

30 *Bethsaida*, *Isotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Sytopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other Authors disagree herein and giue no reason for their opinion. One place of the *Euangelist* *Saint Matthew* makes it manifest, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract betweene *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: And he departed againe from the coasts of *Tyrrus* and *Zidon*, and came unto the Sea of *Galilee*, through the middle of the coasts of *Decapolis*: so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North, by the *Phoenician* Sea, betweene *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the West: by the Hills of *Gadbo* and *Bethsan* on the South: and by the Mountaines *Tracome*, otherwise *Hierom*, *Samir*, and *Galad*, on the East: which is from East to West the whole breadth of the holy Land: and from the North to the South, neare the same distance which may be 50 each way fortie English miles.

Math. 4.
Mark. 7.
Luke. 8.
Niger comment.
Apoc. 4. 1303.

Plin. 5. 4. 18.

Opetus a Citie
standing in the
Valley of Ce-
lestria watered
by Chrysorheus
in Damascus in
Plin. 5.

* Plinie hath
Hippus Domice
which Volaterran
reads Hippion,
Otelius takes them for
two Cities.

Mat. 4.

t. V.

Of Hamath.

BVt to looke backe againe towards *Libanus*, there is seated neare the foote thereof the Citie of * *Hamath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Countrey adjoining taketh name: the fame which *Iosephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: * *Iacobus Ziegler*, *Ituraea*. *Ituraea* Regio tenet borealia tribus *Nephthalim montem Libanum vsq; Trachones*. The Countrey of 10 *Ituraea*, saith he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nephthalim*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls

Trachonitis Ituraea, he mistakes the seate of this Region: and so doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Ituraea* (which *Hegesippus* calls *Perea*, and *G. Tyrinus*, *Baccar*) the same with *Tracoonitis*, yet *Tracoonitis* it selfe is farre more to the East than *Hamath* in *Nephthalim*: for *Tracoonitis* lieth betweene *Cæsaria Philippi*, and the Mountaines *Trachones*: which the Hebrewes call *Gilead*: and this *Hamath* or *Chammath* is seated vnder *Cæsaria*, towards the Sea West-ward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cæleſyria*, beyond the Mountaines *Trachones*, 20

^b So Hierome in his Comment in *Amos* 2. 6. v. 8. where there is mention of *Hamath* the great, as it seemeth, for distinction from the other in *Nephthalim*, though *Matth. Beroldus* reſeiding *Hierome*, rather follow the opinion of *Ziegler* about mentioned, as indeede it can not easily be iustified, that either one or other of these is either *Amath* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the same Citie which *Ioseph* 19. 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in the opinion of *Ziegler* about mentioned (whence the word *Hamath* and *Emath* were framed) is may be gathered partly because the other *Hamath* 2. *Chron.* 8. 3. for distinction is called *Chammath Tſibea*, as this (as it may seeme by *Ios.* 21. 32.) was *Chammath Dor*, and *Chammath Isale*, as we have noted *2. Reg.* 24. Secondly, because *Num.* 34. 8. and also *Ezekiel* 47. 10. *Chammath* in the North side of the holy Land, is placed too near the West corner to bee that *Chammath Tſibea*, for in the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Idſer* to name neuer a place Eastward along all the breadth of the holy Land, vntill we come to *Hierome* (for to they expound Mount *Hir*, *Nam.* 34. 9.) and beyond *Hierome* Eastward in this North side, they make him to name diuers Townes, first *Chammath*, then *Tſiddad*, then *Ziphon*, and lastly *Chasfer-bezan*, a thing most vniuersally seeing *Israel* had little or nothing Eastward beyond *Hierome*. Therefore we must needs expound *Hir* to be one of the Hills neare *Sidon*, and so those Townes, as they are named to lie in order on the North side of *Aſſer*, *Nephthalim*, and *Manaſſes*: and in like manner those in *Ezekiel* first, *Chasfer*, then *Chammath*, and so in order, *Berath*, *Sidon*, *Tſiddad*, *Chasfer*, *Chasfer-bezan*. c Of which *Ios.* 29. 35. d Which *Rebo*, or *Rekeb*, in *Ios.* 19. 28. is placed in after towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephthalim*.

e *Tilemont* Stelle and *Peter* Laſſus, in their Tables of the holy Land. f *Ioseph*, *Ant.* 13. 8.

the other *Hamath* or *Emath* (being *Ere* removed and beyond the fornamed mountaines, which inclose all those Lands which *Israel* ever had possession of) is that *Emath*, which is also called *Thur*, winelife * *Stella* and *Lactian*: and northward in *Asphaltim*, where * *Jonathan* *Macchabeus* attended the Armie of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night.

For though *Tracoonitis* is comprehended within *Ituraea* (and therefore it is said to be *ſinitima Galilee Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the mountaines *Tracoonitis*, and so it stretcheth into the plains of the Territorie of *Ituraea*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herode* was *Tetrarch* or *Preſident* both of *Ituraea* and *Tracoonitis*: both which are

CHAP. 7. §. 4. 1. 6. of the Historie of the World.

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reouer Jordan towards the East. But *Chamath* in *Nephthim*, is on the west side of Jordan towards the Mediterranean sea.

The Countrey *Ituras* was so called of *Jethur* one of the sonnes of *Ismael*, it is placed in the bounds of *Calefrya* and *Arabia* the desert.

The people of *Ituras* were valiant and warlike men and excellent Archers. Of whom *Virgil*.

Iturati Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the *Iturians* bowes were made.

This Citie *Chamath* or *Hamath* in *Nephthim* seems to have been as ancient as the other in *Ituras*, both built by *Amathus* the eleventh sonne of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Tobu* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountains, and *Hamath* in *Nephthim* were both neighbours to *Damascus*: of whose subjugation *Tobu* reioyced, because *Hadadezer* whom the *Damasceni* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tobu* fearing the strength and prosperitie of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his territorie, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessels of golde, silver and brass.

But it seemeth that *David* in such great successes would not haue had peace with *Tobu* if he had bin King of any place in *Nephthim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tjebos*: which Citie *Salomon* after his Fathers death made himselfe Master of, as a part of the lands (*in the larger and conditionall promise) allotted by God to the children of *Israel*.

But this *Hamath* of *Nephthim*, in the end, and after diuers mutations and changes both of name and fortune, being as it hath bene said possessed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While *Saint Hierome* liued, it remained a Citie well peopled, knowne to the Syrians by the name *Amathe*, and to the Greekes by *Epiphania*.

†. V. I.

Of *Reblatha* and *Rama*, and diuers other Townes.

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath* towards Jordan standeth the Citie *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountaine *Daphnis*: which falleth into the lake of *Merom*. Hereunto was *Zedekias* brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of *Iericho*: and deliuered to *Nabuchodonosor*: who to be auenged of *Zedekias* infidelity, beyond the proportion of pietie, first caused the Princes his children to be slaine in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might bee the last that euer hee should behold in this world, and so the most remembered, hee commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and binding him in yron chaines, hee was led a slave to *Babylon*, in which estate he ended his life. Of which seldome-exampled calamitie, though not in expresse words, *Hierome* the Prophet fore-told him in *Hierusalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly, speaking in the person of God, will bring him to *Babel* to the Land of the Chaldeans, yet shall hee not see it, though hee shall die therein.

There are besides these before remembered, many other strong Cities in *Nephthim*, as that which is called * *Cedes*: there are two other of the same name, one in *Ituras*, an other in *Iuda*, of which *Ios. 15. 23.* and therefore to distinguish it, it is knowne by the addition of * *Nephthim*, as *Iudg. 4.* It is seated on a high hill, whence *Ios. 20. 7.* *Kedesib* in *Galilaea* in monte *Nephthim*: *Ios. 15.* calls it *Cedesib*, and in *Saint Hier-*

H h

* That it doth properly belong to *Arabia*, the name of *Iturus* sheweth, because the whole situate in the *Arabias*, may in part give witness. Also the place of the *Iturus*, *19* confirms it, where *Iturus* is named among the *Iturians*, against whom the *Iturians* and *Gadites* made war & whole country they possess in the time of *Ieroboam*, as there is evidence that hee had done in the time of *Saul*, after his conquest of the *Amalekites*, *1. Sam. 14. 27.* where the country is placed at the East of *Gilead*.

* Of the larger promise of *Exod. 1. 17.* where *Epiphania* is named one of the bounds, *Exod. 1. 17.* *Hierom. de Locis Hebr.*

Hierom. 32. 34.

Eze. 12.

a. Or *Kedesib*.

10. 37. & 10.

7. 11. 3. *Iudg.*

Ind. 4. 6.

b. *1. Sam. 13. 22.*which *Ios. 19.*

20. is called

Kedesib.

c. Sometime

Kedesib in *Galilaea*, *1. Sam. 13. 22.*

romes time it was called *Cadissus*. *Besfore* greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the *Desart* of *Pharan*.

After the King thereof among other of the *Canaanites* perished by the hand of *Iosua*, it was made a Citie of refuge, and given to the *Leuites*. Herein was *Barac* borne, who ouerthrew the Armie of the second *Iabin* of *Heber*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was sometime posselt by *Teglatphalassar*, when hee wasted all *Nephtalim*: afterward by the *Romans*, and numbered for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapollitan* Region: When it had embraced the *Christian* faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate, but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes* some foure Italian miles towards the South-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapollitan* Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many yeares the inexpugnable Fortresse of the *Christians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both In-land and Maritime neare it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, seated Northward near *Sephet*: this is to be noted: that there are 3 diuers places of this name in *Palestine*, all situate on Hills: and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebraei excelsam*, *Rama* with the *Hebrewes* is high.) Also that for this *Rama* *Ios. 19. 36.* they read *Arama*, making the Article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of diuers Townes) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they read *Arama*. From *Sephet* towards the West they place *Bethfemes*, of which *Ios. 19. 38.* which defended it selfe against *Nephtalim* *Iud. 1. 33.* but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet* towards the East was *Bethanath*, who also kept their Citie from the *Nephtalims*.

Adioyning to these standeth *Cartham* or *Kiriathaim* a Citie of the *Leuites*, not farre from the Mountaine out of which the springs of *Capharnaum* arise, called *Adon Christ*: a place by our Sauour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, he made choise of twelve, which he called and ordained to bee his *Apostles* or Messengers: of which place or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the *Euangelists*.

Adioyning to these are *Magdalen*, a place of strength, and *Majaloth*, of which we reade that it was forced by *Bacchides* in the time of the *Macchabees*: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berothas* of *Nephtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, one neare *Chanath* in the North border, of which *Ezek. 47. 6.* an other (vpon a weakie coniecture out of *Ios. cap. 1. §. 2.*) he therefore placeth in this tract neare the waters of *Merom*; because the Kings that ioyned with *Iabin* against *Iosua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Ios. 11. 5.* are by *Iosephus* said to haue incamped at the Citie *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not farre from *Cedes* a Superior, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the vpper *Galilee* or *Galilee of the Gentils*. The same *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neare *Abela* (of which *Abela* or *Abel-beth Mahacab* we haue spoken already) this he doth vpon a coniecture touching the place *Sam. 20. 14.* where some read *Abel* & *Bethmahacab*, & *omni loca Berim*: but the better reading is, & *omnes Berim*, that is, with all the *Berai*: for *Shebani* being of *Beniamin* (in which Tribe also there is a Citie called *Berotha* or *Berothi*) drew the men of that Citie after him.

To the North of *Berotha* of *Nephtalim* standeth *Sebarim* vnder *Libanus*, remembered by *Ezek. 47.* and *Aroeth gentium*, neare the waters of *Merom* or *Sarnachonitis*, the Citie of *Sisara* Lieutenant of the Armie of the second *Iabin*: from whence not farre off towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a strong Citie: besides many others whereof I finde no particular storie of importance: as *Ser* in *Iosua c. 19. v. 35.* called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Aseidim* and *Ser*. Then *Adama* which they call *Edama*: also *Hion* which they call *Ahion*, of which in the bookes of *Kings*. Then the strong Citie of *Cinnereth*

10^f 12. 22.

2. Reg. 15. 29.

Q See in Beniamin, and in Ephraim

* Other Cities there were of this name

(which is as much as *dammus* (sle)) as that in *Iud. 3. 14*

15 where *Iosif* King of the ten tribes ouertaken

Amisai of *Iuda* of which also I understand

the place. *Ios. 11. 16. & 12. 6*

14 & a *Cherub* 29. 18. A third

it is seen was in *Deut. 1. 34*

Kua 9. which *Ios. 19. 41* is written *Bisphemet*, which is as much as *cautus* (sle)

6 *Iud. 3. 31* a So it appears by comparing of the places

Ios. 1. 31 and *Adrichomius* both agree and elicit

where deuced by the double name makes

two of one: though I denie not but that

there was another *Kiriathaim* in *Ruben* of which *Ios. 13. 19.*

b *Mark. 3. 13* Meib. 10.

Alls 1.

Math. 5. 6. 7. c *Ios. 19. 38.* d *1. Mac. 9. 2.*

e *Beruthene* *Prohemus* in *fin* *Arabie deserte*:

Iosua callt cum *Berotha* vniuersitatem *Hirde* *degeris*. 1. *Sam. cap. 3. v. 8.*

Ios. 18. 24. *Aroeth* *Merom* *Iud. 4. 17* *an* *Iud. 4.*

Ios. 19. 37. f *R. 15. 20.* g *I. 15. 29.*

I. 15. 29.

I. 15. 29.

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I. 15. 29.

pharisees, and others, receiued the same curse of threatened miseries, as *Woe be vnto thee Bethsaida, &c.*

Alongit the West border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethsaida*, was the strong Cattle of *Magdalah*, the habitation of *Mari Magdalen*, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated Citie of *Isotapa*: fortified by *Iosephus* in the *Roman* Warre: but in the end after a long siege surprised by *Vespasian*: who slaughtered many thousands of the Citizens: and held 1200. prisoners, whereof *Iosephus* the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that Sea and the Lake of *Genezareth* within *Zabulon* was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilean* Sea also changed name, and was called the Sea of the Citie *Tiberias*, so named in honour of *Tiberius Caesar*, it was one of the ten Cities, and the Metropolis of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Saviour called *Mathew*, from the toll or custom-house, to be an *Apollite*, and neare vnto it raised the daughter of *Iairus* from death: it was built (as *Iosephus* reports) by *Herod the Tetrarch*, the brother of *Philip*; in the beginning of the raigne of *Tiberius Caesar*: in the most fruitful part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of Sepulchres: *Quon iuxta nostras leges* (saith hee) *ad septem dies impurus habetur, qui in talibus locis habitat*; Whereas by our law he should be seven daies held, as welcome who inhabited in such a place: by which wordes and by the whole place of *Iosephus* it appeares, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some haue thought) the same as the old *Cinereith*, which was seated not in *Zabulon* but in *Nephthaim*.

Neare vnto this *Tiberias* at *Emaus* there were hot baths, where *Vespasian* the Emperor encamped against *Tiberius*: More into the Land toward the South-west is *Bethulsa*, seated on a very high Hill, and of great strength, famous by the storie of *Helosephers* and *Isidith*, such as it is. Neare which standeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adioyning vnto it, *Capharath* fortified by *Iosephus* against the *Romans*: and *Lapha* an exceeding strong place afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie slew 15000. of the Citizens: and carried away about 2000. prisoners.

On the South side are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Lewites*, and *Gahara*, of which *Iosephus* in his owne life, then *Iesse* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Iosf. 19. 12.*) for he thinks that it is not that *Lapha* of which we spake but now out of *Iosephus*, *Isdela* of which *Iosf. 19. 15.* *Hierome* calls it *Isdela*: vnder it Westward *Legio*, (afterward a Bishops seate) and the Citie *Belma* in ancient times exceeding strong, remembered *Iulius 7. 3.* otherwise *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the Citie *Saffa* or *Saffras*, the birth-Citie of *Zebedeus*, *Alpheus*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Iosephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, saith *Hegesippus* and *Hierome*, was called *Diocæsaria*: the Citie of *Ioachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mari*, it was walled by *Herod the Tetrarch*: and by him, as *Iosephus* speaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*; in an other place he saith *Primum Galilearum maxima Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Vespasian* ere hee wanne it. *Herod Antipas* when he made it the Regall seate of the neather *Galilee*, and so founded it with a strong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much to say as Imperiall, saith *Iosephus*: and it is now but a Cattle called *Zapher*.

To the South-west of this *Sephoris* or *Diocæsaria* was that blessed place of *Nazareth*, the Citie of *Mari* the Mother of *Christi*: in which hee himselfe was conceived, it standeth betwene *Mount Tabor*, and the *Mediterran* Sea. In this Citie hee abode chiefly foure and twentie yeares, and was therefore called a *Nazareite*, as the *Christians* afterward were for many yeares. It was erected into an *Archbishopricke* in the following age. Neare vnto it are the Cities *Buria* (afterward well defended against the *Turkes*) and *Nahalah* of which *Iosf. 19. 15.* and *Iud. 1. 30.* where it is called *Nahol*: and *Iosf. 21. 35.* where it is a Citie of the *Lewites*, neare the Sea: adioyning to the Riuer of *Choson* is *Sarid*, noted in *Iosua* for the vttermost of *Zabulon*.

In this Territorie of *Zabulon* there are diuers small Mountaines: but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the Apparition of *Moses* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Christ* in the presence of *Peter*, *James*, and *John*: vnto whom *Moses* and *Elias* appeared; in memorie whereof on the top of the Mountaine, the *Emperesse Helen* built a sumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe Riuer of *Zabulon* is *Chifon*, which rising out of *Tabor* runneth with one streame Eastward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with an other streame Westward into the great Sea. This Riuer of *Chifon* where it riseth, and so farre as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedunim* or *Cadannim*: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to bee the same which *Ptolome* calleth *Chorfeus*: though others distinguish them: and set *Chorfeus* by *Cesaria Palaestina*. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalon*: and the third is a branch of a riuer rising out of the Fountaines of *Capharnaum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neare *Magdalon*: which Torrent they call *Detham*, from the name of the Cite, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so ioyning with *Tordanis parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Iephthael* which *Iesus* reackneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See *Laibers*
Mappe in *Græc.*
167. 19. 14.

S. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.



He next adioyning Territorie to *Zabulon*, to the South and South-west, was *Isachar*, who inhabited a part of the neather *Galilee*, within *Iordan*: of whom there were increased in *Aegypt*, as appeared by their musters at Mount *Sinai* 54400. able and warlike men, who leauing their bodies with the reit in the *Deserts*, there entred the Holie

Land, 64300.

The first Cite of this Tribe neare the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberias* eight English mile, or somewhat more, a Cite wherein the *Seuys* (by the practise of a certaine mutinous yphart, *John* the sonne of *Leai*) tooke armes against *Iosephus* the Historian, then Gouverneur of both *Galilees*. This Cite was first taken by *Cassian*, and 3000. *Iewes* carried thence captiue; and afterward with great difficultie by *Vespasian*: who entred it by the Sea side, hauing first bearen the *Iewes* in a sea fight vpon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*: he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages: sauing that his furie being quenched with the Riuer of blood running through euery street, he reserued the remainder for slaues and bond-men.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Ceslon*, or *Cisson*, of the *Leuites*, and then *Isachar*, remembered in the first of *Kings*, c. 4. v. 17. then *Aber* or *Eber*, *Ios. 19. 20.* and *Remeth* of which *Ios. 19. 21.* otherwise *Ramoth*, 1. *Chron. 6. 73.* or *Ramoth*, *Ios. 21. 29.* this also was a Cite of the *Leuites*, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of *Gilboa* take beginning: and range themselves to the *Mediterran Sea*, and towards the West as farre as the Cite of *Iezzeack*, betwene which and *Ramoth* are the Cites of *Bethshephes*, or *Bethshephes*, according to *Ziegler*, or *Hen-chadda*: neare which *Saul* slew himselfe: vnder those *Aphec* or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Isachar*: betwene which and *Sams*, he saith, that the *Philistines* incamped against *Israel*, and afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirftie of blood, for herein also, such hee, the *Syrins* with two and thirtie *Reguli* assisting *Benhadad* encountered *Achab*: and were overthrowne and slaughtered: to whom the King of *Israel* made a most memorable answer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victorie: which was, *Tell, BENHADAD, Let not him that girdeth his harness boast himselfe, as he that putteth it off*: meaning that glorie followed after victorie, but ought not to precede it. In the year following in

Hh 3

1000 was fought the battle of Iezzeack. 1. Chron. 21. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

the fields, as they say, adioyning to this Citie, was the same vaine-glorious Syrian vterly broken and discomfited by *Achab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Arames* or *Syrians* slaine: before which ouerthrow the seruants and Counsaillors of *Benhadad* 1. *King*. 20. 23. (in derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, *That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the Mountaines: and therefore they fought with them in the plaines they should ouer-come them.*

Vnder *Aspec* towards the Sea they set the Citie of *Esdrælon*, in the plaines of *Galilee*, called also the great field of *Esdrælon*, and *Magedo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphre* to be seene, saith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After these are the Cities of *Cafalath*, of which 1. *Maceab*. 9. 2. *Anem* or *Hien-Gannim* of the *Leuites*, and *Seeima* or *Shahatsima*, the West border of *Isachar*, of which *Ios*. 19. 22. From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Castle of *Pilgrimes*: a strong Castle inuironed with the Sea, sometime the store-houise and Magaline of the *Christians*, and built by the *Eurie* of *S. Giles* or *Tolouse*.

From the Castle of *Pilgrimes* the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost thore beginneth Mount *Carmell*, not farre from the Riuer *Chisfon*: where *Elijah* assembled all the Prophets, and Priests of *Baal*, and praied King *Achab* and the people assembled, to make triall whether the God of *Israel*, or the Idoll of *Baal*, were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done the Priests of *Baal* praied, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in derision told them that their God was either in purpose of his enemies: not at leisure, or perchance a-sleepe, &c. but at the praier of *Elijah* his fire kindled notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many Vessells of water thereon: by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those Idolaters on the banks of *Chisfon* adioyning.

At the foote of this Mountaine to the North standeth *Caiphas*, built, as they say, by *Caiphas* the high Priest. It is also knowne by the name of *Porfima* and *Porphyria*, sometime a *Suffragane* Bishops seate. Returning againe from the Sea coast towards *Tiberias* by the banks of *Chisfon*, there are found the Citie of *Hapharsim* or *Aphrazim*, and the Castles of *Atsra*, and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Nazas* on the Riuer *Chisfon*: a beautifull Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof *Christ* raised from death the widowes only sonne.

Then *Seon* or *Shion* named *Iosua* 19. betwene the two Hills of *Herman*, in *Isachar*: beyond it standeth *Endor*, famous by reason of the Inchauntresse that vade-tooke to raise vp the body of *Samuel* at the instigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it stands *Anaharath* and *Rabwith* named *Ios. c. 19. v. 19. 20.* Then *Daburath* as it is named, *Ios. 21. 28.* or *Dobratha*, as it is named, 1. *Chron.* 6. 72. This Citie (which stretcheth it selfe ouer *Chisfon*) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the *Leuites*.

Next to *Daburath* is *Arbela* situate, neare the Caues of those two Theeues which so greatly molested *Galilee* in *Herodes* time. It ioyneth on one side to the Mountaine of *Isachar* or *Herman*, and on the other to the Valley of *Issacarel*: which valley continueth it selfe from *Bethsan* or *Scythopolis*, the East border of *Isachar*, euento the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of *Gilboa* on the South, and by *Herman*, and the Riuer *Chisfon* on the North. In these * plaines *Geleon* ouerthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they thinke, *Saul* fought against the *Philistims*: *Achab* against the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* against the *Saracens*.

* Called *Campus Magnus*.
1. *Mose*. 12. 49.
and *Harbatha*
for *Harbath*.
1. *Mose*. 5. 23.
c. 9. 2.
1. *Sam.* 31.
1. *Ios.* 10. 10.

S. VII.

THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE
OF MANASSE.

†. I.

Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe : and of Scythopolis,
Salem, Therfa, and others.



He next Tribe which ioyneth it selfe to *Issachar* towards the South, is the halfe of *Manasse*, on the West side of *Jordan*. *Manasse* was the first begotten of *Joseph*, the eleventh sonne of *Jacob*. His mother was an *Egyptian*, the Daughter of *Putiphar*, Priest and Prince of *Aethiopia*: which *Manasse* with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongst the sonnes of *Jacob*, and made vp the

number of the twelve Patriarchs.

Of *Manasse* there were increased in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being consumed in the *Deserts*, there entred of their issues 52700. bearing armes. The Territorie which fell to this one halfe of *Manasse*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the East, and *Dora* vpon the *Mediterran Sea* on the West, *Iezrael* on the North, and *Machmata* is the South border.

The first and principall Citie which stood in this Territorie was *Bethsan*, sometime *Nysa*, saith *Plinie*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward when the *Scythians* invaded *Asia* the lesse, and pierst into the South, to the vttermost of *Celestria*, they built this Citie a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the Citie of *Scythians* giuen it by the *Greekes*.

These barbarous Northren people, constrained the *Temes* to fight against their owne Nation and kindred, by whose handes when they had obtained victorie, they themselues set on the *Jewes* which scrued them, and slew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the vtmost towards the South of *Celestria*: and *Strabo* ioynes it to *Galilee*. It is seated betwene *Jordan* and the Hills of *Gilboe*, in *aulone ad montes acrabitena*, saith *Ziegler*. But I finde it in the East part of the Valley of *Iezrael* neare *Jordan*: after that *Jordan* streightneth it selfe againe into a Riuer: leauing the Sea or Lake *Genesareth*. Notwithstanding, *Montanus* describes it farre to the West, and towards the *Mediterran Sea*, neare *Ender*, contrarie to *Stelle*, *Laicstan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the best Authors. This Citie was the greatest of all those of *Decapolis*: but the children of *Manasse* could not expell the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it *Sane* an enimic, or *Beth san*, the house of an enimic.

ouer the walls of this *Bethsan* the *Philistims* hung the bodie of *Saul*, and his sonnes, slaine at *Gilboe*. It had, while the *Christiian* Religion flourished in those parts, an *Archbishop*, who had nine other *Bishops* of his Diocesse, numbred by *Tyrim*, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to *Nazareth*. The later traualiers in those parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillars and other peeces of excellent marble, which witness the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and desolate Village.

From *Bethsan* keeping the way by *Jordan*, they finde an ancient Citie called *Salem*, which Citie the ancient *Rabbin*, saith *Hierome*, doest not finde to be the same with *Hierusalem*: there being in the time of *Hierome* and since, a towne of that name



neare *Scythopolis* before remembred, which if the place of Scripture *Gen. 13. 18.* doe not confirme, where the *Pulgar* readeth *fransuitq; in Salem urbem Sichemorum* (for which others reade, *uenti in columis ad Civitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Sichem* not to be a proper name, but an adiective) yet the place *Iohn 3. 13.* where it is said, that *Iohn* was Baptizing in *Anon* neare *Salem*, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not vnlkely that this *Salem* of which *s. Iohn* speaketh, is but contracted of *Shahalim*, of which in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, *1. Sam. 9. 4.* This word *Iunius* maketh to be the Plurall of *Shahal*: of which we reade, *1. Sam. 13. 17.* for as for that which is added out of *Cant. 6. 12.* of *Shulammitis*, as if it had beene as much as a Woman of this *Salem*, neare *Anon*, it hath no probabilitie.

This Citie Be-
re by the
place *Iud. 1. 31.*
Iecm: 7. 10
haue beene in
Iuda.
Ioseph. ant. 6. c. 5.
Sam. 1. c. 11.

Not farre from thence where they place *Salem*, they finde *Bezeck* the Citie of *Adonibezec*, *Iosephus* calls it *Bala*: here it was that *Saul* assembled the strength of *Israel*, and *Iuda*, to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieue *Iabez* Gilead, against *Naab* the *Ammonite*: who would giue them no other conditions of peace than to suffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Neare *Bezeck* is the Citie of *Bethbara* or rather *Beth-bara* of which *Iudg. 7. 24.* in the storie of *Gedeon*: and then *Ephraim* *Hophra* wherein *Gedeon* inhabited: in the border whereof stood an Altar consecrated to *Baal*: which he pulled downe and defaced: and neare it that stone, on which *Abimelech* the *Ballard* slew his 70. brothers: a Heathenish crueltie, practised by the *Turke*, to this day; and not farre hence, betwene the Village of *Asophon* and *Jordan*, *1. Par. 20. 29.* *maus Lathurius* ouerthrew *Alexander* King of the *Tenes*: and slaughtered as *Iosephus* numbred them 3000. but according to *Timagenes* 50000. after which victorie, as *Ptolomee* pass by the Villages of the *Iewes*; hee slew all their women: and caused the young children to be sod in great caldrons, that the rest of the *Iewes* might therby thinke that the *Aegyptians* were growne to be men-eaters, and strike them with the greater terrour.

* This *Aner*
Iunius upon 1.
Chron. 6. 70.
makes to be the
same with *Isa-*
bab. 40. of which
Isa. 37. 36. *Hie-*
rome names it
from *Aner* the
Considerate
of *Abraham*,
Gen. 14. 13.
Ios. 12. 17.
1. King. 14.

Towards the West and on the border of *Isachar*, they place the Cities of * *Aner* of the *Leuites*, and *Abel-Atchols*, which *Iunius*, *Iud. 7. 22.* placeth in *Ephraim*, it was the habitation of *Helisai* the Prophet, numbred among those places, *1. Reg. 4. 12.* which were giuen in charge to *Baana* by *Salomon*, to whose charge also *Taanan* be- longed, a place of great strength, which at the first refused *Iosua*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their Citie giuen to the *Leuites*.

In the body of this Territorie of *Manasse*, but somewhat nearer *Jordan*, than to the *Mediterran* Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, *Thersa*, whose King was one of those that *Iosua* slew: which the Kings of *Israd* vsed for their Regall seat: till such time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Ieroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her sonnes health: who knowing her, though shee were disguised, told her of her sonnes death.

The second was *Thebes* neare *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt*, and *Greece*, of great fame: in the assault of the Tower of this Towne, whereinto the Citizens retired, the *Ballard* *Abimelech* was wounded by a waigite stone, throwne by a Woman ouer the Wall, who despairing of his recouerie, commanded his Page to slay him out-right, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a Woman. But others set this Citie in *Ephraim* neare *Sichem* or *Nesopolis*.

Iud. 9. 54.

Hier. Marc. 2. 5.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the Territorie adioyning is called *Acrabatens* (one of the Ten *Toparchie* or Governments in *Iudea*) for which *Iherome* *1. Mac. 5.* reads *Arabatena*: but in the *Greeke* it is *Acrabatine*: *Isidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This Citie had one of the largest Territories of all *Palestine* belonging to the Governour thereof, *Iosephus* remembred it often, as in his second Booke of the *Iewes* Warres, *c. 11. 25. 28.* and else where.

The difference betwene a *Tetrarchie* and a *Toparchie*, was, that the first was taken for a Province, and the other for a Citie with some lesser Territorie adioyning, and a *Tetrarchie* is the same with *Præses* in Latine, and *President* in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdome: and thereof so called. *Phiniameth* *Ieremec*

22 vt 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

teene *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had foure, and so hath the Kingdome of *Ireland* to this day, *Leinster*, *Ulster*, *Connath*, and *Mounster*.

To the South-west of *Acabata* they place the Cities of *Balsam* or *Bilham*, and *Gethennon* of the *Leuites*: but *hinnus* out of *Ios. 21. 25.* and *1. Chron. 6. 70.* gathers that these two are but one: and that *Ibbehann* *Ios. 16. 11.* is an other name of the same Citie.

Then is *Iezrah* a Regall Citie, set at the foot of the Mountaines of *Gilboe*, towards the South-west: herein *Iezabel* by a false accusation caused *Naboth* to be stoned, to the end shee might possesse his Vineyard adjoining to the Citie, which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his Father.

Ioram also was cast vnburied into the same field: for which his Mother *Iezabel* *xxv. 2. cap. 2.* murdered *Naboth*.

Toward the Sea from *Israel* is the Citie which they call *Gaber*: in whose ascent as *Ahabazib* King of *Iuda* fled from *Iehu*, when hee had slaine *Ioram*, hee was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound hee died at *Mageddo* adjoining. The Scripture calls this Citie of *Gaber*, *Gur*.

Then *Adadrammon* was *Mageddo*, neare vnto which the good King *Iosias* was slaine by *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, in a Warre vnadvisedly vnderaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Agypt* against the King thereof: by the commandement of God: whose *Iosias* thought to resist in his passage. It was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour Citie to *Adadrammon* was *Mageddo*, often remembered in the Scriptures: whose King was slaine among the rest by *Iosias*: yet they defended their Citie for a long time against *Mansse*. The River vvhich passeth by the Towne, may perhaps be the same vvhich *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorfeus*: and not that of vvhich wee haue spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that haue described the Holie Land delineate no such Riuer. *Moore* only sets it downe in his *Geographie* of the twelue Tribes: but the Riuer vvhich passeth by *Mageddo* hee vnderstandeth to bee but a branch, falling therinto. *Laichian* and *Schorat* make a great confluence of waters in this place: agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Idages*: Then fought the Kings of *Canaan* in *Tanac* by the waters of *Mageddo*. But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, giue it no other name then the Torrent so called.

But seeing that ancient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phanicia*, euen to *Sebaste* or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* farre beyond it on the Sea-coast: And *Iosephus* calls *Casaria* *Palestina* a Citie of *Phanicia*, yea *Laurentius Corninus* extendeth *Phanicia* as farre as *Gaza*: seeing also *Ptolomie* sets downe *Chorfeus* for the partition of *Phanicia* and *Iuda*: this Riuer running East and West parallell with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Mageddo*, after the name of the Citie, which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolomie* in his fourth Table of *Asia* calleth *Chorfeus*. The later traualers of the holy Land call *Mageddo* *Subimbre* at this day.

†. I. I.

Of *Casaria* *Palestina*, and some other Townes:

From *Mageddo* toward the West, and neare the *Mediterran* Sea, was that glorious Citie of *Casaria* *Palestina*: first, the Tower of *Straton*: the same which *Plinie* calls *Apollonia*: though *Ptolomie* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, betwene this Citie and *Ioppe*, to which *Vespasian* gaue the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Hero* rebuilt; who therein laboured to exceede all the workes in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which hee reared within the Walls, of cut and polish't marbles, the Theater and Amphitheater, from whence he might looke ouer the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harborow of great capacitie, being in former times but an open Bay: and the wind blowing

blowing from the Sea the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their cables and Anchors. This worke hee performed with fish charge and labour, as the like of that kinde hath not bene found in any Kingdome, nor in any age: which because the Materialls were fetcht from farre, and the weight of the stones was such as it exceedeth beliefe, I haue added *Iosephus* owne wordes of this worke: which are these. *Hanc locorum incommunitatem correkturus, circum portus circumduxit, quantum pateret magna classi recipiende sufficere: & in viginti vltis- rum profundum, prae grandia saxa demisit: quorum plerag, pedum quinquaginta longitu- dinis, latitudinis vero octo decem, altitudine nouem pedali: fuerunt quadam etiam maiora, mi- nora alia. To mend this incommenue of place (saith *Iosephus*) he compass in a Bay 10 wherein a great flecte might well ride: and let downe great stones twentie fadome deepe: whereof some were fiftie foote long, eightene foote broad, and nine foote thicke: some bigger, and some lesser. To this he added an arme or casle of two hundred foote long, to breake the waues: the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with diuers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent hee called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus*, the sonne in law of *Cesar*: in whose honour hee intituled the Citie it selfe, *Casaria of Palaistine*: all which he performed in twelue yeares time. It was the first of the Easterne Citie that receiued a Bishop: afterward erected into an Archbishopsricke, commanding twentie others vnder it, saith *Tyrim*.*

1. 14. c. 12. b. ill. fac.

St. Hierome nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzarus*, and *Gelasius* to haue 20 bene Bishops thereof: In this Citie was *Cornelius* the Centurion baptized by *S. Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip the Apostle*: *S. Paul* was herein two yeares prisoner, vnder the *President Felix*, vnto the time and gouernment of *Porcius Festus*: by whom making his appeale, he was sent to *Cesar*. Here vvhoe *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to bee called a God by his flatterers, hee was stricken with an Angell vnto death, saith *Iosephus*.

To the North of *Casaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some reade *Ios. 1. 2.* so called (saith *Adrichomius*) because it ioyneth to the Sea, whose King vvas slaine by *Iosua*. But *Iunius* for in *Naphoth Dor*, reades in *trallibus Dor*: and so the *Vulgar*, in *regionibus Dor*: although 1. Reg. 4. 11. for the like speech in the *Hebrew* it readeth 30 *omnis Nephath Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Iosua* call it *Nepheth-Dor*, andia the other of the Kings *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Ios. 12. 23. Iudg. 1. 27.*) may seeme to bee *Dor*. It vvas a strong and powerfull Citie: and the fourth in account of those twelue Principalities or *Sitarchies*, which *Salomon* erected. *Iunius* vpon *Maceb. 15. 11.* placeth it betwene the Hill *Carmel* and the mouth of the Riuer *Chersenus*: for so some name the Riuer *Chorsenus*, of which vve haue spoken already.

Into this Citie, for the strength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the sonne of *Demetrius*: where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged vwith 120000. foot-men and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious villaine that receiued 200. talents for the ran- 40 some of *Jonathan Maccabaeus* (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then slew him: and after him slew his owne Master, vsurping for a while the Kingdome of *Syria*. It had also a Bishops seate of the Diocesse of *Casaria*.

Maceb. 1. 13. 15.

Gal. Tyr. de Bell. sac. 1. 10. c. 6.

From *Casaria* towards the South, they place the Citie of *Capharnum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgad*: for besides that *Capharnum* famous in the *Euangelists* they find in these parts name the West Sea, an other of the same name. Of *Gabe* *Hierome* in *locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgad* or *Gilgal*, was in *Beniamin*: but this *Galgad*, they say, it was whose King was slaine by *Iosua*.

Maceb. 1. 7. v. 31.

Then *Antipatrus* so called of *Herode*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Machabees* it was called *Caphsalama*: in the fields wherof *Iudas Machabaeus* 50 ouerthrew a part of the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an armie drawn into *Iudaea* by a traitorous Jew, called *Alcimus*: vvhoe contended for the Priest-hood, first vnder *Bacchides*, and then vnder *Nicanor*. To this was *S. Paul* carried prisoner from *Hierusalem*, conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the

1. 10. c. 1.

Jews. In after-times the Armie of *Godfrey of Bulson* attempted it in vaine: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in those daies with a Bishops seate, but it is now a poore Village called *Affur*, saith *Brocard*. Neare vnto this Citie the Prophet *Jonas* was three daies preferred in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatrius* and *Casaria*, standeth *Xorbatia*, whereof the Ter-
ritorie taketh name: which *Cestius* the *Romane* walked with fire and sword, because
the *Jews* which dwelt at *Casaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of
Moses. Neare vnto it is the Mountaine of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Aschab*: where-
in he hidde an hundred Prophets, and fed them, after which hee himselfe is said to
haue obtained from God the Spirit of prophetic alfo.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phœnicia.

§ I.

The bounds and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this
Kingdome: and of the invention of Letters ascribed
to them.



BECAUSE these siue Tribes, of *Affur*, *Nephtalim*, *Za-
bulon*, *Issachar*, and the halfe of *Manasse*, posselt the bet-
ter part of that ancient Kingdome of *Phœnicia*, to wit,
of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-lebanus*:
I haue therefore gathered a Briefe of those Kings
which haue gouerned therein: at least so many of
them as time (which deuoureth all things) hath left
to posteritie: and that the rest haue perished, it is not
strange: seeing so many volumes of excellent learning
in so long a race and reuolution, & in so many changes
of Estates and Conquests of Heathen Princes, haue
bene torne, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very vncertaine:
but all *Cosmographers* doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North,
where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Calisto*, ends: most of them bounding it by
Orthosia, to the North of *Trapolis*. *Ptoleme* makes it a little larger, as reaching from
the River *Elenthus*, that falls into the Sea at the lland of *Aradus*, somewhat to the
North of *Orthosia*, and stretching from thence along the coast of the *Mediterranean* Sea,
as farre as the River of *Chorfenus*, which seems to bee that which the *lower* call the
Torrent or River of *Ataggedo*. *Plinie* extends it farther and comprehends *Ioppe*
within it: *Corunus* and *Budeus*, *Ioppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud priores appellata* (saith
BYDÆVS) *quæ nunc Palestina Syria dicitur*: It was called *Phœnicia* of old (saith hee)
which now is called *Palestina* of *Syria*.

Strabo comprehends in this Countrey of *Phœnicia*, all the Sea side of *Iudæa*, and
Palestina, euen vnto *Pelusium*, the first Port of *Ægypt*. On the contrarye *Diodorus*
Siculus, foldeth it vp in *Calesyria*, which hee boundeth not. But for my selfe I take a
middle course, and like best of *Ptolomies* description, who was seldome deuiant
in his owne art. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the
Ilands)

Ilands) to wit, *Aradus, Oribosia, Tripolis, Botrys, Byblus, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolomæa* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæsaria Palaestina*: and by reason of the many ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Eastern world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterran Sea*.

The ancient Regall Seate of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first sonne of *Canaan*: and the people then subiect to that familie were called *Zidonians*: the same state continuing euen vnto *Iesus* time. For till then it is probable that there was but one king of all that region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Booke of *Vandal Wars*. But in proesse of time the Citie of *Tyre* adioyning became the more magnificent: yet according to the Prophet it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built and peopled.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Iesus* yet gouerned *Israel*, *Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sonnes *Caamus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and possit the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second Sonne) the vse of letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuit after his siter *Europa* taught the *Græcians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surpris'd *Tyre*, had stolen her thence: of which the Poets deuised the fable of *Jupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whome that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*: and findes *Cadmus* his successour: whom hee calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successours of *Dido* held that name alwaies in reuerence, making it a part of their owne as *Asdrubaal*, *Hanniball*: which memorie *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses:

*Hic Regina grauem gemmis aureoq; poposcit
Impleuitq; moro pateram: quam BELVS & omnes
A BELLO soliti.*

The Queene anone commands the waightie bowle
(Waightie with pretious stones and masse gold)
To flow with wine. This *BELVS* vs'd of old,
And all of *BELVS* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seemeth to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the sonne of *Neptune* by *Libya*, the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the sonne of *Telegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* time, saith *S. Augustine*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenor* successour liuing at once 40 with *Iesus*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territorie of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither doe I denie, but that he gaue that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Sonne. But in steede of the building of *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, it is probable that hee repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Ninuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought vp in *Egypt*: where he learnt the vse of letters (*Egypt* flourishing in all kind of learning in *Moses* time) or were he by Nation an *Egyptian*: yet it is very likely that either he came to saue his owne Territorie: or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan*, from the *Israelites*: who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great losse and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Iesus* conducted ouer *Jordan*, to conquer and possesse the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Egyptians* by reason of the losse which they receiued by the hand of God, in the Red sea, and by the ten plagues call on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the Male children at the same time, could not

not hinder the *Hebrewes* from invading *Canaan* by Land: which also they knew had for many powerfull Nations to defend it: the *Dejars* inter-jacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Mobabites*, *Emorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Aegypt* having such Vessells, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in use: did not in all probability neglect to Garrison the Sea coast, or allist *Agenor* with such forces, as they had to spare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the *Phisistims* which held the shores of *Canaan*, next adjoining vnto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now as it appeareth by the course of the storie, those Cities of *Phenicia*, which *Agenor* was said to haue built (that is, to haue fortified and defended against *Iosua*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Iosua* called the strong Citie, *Ceche* afterward *Ptolemas*, *Arzab* and *Dor*) were all that *Phenicia* had in those daies.

That the Kings of *Phenicia* were mightie, especially by Sea, it appeareth, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly by this, that *Dauid* and *Salomon* could not master them: but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it selfe 13. yeares against a King of Kings, *Nabuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed vnresistible) spent more time in the recouerie of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Ptolemy* out of *Iosaphus*, who conceiues that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the sonne of *Iaphet*. And for the Region it selfe, though *Cassiodorus* deriue it ab *arbore dactylorum*, and the *Greekes* from the word *Phenos*, of slaughter, because the *Phenicians* slew all that came on their coasts, yet for my selfe I take it that *Phenix* the sonne of *Agenor* gaue it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phenicia*, or *Cadmus* his sonne in *Greece*, were the Inuentors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute vnecessary.

The *Ethiopians* affirme that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and ciuill Policies, which they afterward profest, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himselfe was instructed by the *Lubians*: to wit, from the South and Superior *Egyptians*: from whom those which inhabited nearer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they lay, borrowed their Diuinitie and Philosphie: and from them the *Greekes*, then barbarous, receiued Ciuitie. Again, the *Phenicians* challenge this inuention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither doe they allow that *Agenor* and his sonnes were *Affricans*: whence *Lucan*.

*Phenices primi (sancta si creditur) ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*

Lucan. l. 5. 32

*Phenicians first (if fame may credit haue)
In rude Characters dar'd our wordes to graue.*

And that *Cadmus* was the sonne of *Agenor*, and was a *Phenician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*: when he in a kinde of reproch was called a stranger and a *Phenician*:

*Si patria est Phenix quid tum? nam CADMVS & ipse
Phenix: cui debet Gracia docta liberos.*

Athen. 2. Dignif.

If a *Phenician* borne I am, what then?
CADMVS was so: to whom *Greece* owes
The Bookes of learned men.

*Joseph. contra
Apionem.*

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient : and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Josephus* the Historian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The *Thracians* againe subscribe to none of these reports : but affirme constantly, that the great *Zamolsis* flourished among them : when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Oebus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the *French* doe not blush to maintaine, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the *Greeks* the vse of Letters, and other Sciences. And doe not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druids* are as ancient as those *Gauls*, and that they sent their *Sonnes* hither to bee by them instructed in all kinde of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this inuention on *Moses*, the same hath no probability at all, for hee liued at such time as learning and arts flourished most, both in *Egypt*, and *Assyria*, and he himselfe was brought vp in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is that letters were inuented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the generall flood : either by *Seth*, or *Enos*, or by whom else God knows; from whom all wisdome and vnderstanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he giuen the same inuention to diuers Nations : whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other : as well in this as in many other knowledges : for euen in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently vsed by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations : and so had those *Americans* a kinde of *Heraldrie*: and their Princes differing in *Armes* and *Scutcheions*, like vnto those vsed by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations. In a naturalia communia, & generalia, &c. *Natural Lawes* are common and generall.

Twisdon.

§. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

BUt whatsoeuer remaineth of the storie and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the books of *Zeno*, *Sachoniatho*, *Mnaseas*, and others of that Nation; being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Josephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor liued at once with *Iosua*, to whome succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so farr towards the North as *Aradus*, tooke the name of *Phœnicia*: what Kings succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appeare : but at such time as the *Gracians* besieged *Troy*, *Phœbus* gouerned *Phœnicia*.

In *Hieremies* time and while *Iehoiakim* ruled in *Juda*, the *Tyrians* had a King a-part : for *Hieremies* speaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of severall Kings.

E. 17. v. 3.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramesus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia*, about *Tyre*, and *Zidon*: who commanded as some Writers affirme, *Xerxes* fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Persian* : for being broken into *Regulz*, and petty Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were subiected by *Nabuchodonosor*, of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* prophesied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramesus* : remembred by *D. Simulus* in his 14. Booke.

Strato, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependencie vpon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had serued the East Emper against the *Gracians*. But diuers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betwene *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130. yeares and somewhat more betwene *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* elected

esteemed the more vnrworthy of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*) hee rather submitted himselfe by the insiguation of his Subiects (who forsooke their viter ruine by resistance) than that hee had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Of this *strato*, *Atheniens* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that hee was a man of ill living: and most voluptuous; also that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women dancers, and singers: whom he to this end chiefly invited, and assembled: that having beheld the most beautifull and lively among them, hee might recover them for his owne vse and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, *Stherome* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Perians* were neare him with an Armie too waightie for his strength, and finding that hee was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the *Aegiptians*: hee determining to kill himselfe, bet faining in the execution, his wife being present wrested the sword out of his hand and slew him: which done shee also therewith pierced her owne bodie, and died.

After *Alexander* was possesse of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, He gave the Kingdome to *Hephestion*, to dispose of: who having receiued great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen no lesse virtuous than rich, desired *Hephestion* that this Honour might be inferred on some one of the bloud and race of their ancient Kings: and presented vnto him *Balonimus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdoluminus*, IUSTINE *Abolomius*, and *Plutarch* *Alyonius*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal Estate, was with his owne handes working in his Garden, setting heards, and rootes, for his reliefe and sustenance: though other wife a wife man and exceeding lust.

These were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whose estate being after ward changed into Popular or Aristocraticall: and by times and turnes subiected to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly deliuered in the Tribe of *Asser*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appeare: *Iosephus* the Historian, as is said, had many things; wherewith hee garnished his Antiquities from the *Tyrian* Chronicles: and out of *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a descent of some twentie Kings of the *Tyrians*; but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menasier Ephebus*, doe in no sort agree in the times of their reignes, nor in other particulars.

Abibulus is the first King of the *Tyrians*, that *Iosephus* and *Theophilus* remember: whom *Theophilus* calls *Ahemulus*: the same perchance that the sonne of *Sinac* mentioneth in his fourth and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*.

To this *Abibulus*, *Suron* succeeded; if he be not one and the same with *Abibulus*. *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute of Prop. *Enang* 19. whom also *David* complaineth *Psal*. 83.

Hiram succeeded *Suron*, whom *Iosephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieromus*, sometime *Hierowus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras* *Chiron*. He entered into a league with *David*, and sent him *Cedars* with *Masons* and *Carpenters*, to performe his buildings in *Ierusalem*: after he had beaten thence the *Iebusites*. The same was hee that so greatly assisted *Salomon*: whom he not only furnished with *Cedars*, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great summes of money, but also he ioyned with him in his enterprise of the East *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Salomon* with *Mariners* and *Pilots*: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram* there is not only mention in diuers places of Scripture, but in *Iosephus* in his Antiquities the 7 and 8. chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his 74. booke, in *Tatianus* his Oracion against the *Greekes*; and in *Zonaras* Tome the first. This Prince seemed to be very mightie and magnificent, hee defised the 20. towines which *Salomon* offered him: he defended himselfe against

2. Sm. 1. 4. 7.
2. Sm. 1. 5.
2. Reg. 1. 9. 10
1. Ch. 2. 14
2. Ch. 2. 8. 9.

that victorious King *David*: and gaue his Daughter in marriage to *Salomon*, called the *Zelodon*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Asteroth*, the Idoll of the *Phoenicians*. *Hiram* liued 53. years.

Balesartus whom *Theoph. Antiochenus*, calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Hiram*, King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7. years according to *Iosephus*.

Abisartus the eldest sonne of *Balesartus*, gouerned 9. yeares, and liued but 20. yeares according to *Iosephus*: but after *Theophilus* he reigned 12. yeares, and liued 54. who being slaine by the foure sonnes of his owne Nurce, the eldest of them held the Kingdome 12. yeares.

Astartus brother to *Abisartus*, recouered the Kingdome from this Vsurper, and reigned 12. yeares.

Astarrinus, or *Atharrinus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9. yeares, and liued in all 54.

Phelles the fourth sonne of *Balesartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, flew *Astarrinus*: and reigned 8. Moneths: liued 50. yeares.

Ithobalus (or *Iuthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) sonne to the third brother *Astarrinus*, who was the chiefe Priest of the Goddess *Astarta*, which was a dignitie next vnto the King, reuenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Vncle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. yeares, the same which in the first of Kings cap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose Daughter *Iezabel*, *Achab* married.

Balezor or *Bazor* the sonne of *Ithobalus* or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Iezabel*, succeeded his Father, and reigned 6. yeares, and liued in all 45.

Metrimus succeeded *Balezor*, and reigned but 9. yeares, (saith *Iosephus*) he had 2. two sonnes *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two Daughters *Elysa* and *Anna*.


Pygmalion reigned after *Metrimus* his Father 40. yeares, and liued 56: In the 7. yeare of whose raigne, *Elysa* sailed into *Affrica*, and built *Carthage*, 143. yeares and 8. Moneths, after the Temple of *Salomon*: Which by our account was 289. yeares after *Troy* taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Aeneas* and *Dido* must be farre out of Square. For *Pygmalion* couetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his sister *Elysa*, slew him traitorously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we belecue *Iustine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Elysa* fearing to be depouled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Affrica* as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his Mothers teares, and by threats from the Oracle arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Familie of the *Barca* in *Affrica*, of which race descended many famous Capitaines, and the great *Hannibal*. *Seruius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virage*, because of her man-like acts, others from *Iedida*, a surname of *Salomon*.

Eileus succeeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36. yeares: the same that ouerthrew the fleet of *Salmassar*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which hee continued his 40. siege before it on the Land side five yeares, but in vaine.

After *Eileus*, *Ethobales* gouerned the *Tyrans*, who vaunted himselfe to be as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it is gathered, that this Prince died, or was slaine in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who ferroured and attempted *Tyre* 13. yeares together, ere he preuailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. yeares a tributarie, perchanee, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death it was gouerned by diuers *Iudges*, succeeding each other: First, by *Enthalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Priest, *Mittonus*, and *Gerasius*, who held it among them some 7. yeares, and odde Moneths: after whom *Balaterus* commanded therein as a King for one yeare: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon* 4. yeares: after him *Iram* sent thence also, 20. yeares. In the 17. of whose raigne *Cyrus* beganne to gouerne *Persia*.

of Bozivs his conceit that the Edumeans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, And that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true God.

- 10  F the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the Tyrians, mixed with a discourse of diuers other Nations, there is one Bozius that hath written a Tract at large, intituled *derumis Gentium*. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea in all things vnder Heauen, haue proceeded from his ordinance who only is vnchangeable and the same for euer; yet whereas the said Bozius, inforcing herence, that the prosperitie and ruine of the Tyrians were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion, to proue this his assertion, supposeth the Tyrians to haue beene Edumeans, descended from Esau, Jacobs brother: first, it can hardly be beleued that Tyre, when it flourished most in her ancient glorie, was in any sort truly deuout and religious. But to this end (besides the prooffe which the
- 20 Scriptures giue of Irams good affection when Salomon built the Temple) he brings many coniecturall arguments: whereof the strongest is their pedigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion that the posteritie of Esau received from him by Tradition the Religion of Abraham and Isaac. That the Tyrians were Edumeans, he endeouours to shew, partly by weak reasons, painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For Strabo, Herodotus, Plinie, and others witness, that the Tyrians came from the Red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called Tyros, Aradus, and Sidon: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards giuen to the Cities of Phœnicia. Considering therefore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) vnder the Edumeans: as Elah and Eliphaz her; or vnder the Amalekites, who descended of Amalec the Nephew of Esau, whose chiefe Citie was Madian, so called of Madian the sonne of Abraham by Cethura, whose posteritie did people it: the consequence appears good (as he takes it) that the Tyrians originally were Edumites: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of Israel. Herunto hee addes that Cadmus and his Companions brought not into Greece the worship of *Astartis*, the Idoll of the Sidonians. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being Phœnicians, themselves differing much in their Philosophie from the Idolatrous customes of the Greeks. That in *Teman*, a Towne of the Edumeans, was an *Vniuersitie*, wherein as may appear by *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*, who disputed with *Iob*, Religion was sincerely taught.
- 30 Such is the discourse of Bozius who labouring to proue one Paradoxe by another, defences in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were Edumeans, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his People: neither is it true that they were Edumeans at all. In what Religion Esau brought vp his children it is no where found written, but that him selfe was a prophane man, and disauowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expresse. That his posteritie were Idolaters, is directly proued in the five and twentieth Chapter of the second booke of *Chronicles*. That the Edumites were perpetual enemies to the House of Israel, saue only when *Dauid* and some of his race, Kings of *Iuda*, held them in subiection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *Dauids* vnifriendly behaviour amongst them. when first they were subdued? Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, between Tyros and Mount *Seir*, that Iram held such good correspondence with *Dauid*: euen then when *Iob* slew all the Males of *Edom*: neither was it for their deuotion to God, and good affection to Israel, that the Edumites were so ill intreated. It seemeth that the pietie and ancient wisdom of *Eliphaz* the

Themanite was then forgotten, and the *Edumaeans* punished, for being such as *David* in his owne daies found them. Although indeede the Citie of *Teman* whence *Eli-phaz* came to reason with *Job*, is not that in *Edumaea*, but an other of the same name, lying East from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adioyning to *Hui*, the Countrie of *Job*: and to *Sueh* the Citie of *Bilad* the *Sulute*, as both such *Choreographers* who best knew those parts, doe plainly shew, and the holy Text makes manifest. For *Job* is said to haue exceeded in riches; and *Salomon* in wisdome, all the people of the East; not the inhabitants of Mount *Sair*, which lay due South from *Palestina*. True it is that *Eli-phaz* the sonne of *Esau* had a sonne called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in those daies to take name of their sonnes, I no where finde. And *Ismael* also had a sonne called *Thema*: of whom it is not vnlike that *Theman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the seuenth Chapter of the booke of *Judges* the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the East are called *Ismaelites*. And he that well considers how great and strong a Nation *Amalek* was, which durst giue battaile to the Host of *Israel*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleue that such a people were descended from one of *Esau* his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberlesse mult the forces of all *Edom* haue bene: if one Tribe of them, yea one Familie of a Tribe had bene so great? surely Mount *Ser* and all the Regions adioyning could not haue held them. But wee no where finde that *Edom* had to doe with *Amalek*: or assisted the *Amalekites*: when *Saul* went to roote them out. For *Amalek* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it selfe, if distinct from the *Ismaelites*. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being sonne to *Abraham* by *Ceturah*, doubtlesse was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the Seignorie of the Red Sea-coast, which *Boziah* imagines the *Edumaeans* to haue held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held some places as *Elan* and *Esfongader* on the Red Sea shore, yet in *Moses* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moses* himselfe saith that *Israel* did compass all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* stood, *Moses* must needs haue knowne it: because he had sojourned long in that Countrie: and there had left his Wife and Children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But coniecturall Arguments, how probable soeuer, are needlesse in so manifest a case. For in the 83. *Psal.* *Edom*, *Amalek*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authors shew, and *Boziah* himselfe confesseth, were *Canaanites*, as appears *Gen. c. 15. v. 15. & 19.* appointed by God to haue bene destroyed, and their Lands giuen to the children of *Israel*. *After Job. 29.* because they were euer Idolaters, and of the cursed seede of *Canaan*, not Consens to *Israel*, nor professors of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said, Blessed be God that hath sent King *DAVID* a wise Sonne, we cannot inferre that he was of *Dauid*'s Religion. The *Turke* hath said as much of *Christian* Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is that the *Sidonians* then worshipped *Astarte*, and drew *Salomon* also to the same Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Salomon* in building the Temple, hee did it for his owne ends, receiuing therefore of *Salomon* great prouision of Corne, and Oile, and the offer of twentie Townes or Villages in *Galilee*. And if wee rightly consider things, it will appeare that *Hiram*, in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Salomon*, Hee allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is ouer-pestered: being otherwise apt to yeeld silkes: as the *Andarine* silkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oile, which hee wanted, hee gaue that which he could well spare to *Salomon*. Also gold for Land: wherein *Salomon* was the wifer: who haing got the gold first, gaue to *Hiram* the worst Villages that hee had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleased. But it was a necessarie policie which enforced *Tyrrus* to hold league with *Israel*. For *Dauid* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, euen to *Euphrates*: through which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carrie and recarrie their Wares on Cammels,

to their fleets on the Red Sea: and backe againe to *Tyrus*: so that *Salomon* being Lord of all the Countries, through which they were to passe, could haue cut off their Trade.

But the *Israelites* were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the *Tyrrians* in their adventures. Yet *Salomon* as Lord of the Sea-townes, which his Father had taken from the *Philistims*, might haue greatly distressed the *Tyrrians*, and perhaps haue brought them euen into subiection. Which *Hiram* knowing was glad (and no meruaile) that *Salomon* rather meant as a man of peace to imploy his Fathers treasure, in magnificent works, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore hee willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workemen, to increase his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages betwene *Salomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong Arguments of pietie in the *Tyrrians*: so those other proofes which *Bozsius* frames negatively vpon particular examples, are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I thinke, no man knowes. It seemes to me that hauing more cunning than the *Greekes*, and being very ambitious, hee would faine haue purchased diuine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples. Every salvage Nation hath some whose wisdom excelleth the vulgar, euen of ciuill people. Neither did the morall wisdom of these men expresse any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whome being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrrians*, are not knowne to haue taught Idolatrie, therefore the *Tyrrians* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Vtica*, *Leptis*, *Cadix*, and all Colonies of the *Tyrrians* (of which, I thinke, the Ilands before mentioned in the Red Sea to haue bene, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, euen from their first beginnings: therefore, the *Tyrrians*, who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatrie from *Salomon's* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozsius*, who would haue vs thinke them to haue bene formerly a strange kinde of deuout *Edomites*. In which fancie he is so peremptorie, that he iudgeth men of contraiue opinion, impius politicus, as if it were impietie to thinke that God (who euen among the Heathen, which haue not knowne his name, doth fauour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honestie, with temporall happinesse. Doubtlesse this doctrine of *Bozsius*, would better haue agreed with *Iukan* the *Apostata*; than with *Cyril*. For if the *Absyrians*, *Greekes*, *Romanes*, and all those Nations of the Gentiles, did then prosper most when they drew neare vnto the true Religion: what may bee said of the foule Idolatrie which grew in *Rome*, as fast as *Rome* it selfe grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost vpon eury new victorie? How few great battailes did the *Romanes* winne, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new God, or some new Honour to one of their old Gods? yea, what one Nation saue only that of the *Jenes*, was subdued by them, whose Gods they did not afterwards entertaine in their Citie? Only the true God, which was the God of the *Jenes*, they reiected, vbraiding the *Jenes* with him, as if he were unworthie of the *Romane* Majestie: shall we hereupon enforce the leud and foolish conclusion, which Heathen writers vsed against the *Christians* in the *Primisine Church*: That such Idolatrie had caused the Citie of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperitie were a signe or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeale of *Bozsius*, who writing against those whom he fallily termes impious, giues strength to such as are impious indeede. But such indiscretion is usually found among men of his humour: who hauing once either foolishly embraced the dreames of others: or vaine-ly fashioned in their owne braines any strange *Chimera*: of Diuinitie, condemne all such in the pride of their zeale, as *Atheists* and *Infidells*, that are not transported with the

the like intemperate ignorance. Great pittie it is that such madde Dogges are oftentimes encouraged by those, who hauing the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of EPHRAIM, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was EPHRAIM.

§ I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of EPHRAIM.



Fol. 19. r. 8. 108
Fol. 25.

HAVING now past over Phenicia, we come to the next Territorie adioyning: which is that of *Ephraim*: sometime taken *per excellentiam* for the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second sonne of *Ioseph*, whose issues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Deserts* (*Ioseph* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children, growne to bee able men 32500. who sate downe on the West side of *Jordan*, betwene *Manasse*, and *Beniamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan*, and the *Mediterranean* Sea, did by the East and West.

The first and chiefe Citie which *Ephraim* had was *Samaris*: the Metropolis of the Kingdome of *Israel*: built by *Amris* or *Omri*: King thereof: and seated on the top of the Mountaine *Somron*, which ouerlooketh all the bottome, and as farre as the Sea-coast. It was after ward called *Sebaste*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *August. Cesar*. This Citie is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brochorad* obserueth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which *Brochorad* found greater than those of *Iherusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood vpright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly marble pillars, with other hewen and carued stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the Sonnes of *Syrannus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod* the sonne of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cesar* called it *Sebaste*. Hercin were the Prophets *Helias*, and *Abdias* buried: and so was *Iohn Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Gracian Monks*.

Near *Samaris* towards the South, is the Hill of *Bethell*, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine *Ieroboam* erected one of his golden Calues, to bee worshipped: with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In sight of this Mountaine of *Bethel*, was that ancient Citie of *Sichem*; after the restauration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelusa*, and *Napalasa*: It was destroyed by *Simen* and *Leui*, in reuenge of the rauishment of their Sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* eued

Sichem. Job. 4. 5.
Mahoritan,
Ioseph. 11. ant. 1.

cuened with the foile. *Iefoboam* raised it vp againe: and the *Damascens* a third time call it downe.

Vnder *sichem* towards the Sea standeth *Pharaton* or *Pirbathon* on the Mountaine ^{Indg. 12. 15.} *Amalek*, the Citie of *Abdon* Iudge of *Israel*. And vnder it *Bethon* of the *Leuites*, ^{2. K. 23.} built as it is said by *Sara*, the Daughter of *Ephraim*. Neare to this Citie *Indas Chacabam* ouerthrew *Seron* and *Lysias*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This Citie had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Betweene *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir* of which *Ios. 10.* And *Saron* whose King was slaine by *Iofus*: it is also mentioned *Act. 9. 35.* and of this *Saron* the ^{16. 12. 18.} Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Casaria* *Palestina* extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farr as *Ioppe*, south *Adrichome*. Though indeede the name *Saron* is not particularly giuen to this Valley, but to euery fruitfull plaine Region; for not only this Valley is so called, to wit, betweene *Casaria* and *Ioppe*, but that also betweene the Mountaine *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for so *S. Hierome* vpon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Ezra* interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries vpon *Abdia*, reade *Saron* for *Assaron*: vnderstanding thereby a Plaine neare *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diopolis*, or the Citie of *Iupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Indus*, the fifth in dignitie (or the third after *Plame*) where Saint *Peter* (*non fuisse Christi virtute*) cured *Aeneas*. ^{Act. 9.} *Niger* calls all that Region from ^{Luc. 23.} *Antilibanus* to *Ioppe* *Saron*. This *Ioppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romans*, those *Rauens* and *spoilers* of all *Elates*, disturbers of *Common-weales*, vsurpers of other Princes Kingdomes: who with no other respect led than to amplify their owne glorie, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murdering one an other, became a prey to the most furiage and barbarous Nations.

In *Diopolis* (saith *Will. of Tyre*) was *S. George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memorie *Iustinian* the Emperour caused a faire Church to bee built ouer his Tombe, these be *Tyrius* his wordes: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatriæ, & Ioppe, per latè patentem planitiem Eleutheriam petraſcuentes, Liddam quæ est Diopolis, ubi & egregij Martyri GEORGII vsque hodiè Sepulchrum ostenditur, perueniunt, eius Ecclesiam quum ad honorem eiusdem Martyris pium & orthodoxum Princeps Romanorum, AVGVSTVS IVSTINIANVS multo studio & deuotione prompta aſſicari præcepit, &c.* They hauing left (saith he) on the right hand, the Sea Townes *Antipatriæ*, and *Ioppe*, passing ouer the great open plaine of *Eleutheria*, came to *Lidda*, which is *Diopolis*: where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr *St. GEORGE* is at this day formed: whose Church, when the *Goths* and *Orthodoxe* Prince of the *Romans*, *High and Mightie* *IUSTINIAN* had commanded to bee built, with great earnestnesse and present deuotion, &c. Thus saith *Tyrius*, by whose testimony we may coniecture, that this *S. George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but rather some better Christian: for this of *Alexandria* was slaine there in an vprore of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better Christian, than hee is commonly thought: for his wordes of the Temple of *GENVS*, *How long shall this Sepulcher stand?* occasioned the vprore of the people against him: as fearing least hee would giue attempt to ouerthrow that beautifull Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports: who though hee say that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the Christians, who else might haue rescued him: yet he addeth that his ashes with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, least if their Reliques had bene gathered vp, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part I rather thinke that it was not this *Georgius*, whose name liues in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather an other, whom *Tyrius*, aboue cited, witnesseth to haue bene buried at *Lidda* or *Diopolis*. The same also is confirmed by *Vitruv. S. Hierome*: affirms that it was sometime called *Tigrida*, and while the Christians inhabited the holy Land, it had a Bishop *Suffragan*.

Neare to *Lidda* or *Diopolis*, standeth *Ramatha* of the *Leuites*, or *Araramitha*: afterward

Act. 9.
Luc. 23.
2. K. 23.
Act. 9. 35.

Of this S. George see more about in this second Booke, c. 7. §. 3. 5.

2. 22. c. 11.

Sals. Rom. 6 c. 4

See in the
Tobe of Beni-
min cap. 13. §. 17.

Sam. 1. c. 25. v. 5

Ant. 13. 21. de
Bell. Ind. 1. 6.

Jud. 2. 9. it is
called Thim-
nath Chur. 1.
10. §. 50.

Hieron. in loci
Isrl.

Maceab. 1. 7. 40.

See in Scitia-
nia.
Maceab. 1. 9.
v. ult.

King. 1. c. 4. and
Isrl. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Ind. 9. v. 8. §. 30

3. Reg. 11. 27.
P. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
exp. ind. 1. 1. 1.
in this place, lu-
ram publicum
ne eff. 1. 1. 1. 1.
will in 1. 1. 1. 1.
m. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
argue
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
3. Reg. 11. 27.
Ind. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

ward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native Citie of *Ioseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*: one they set in the Tribe of *Iuda* neare *Thebua* in the way of *Ilebron*: an other in *Nephthim*, not farre from *Sephet*: a third in *Zabulon*, which, they say, adioyneth to *Sephoris*: a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*: and a fifth which is this *Rama* in the Hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived: and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the North along the coast are *Helen*, or *Aulon* of the *Leuites*, of which 1. *Chron.* 6. *Apollonia*, of which *Iosephus* in his Antiquities, and in the *Warte* of the *Iewes*. Also *Balsafsa* (for which *Iunius* 2. *Reg.* 4. 42. reads *plinities Shalifsa*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*: but *Iunius* vpon 1. *Sam.* 9. where we to reade of the Land of *Shalifsa*, findeth it in *Beniamin*.

On the other side of the Mountaines of *Ephraim* standeth *Gofna*, one of the *Toparchies* or Cities of government, the second in dignitie, of which the Countrie about it taketh name.

Then *Thimnath-sara*, or according to the Hebrew *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Toparchies* or *Presidencies* of *Iudas*, which they call *Thimnitica*: a goodly Citie and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*: on the North of the Hill called *Gas*: which Citie and Territorie *Israel* gaue vnto their Leader *Iosua*: who also amplified it with buildings, neare which hee was buried. His Sepulcher remained in *S. Hieromes* time, and ouer it the *Sunne* ingrauen, in memorie of that greatest of won- 29 ders, which God wrought in *Iosua*'s time.

In the places adioyning standeth *Adasfa* or *Adsa*: where *Iudas Macheab* with 3000. *Iewes* ouerthrew the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*: neare to *Gaser* or *Gizer* which *Iosua* tooke, and hung their King: a Citie of the *Leuites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharao* of *Egypt*: the people all slaine, and the Citie razed: *Salomon* rebuilt it.

To the East of this place is the Frontier Citie of *Ieseti*, of which *Ios.* 16. 3. other- wise *Teletih*, whence *David* had part of his *Prætorian* Souldiers, vnder the charge of *Benata*. Then that high and famous Mountaine and Citie of *Silo*, whereon the *Arke* of God was kept so many yeares, till the *Philistines* got it.

To this they ioine the Citie of *Machmas* or *Michmas*: in which *Ionathas Macheab* inhabited, a place often remembered in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hierusalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

Then the Village of *Naieth* where *Saul* prophesied: and neare it *Ephron*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Ieroboam*: after the great overthrow giuen him. Then *Kithsaim* of the *Leuites*, of which *Iosua* 2. 1. 2. 2. which *Iunius* thinks to be the same with *Iokmeah*, of which 1. *Chron.* 6. 28. As for *Abdolsom Badafor*, which they finde hereabout, *Iunius* reads it the *Plaine* of *Chatzor*: and finds it in the Tribe of *Iuda*: as *Ios.* 15. we read of two *Chatzors* in that Tribe: one neare *Kedesh* 40 v. 23. and the other the same as *Chetzeron* v. 25. toward *Jordan*.

In this Tribe also they finde the Citie of *Mello*: whose Citizens, they say, ioyned with the *Sichemites* in making the Bastard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Salomon* raised a tribute vpon the people. But it seemes that *Mello* or *Millo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadell: and so *Iunius* for *domus Mello*, reads *incola munitionis*, and for *Salomo adificabat Millo*, he reads *adificabat munitionem*, and so the *Septuagint* reads *τις ἀκρας* in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Salomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but an other in *Hierusalem*.

The other Cities of marke in *Ephraim* are *Taphuach*, whose King was slaine by 50 *Iosua*: and *Ianoach* or *Ianoah* spoiled by *Teglaiphallaser*: *Pekah* then gouerning *Isrl.*: with diuers others, but of no great fame.

The Mountaines of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatest part of the Land of the Sonnes of *Ioseph*, on the West of *Jordan*: severall parts whereof are the Hill of

Samson


*Samron or Samaria, 1. Reg. 16. 24. * the Hill of Gabas Judg. 2. 9. the Hill of Tsalmron or Salmon Jud. 9. 48. the Hills of the Region of Tsaphor or Tsophim Jud. 9. 5. where Ramatsaphim stood, which was the Citie of Samuel.*

The great plentie of fruitfull Vines vpon the sides of these Mountaines, was the occasion that *Isaac* in the Spirit of prophetic *Genes. 49. 22.* compared *Josephs* two branches, *Ephraim* & *Manasse*, to the branches of a fruitfull vine planted by the Well side, and spreading her 2 Daughter-branches along the Wall : which *Allegorie* also *Ezekiel. 2. 2.* in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) propheteques : as also in his Lamentation for *Iuda*, hee followeth the o-
10 ther *Allegorie* of *Isaac Gen. 49. 9.* comparing *Iuda* to a Lyon. Vpon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of *Ephraim*, which ouer-looketh all the plaines on both sides of *Jordan*, they finde the Cattle called *Dok* : which they make to bee the same with *Dagon*, of which *Joseph. 1. Bell. Iud. c. 2.* in which Cattlees it is 1. *Misceb. 16.* *Ptoleme* most traiterously, at a banquet, slew *Simon Maccabaeus* his Father-in-Law.

Among the Reversers of this Tribe of Ephraim, they name *Gaas*, remembered in the second of *Samuel*, e. 23. v. 30. where though *Isaius* reads *Hidday* *ez* *vallum Gabae*: yet the Vulgar and *Vatabul* reads *Hidday* of the River of *Algo* in this Tribe they place the River of *Caribb*, by which the Prophet *Eliab* abode during the great 20 drought: where he was fed by the Ravens; and after that the River was dried up he traivailed (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where he came relieved by the poor Widow of *Zareph*, whose dead Sonne he revived, and increased her pittance of Meale and Oile: whereby she fulfilled her life.

ϑ. II.

*Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from IEROBOAM to
ACHAB.*

30  F the first Kings of *Israel*, I omit in this place to speake: and referue it to the *Catalogue* of the Kings of *Inda*: of whom hereafter.

touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, be-
ginning after the diuision from *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, now it followeth to
speak. The first of these Kings was *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Nebat*, an
Ephraimitic of *Zereda*, who being a man of strength and courage was by *Salomon* made
ouer-seeer of the buildings of the *Altar* or Munitiō in *Hierusalem*, for as much as be-
longed to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasse*- and so many of them as
wrought in those workes. During which times hee went from *Hierusalem*, & hein-
countered the Prophet *Ahijah*, who made him know that he was by God deliuered to
be King of *Israel*: and to command ten of the twelue Tribes. After this fearing that
those things might come to *Salomons* knowledge, hee fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*,
whom *Eusebius* calleth *Achobares*, whose Daughter he married: the Predecessor of
which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertaine *Adad* the *Edomian*, when hee
was carried away into *Egypt* from the furie of *Dauid*, and his Captaine *Ioab*: which
Adad, the King of *Egypt* married to his Wives after *Taphres*: wing both him and
Ieroboam as instruments to shake the Kingdome of *Iuda*: that him selfe might the
easier spoile it, as he did: for in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* sackt the Citie
of *Hierusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, and all the
spoiles which *Dauid* tooke from *Adad* or of *Soba*, with the presents of *Tobus*, King of
Hamath, which were of an inestimable value.

This *Ieroboam* after the death of *Salomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to gouern the *Israelites*, and from a meane man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world before the seruice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule should repaire to *Hierusa-*

* Also the Hill of Phobias where Eleazar the high Priest the son of Abiatar was buried *Isa. 54:33*. And the two tops of Hills, *Georgians* where the blasphe-
mings, and Herod

X. Reg. 14.

*Ambrose vpon
the 1. Chap. of
the Epistle to
the Romanes.*

lem to doe their vsuall Sacrifices, they might be drawne from him by degrees) hee erected two golden Calues, one in *Dan*, and an other in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, saith *S. Ambrose*, or rather of *Aerons Calfe in Horib*) further hee made election of his Priests out of the basest and vilest people. This King made his chiefe seate and Pallace at *Siechem*: He despised the warning of the *Iudaean Prophet*, whome *Iosephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Gheas Iael*: His hand there after withered, and was againe reitored: but continuing in his Idolatrie, and hardened vpon occasion that the Prophet returning was slaine by a *Lyon*, *Ahijah* makes him know, that God purposed to roote out his posteritie.

1. King. 11. 13.
13. 14.
15. Chron. 13.

He was afterward ouerthrowne by *Abis* King of *Iuda*, and died after hee had gouerned two and twentie yeares: to whom *Nadab* his sonne succeeded: who in the second yeare of his raigne, together with all the race of *Ieroboam* was slaine, and rooted out by *Bascha*, who raigned in his stead: so *Nadab* liued King but two yeares.

Bascha the sonne of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made Warre with *Afa* King of *Iuda*: hee feared himselfe in *Thersa*: and fortified *Rama* against *Iuda*, to restrain their excursions. Hereupon *Afa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who inuaded *Nephthalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the meane while *Afa* carried away the Materialls, with which *Bascha* intended to fortifie *Rama*; but being an Idolater hee was threatened by *Iehu* the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Ieroboam*: which afterward came to passe: He ruled foure and twentie yeares and died.

1. King. 15. 16.

To *Bascha* succeeded *Ela* his sonne, who at a feast at his Pallace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slaine by *Zambri* after hee had raigned two yeares: and in him the prophetic of *Iehu* was fulfilled.

1. King. 16.

Zambri succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seven daies; But *Ambri* in reuenge of the Kings Murther, set vpon *Zambri*, or *Zimri*: and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and forth him to burne himselfe.

1. King. 16.

Ambri or *Honni* succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regall seate from *Thersa* to *Samaria*: which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambri* was also King of *Syria*: the Father of *Benadad* according to *Eusebius*, *Niephorus*, and *Zenars*: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceiue: seeing *Benadad* the sonne of *Tabeemmon* was inuited by *Afa* King of *Iuda*, to assaile *Bascha* King of *Israell*, the Father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambri*. This *Ambri* raigned twelue yeares, fixe in *Thersa*, and fixe in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

1. King. 15.

§. III.

OF *ACHAB* and his Successors, with the captiuitie of the ten Tribes.



CHAB or *Ahab* succeeded *Omri*, who not only vp-held the Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians*: but hee married *Iezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Ieroboam* followed the Religion of his *Egyptian* Wife: so did *Ahab* of his *Zidonian*: and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He suffered *Iezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the Land of *Israell*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* prevailed in the triall of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false Prophets: and afterward flourisheth for feare of *Iezabel*.

Benadad, not long after, besieged *Samaria*: and taken by *Achab* was by him set at libertie: for which the Prophet (whom *Gheas* calleth *Michaeas*) reproouth him: afterward he caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to bee stoned. Then ioyning with

10. 14. 15.

Iosaphat in the warre for therrecouene of *Ramoth*, hee was slaine as *Atchazas* had foretold him.

Hee had three sonnes named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Ioram*, and *Ioas*: besides seuentie other sonnes by sundry wiues and Concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father *Ahab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: hee bruised himselfe by a fall: and sent for counsaile to *Beelzebub* the God of *Achazur*, *Elisba* the Prophet meeteth the messenger on the way: and misliking that *Ochozias* sought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the messenger, If there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth two Captaines, and with each fiftie souldiers to bring *Elisba* vnto him, both which with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captaine be sought mercie at *Elisba* hands, and hee spared him, and went with him to the king: auowing it to the king that he must then die, which came to passe in the second year of his reigne.

Ioram the brother of *Ochozias* by *Iezabel*, succeeded: He allured *Iosaphat* king of *Juda*, and the king of *Edom* to assilt him against the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. sheepe. The three kings wanted water, for themselues and their horses, in the Deserts. The Prophet *Elisba* causeth the ditches to flowe. The *Moabites* are ouerthrowne: their king flieth to *Kirharaseth*: and being besieged, according to some Expolitors, burnt his sonne on the walles as a Sacrifice, wherat

the three kings moued with compassion returned and left *Moab*, waiting and spoyling that Region. Others, as it seemes with better reason, vnderstand the Text to speake of the sonne of the king of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to haue bene taken prisoner, by the *Moabites*, and that the king of *Moab* shewed him ore the walls, threatening vnlesse the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the king of *Edom* be sought those of *Juda* and *Israel* to breake off the siege for the safetie of his sonne: which when the other kings refused to yeeld vnto, and that *Moab* according to his former threatening had burnt the king of *Edom* sonne vpon the rampire, that all the assaillants might discern it, the king of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle enraged, forooke the partie of the other kings: for want of whole assistance the siege was broken vp.

After this the king of *Aram* sent to *Ioram*, to heale *Naaman* the Captaine of his Armie of the leprolie. The answer of *Ioram* was, Am I God to kill, and to giue life, that hee doth send to heale a man from his leprolie? adding, that the *Aramite* sought but matter of quarrell against him. *Elisba* hearing thereof, willed the king to send *Naaman* to him: promising that hee should know that there was a Prophet in *Israel*, and so *Naaman* was healed by washing himselfe seuen times in *Iordan*. *Elisba* refused the gifts of *Naaman*. But his seruant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the sellers of spirituall gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians*.

Afterward *Benhadad* king of *Aram* or *Damascus*, hauing heard that this Prophet did discouer to the king of *Israel* what foucer the *Aramite* consulted in his secrettest counsell, sent a troupe of horse to take *Elisba*: all whom *Elisba* stroke blinde: and brought them captiues into *Samaria*, *Ioram* then asking leaue of the Prophet to slay them, *Elisba* forbade him to harme them: but caused them to be fed and sent backe to their owne Prince in safetie.

The king of *Aram* notwithstanding these benefites did againe attempt *Samaria*: and brought the Citizens to extreme famine. *Ioram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Elisba*. *Elisba* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and armie to found in the ayre, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege, an act of great admiration as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Azazel* obtained the kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Ioram* entring vpon his frontire tooke *Ramoth Gilead*: in which warre he receiued diuers wounds: and returned to *Israel* to be cured. But whilest he lay there, *Iehu* (who commanding the armie of *Ioram* in *Gilead*, was annoynted king by one of the children of the

Prophets sent by *Elisha* surprised and slew both him and all that belonged vnto him, rooting out the whole posteritie of *Ahab*.

Iehu who reigned after *Iehoram*, destroyed not onely the race of his foregoers, but also their Religion; for which hee received a promise from God, That his seed should occupie the Throne vnto the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the idolatry of *Ieroboam*, for which hee was plagued with grieuous warre, wherein hee was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of *Jordan*: in which warre hee was slain faith *Cedrenus*: whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Iehu* reigned 28. yeeres.

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Ioachaz or *Iehozabaz* the sonne of *Iehu* succeeded his father, whome *Azael* and his sonne *Benhadad* often invaded: and in the end subiected: leauing him onely 50. horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot: and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Ioachaz* reigned 17. yeeres.

2. King. 13.

After *Ioachaz* *Ioas* his sonne gouerned *Israel*: who when hee repaired to *Elisha* the Prophet as he lay in his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories ouer the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and *Elisha* couered the kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He againe willed him to beate the ground with his arrowes, who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that hee should haue smitten five or sixe times: and then hee should haue had so many victories ouer the *Aramites* as hee gaue strokes. And so it succeeded with *Ioas*, who ouerthrew the *Aramites* in three battells, and recovered the Cities and Territorie from *Benhadad* the sonne of *Azael*, which his father *Ioachaz* had lost. He also ouerthrew *Amasias* king of *Juda*, who prouoked him to make the war: wherupon hee entred *Iherusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *Ioas* reigned sixteene yeeres and died; in whose time also the Prophet *Elisha* exchanged this life for a better.

2. King. 14.

Ieroboam the third from *Iehu*, followed *Ioas* his father, an Idolater as his predecessors: but hee recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath* which is nere *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and fortie yeeres.

Zacharias the fift and last of the house of *Iehu*, slaine by *Shallum* his vassall, who reigned in his stead, gouerned six moneths. *Shallum* held the kingdome but one moneth, being slaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem who tooke reuenge of *Shallum*, vsed great crueltie to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with child. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with tenne thousand talents of silver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fiftie shekels from euery man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menahem* gouerned twentie yeeres.

2. King. 16. 19.

Pekahiah or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras* *Phaceia*, succeeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres, hee was slaine by *Phaceor* or *Pekah* the Commander of his armie, who 40 reigned in his place. In this *Pekah* time *Phulassar* or *Tiglat-Phlassar* invaded the kingdome of *Israel*, and wanne *Sion*, *Abel-Bethmaaca*, *Ianoach*, *Kedesch*, *Hajor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Gadite*, carrying them captiues into *Affryia*: he was drawn in by *Acher* king of *Iudea* against *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Acher* being waisted by *Pekah* of *Israel* and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church riches, and therewith ingaged the *Affryan*, who first suppressed the Monarchie of *Syria* and *Damascus*: and then of *Israel*: and this inueting of the great *Affryan*, was the vtter ruine of both States, of *Israel* and of *Iudea*. *Pekah* reigned twentie yeeres.

2. King. 15. 29.

Then *Hofbae* or *Oset*, who slew *Pekah*, became the vassall of *Salmanassar*: but hoping to shake off the *Affryan* yoke, he sought aide from *Se*, or *Sua*, or *Sebieu* king of *Egypt*: which being knowne to the *Affryan*, hee cast him into prison, beleaged *Samaria*, and maltreated it: carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into *Chinise* in *Affrya*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Esterne Regions, and there dispersed them: and

and re-planted *Samar*a with diuers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuth*es (inhabiting about *Cutha* a River in *Perſia*, or rather in *Arabia Deferta*) and with the people *Canaan*es bounding vpon *Syria*, and with thoſe of *Sephar*aijm (a people of *Sephar* in *Meſopotamia* vpon *Euphrates*, of whole conqueſt *Senacherib* vaunteth) alſo with thoſe of *Aſia*: which were of the ancient *Suims* who inhabited the Land of the *Philiftims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling neare vnto *Gaza*: whom the *Caphortims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia the Deſert*, called *Hane*i: willing to returne to their ancient ſeates. To theſe he added thoſe of *Chama*th or *Iur*aa, the ancient enemies of the *Iſraelites*, and ſometime the Vaſſalls of the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*: which ſo often aſſiſted them. And thus did this *Aſſyrian* aduife himſelfe better than the *Romane*s did. For after *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* had waſted the Cities of *Iudea*, and *Ieruſalem*, they carried the people away captiue: but left no others in their places, but a very few ſimple labourers, beſides their owne thinne Garriſons, which ſome decayed: and thereby they gaue that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who neuer could be driuen thence againe to this day.

And this tranſmigration, plantation, and diſplantation, hapned in the yeare of the world 3222. the ſixth yeare of *Ezekia* King of *Iuda*: and the ninth of *Hoſea* the laſt King of *Iſrael*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

| | | |
|------------------------|--------|---|
| 1. <i>Ieroboam</i> , | Rained | 22. Yeares. |
| 2. <i>Nadab</i> , | | 2. Yeares. |
| 3. <i>Baſha</i> , | | 24. Yeares. |
| 4. <i>Ela</i> , | | 20. Yeares. |
| 5. <i>Zambri</i> , | | 7. Daies. |
| 6. <i>Omri</i> , | | 11. Yeares. |
| 7. <i>Achab</i> , | | 22. Yeares. |
| 8. <i>Ochozias</i> , | | 2. Yeares. |
| 9. <i>Ioram</i> , | | 12. Yeares. |
| 10. <i>Iehu</i> , | | 28. Yeares. |
| 11. <i>Ioiachaz</i> , | | 17. Yeares. |
| 12. <i>Ioi</i> , | | 16. Yeares. |
| 13. <i>Ieroboam</i> , | | 41. Yeares. |
| 14. <i>Zacharias</i> , | | 6. Moneths. |
| 15. <i>Shulim</i> , | | 1. Moneth. |
| 16. <i>Menachem</i> , | | 10. Yeares. |
| 17. <i>Pekachiah</i> , | | 2. Yeares. |
| 18. <i>Phaca</i> , | | 20. Yeares. |
| 19. <i>Hoſea</i> , | | 9. Yeares, about whoſe time writers diſſer. |

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of DAN, SIMEON, IYDA,
RVBEN, GAD, and the other halfe of
MANASSE.

§ I.

Of DAN, where of Ioppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and
other Townes.



OW following the coast of the Mediterra Sea, that
portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, joyneth
to *Ephraim*, wherof I spake last: of which familie
there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting
men, all which leauing their bodies with the rest in the 20
Deserts, there entred the Holy Land of their sonnes
66400. bearing arms. The first famous Citie in this
Tribe on the Sea coast was *Ioppe*, or *Iapho*, as in the
19. of *Iosua*: one of the most ancient of the World,
and the most famous of others on that coast, because

it was the Port of *Iherusalem*. From hence *Ionas* imbarked himselfe when hee fled
from the seruice of God, towards *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Machabees* this
Citie receiued many changes: and while *Iudas Machabaeus* gouerned the *Iewes*, the
Syrians that were Garisoned in *Ioppe*, hauing their fleet in the Port, invited 200. principall
Citizens about them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Iudas* reuenged by 30
firing their fleet, and putting the companies which fought to escape to the sword.
It wastwice taken by the *Romanes*, and by *Cestius* the Licutenant vtterly burnt
and ruined. But in the year of *Christ* 1250. *Lodowick* the French King gaue it new
Walls and Towers: It is now the *Turkes*, and called *Iaffa*. There are certaine Rocks
in that Port, wherunto it is reported that *Andromeda* was fastned with chaines: and
from thence deliuered from the Sea-Monster by *Persus*. This fable (for so I take
it) is confirmed by *Iosephus*, *Solinus*, and *Plinie*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his office of
Aedileship, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of *Rome*. *S. Hierome*
vpon *Ionas* speaks of it indifferently.

The next vnto *Ioppe* was *Iamnia*, where *Iudas Machabaeus* burnt the rest of the Sy- 40
rian fleet: the fire and flame wherof was seene at *Iherusalem* 240. furlongs off. It
had sometime a Bilhops seate, saith *Wilk. of Tyre*; But there is no logue of it at this
time that such a place there was.

After *Iamnia* is the Citie of *Geth* or *Gath*, sometime *Anthedon*, saith *Volaterran*. And
so *Antoninus* seemes to vnderstand it. For he sets it next to *Aegypt*, of all the *Philis-
tin* Cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volaterran* giues neither reason nor au-
thoritic for his opinion; for *Protonius* sets *Anthedon* farr to the South of *Ioppe*: And
Geth was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cit-
ies of the *Philistins*: and about sixtene miles from *Ioppe*; where *S. Hierome* in his
time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and 50
Seminarie of the *Anakims*: strong and Giant-like-men, whom *Iosua* could not expell,
nor the *Danites* after him: nor any of the *Israelites*, till *Dauids* time; who slew *Goliath*,
as his Captaines did diuers others not much inferiour in strength and stature vnto
Goliath.

Roboam

V. 46.

2. Mac. 3. 13.

L. 3. 1. 19. de bel.
Iud. Solin. c. 47.
Plin. 15. 6. 9.

2. Mac. 15.
De Bell. Iac.

F. 344.

Hieron. in Ma-
cham.

L. 21, C. 13.

* Or rather not the case if

great stone in
the field, upon
which stone
the *Whilom*
let the *Ark*,
the change be-
ing easie from
Eben or *Adon*,
which signi-
feth a stone to
the which

a See in Neph.
C. 7. 2. 4. 1. 6.
2. K² 3.
b It was belie-
ged by *Plima-*
metichus the fa-
ther of *Pharao*,
Nero tor 19.
years together
whence *L. 1. 1. 1.*
15 2 20. speaks
of the religio-

ot *afflict*, to
win, the great
part part ha-
ving perished

in illos siege.
c I Sam. 5. 4.
d Macc. 1. c. 9.
Macc. 1. c. 10.
Ios. 19. 41.
Jud. 13. 25. 26.
18. 2. 2.

1. *Macc. 15, 16.*

Alas Carib-
bisul and Bual,
or Haslpharist
1. Sam. 9. 1. & 2
Sam. 6. 2.
2. Chron. 24. 22.
Nat. 23. 33.
Jer. 20. 20.

2, Circa. 24, 22,
Mat. 23, 33,
Jer. 20, 20.

Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that when it was by the *Salazars* defaced, *Richard King of England* while he made Warre in the holy Land, gave it a new wall and many buildings. *Eius mures cum SALADINVS diruisset, RICHARDVS AN- glorum Rex infrastruit, fatis A. Iribonius.* *Adich, in Trib. Sion.*

In *Dauid's* time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the *Philistins*: for hee nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* only, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul*, and *10. 2. Sam. 1. nathan*: not speaking of the other three. Tell it not in *Gath*, nor publish it not in the streets of *Ascalon*: It is now called *Scalona*. *Gabinus* restored it as hee did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

- 10 Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza* or *Gazera*, which the Hebrewes call *Hazza*, the *Syriz* *Azan*: of *Azonus* (as they say) the sonne of *Hercules*. Other prophane writers affirme, that it was built by *Iupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyses* the *Persian*: because belike he rebuilt it, and *Gaza* in the *Persian* tongue is as much to say as *Treasure*. This *Gaza* was the first of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistins*: and the South bound of the Land of *Canaan* towards *Aegypt*. But this Citie was farre more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Persia*, he receiv'd a Garrison for *Darius* in despite wherof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long siege demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the Desert.

Alexander Iannæus King of the Iewes surpris'd it: and slew 500. *Senators* in the Temple of *Apollo* which fled thither for Sanctuary: but this *Gaza* was not set vp in the time placename, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had o- uerturned, but somewhat nearer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the *Machabees*, and gaue many wounds to the *Iewes* till it was fort by *Simon*: of which he made for great account as he purpos'd to reside therein himselfe, and in his absence left *John his Sonne* and Successeur to be Governour. In *Brochard's* time it was still a goodly Citie, and knowne by the name of *Gazara*.

- 30 At the very out-let of the River of *Beſor*, standeth *Masima* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the privilege of a Citie was given by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Conſtance* after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But *Julian the Apostate* soone after favouring the *Gizeans* made it subiect vnto them, and commanded it to be call'd *Gaza masima*.

On the other side of *Beſor*, standeth *Anticheon*, defaced by *Alexander Iannæus*, restored by *Herod*, and call'd *Agippus*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favourite of *Augustus*.

- Then *Raphia* where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocoura* whose *Torrent* is knowne in the Scriptures by the name * of the *Torrent* of *Aegypt*, till the *Septuagint* converted it by *Rhinocoura*: to difference it, *Eſ. 27. 12.* giving the name of the Citie to the *Torrent* that watereth it. *Plinius* calls it *Rhinocoura*, and *Iosephus*, *Rhinocoura*: *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was diuided by lots, betwene the three Sonnes of *Noah*.

- Within the Land and vpon the River of *Beſor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth betwene *Kadesb* and *Shur*, *Gen. 20. 1.* That it was neare to the Wilderness of *Beer-Shebah*, it appeares *Genes. 20. 31.* and therefore no meruaile that as elsewhere *Beer-Shebah*, so sometime *Gerar*, bee made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a distinct Kingdome from the *Philistim* *Satrapies*, the Kings by one common name were call'd *Abimelech*; *S. Hierome* saith that afterward it was called *Regio salutaris*, The heal'd by Countie: so that it was no meruaile that *Abraham* and *Isaac* liu'd much in these parts. Of King *Aſa's* conquest of the Cities about *Gerar*, see *2. Ch. on 14. 14.*

More within the Land was *Steleg* or *Tſſelak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *Dauid* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistins* had left his carriages there, *1. Sam. 30.* but

but *Dauid* followed them ouer the Riuer of *Beſor*, and put them to the ſlaughter, and recovered the prey.

10th. 10. 11. 12.

Next *Dabir* ſometime *Cariath-Sopher*, the Citie of Letters, the *Vniuerſitie*, as they ſay, or *Academie* of old *Paſtine*. In *S. Hieromes* time it ſeemes it had the name of *Daena*: *Iofua* 15. 49. it is called *Yrbis Samna*: from the name, as it ſeemes, of ſome of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Yrbis Arbabi*. For euen hence alſo were theſe *Giants* expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othniel*, encouraged by *Caleb*s promiſe of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Iofua* and the Hoſts of *Iſrael* were at the ſurpriſe, it appeares *Iof.* 10. 39. This Citie *Iof.* 21. 15. is named among thoſe which out of *Simoon* and *Buda* were giuen to the *Leuites*. And hence it ſeemes they attributed it to this Tribe.

10th. 11. v. 21.

Befides theſe, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simoon*, but of leſſe fame, as *Heſen*, of which *Iof.* 19. 7. which alſo *Iof.* 21. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Leuites*, giuen out of the portion of *Iuda* and *Simoon* (for which *Iurinus* thinks *Heſena* is named 1. *Chron.* 6. 59. though * in the place of *Iofua* theſe two are diſtinguiſhed) alſo *Itholad* ſo named 1. *Chron.* 4. 29. for which *Iofua* 19. 4. wee haue *Eltholad*. *Chutzar-Sufa* ſo named *Iofua* 19. 5. for which *Iofua* 15. wee haue *Chutzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in ſignification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Sufa* *Equitatus*.

* And alſo 1.
Chron. 4. 32.

In the ſame places of *Iofua* and of the *Chronicles* *Chorma* is named, which they 20 thinke to bee the ſame with that of which *Numb.* 14. 45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* purſued the *Iſraelites*. But that *Chorma* cannot bee in *Simoon*, nor within the Mountaines of *Edumaea*. For *Iſrael* fled not that way: but backe againe to the Camp, which lay to the South of *Edumaea*, in the *Deſert*.

Deut. 1.

The ſame places alſo name *Beerſheba* in this Tribe: ſo called of the Oath betwene *Abraham* and *Abimelee*: neare vnto which *Hagar* wandred with her Sonne *Iſmael*. It was alſo called the Citie of *Iſaac*, becauſe hee dwelt long there. While the *Chriſtians* held the Holy Land, they laboured much to ſtrengthen this place, ſtanding on the border of the *Arabian Deſert*, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simoon* which are named in 30 the places of *Iofua*, and of the *Chronicles*, aboue noted, becauſe they helpe vs nothing in ſtorie, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekias* King of *Iuda*, certaine of this

30
* As it ſeemes
in the Land of
Iuda. See in
the firſt part
graph of this
Chapter in the
Cities of *Iuda*.
1. *Iud.* 163.

Tribe being ſtreightned in their owne Territories, paſſed to * *Gedor*, as it is 1. *Chron.* 4. 39. (the ſame place which *Iof.* 15. 36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederohaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the iſſue of *Cham*: where they ſeated themſelues: as alſo ſiue hundred others of this Tribe, deſtroied the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountaines of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

The Mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampſon* the chief:ſt: vnto which he carried the Gate-poſt of *Gaza*. The Riuer is *Beſor*, and the Torrent of *Egypt* called *Shithar*, as is noted in *Aſſer*.

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THE

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§. III.

THE TRIBE OF JUDA.



IF *Juda* the fourth Sonne of *Isaac* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *A. 371* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) perished in the *Desarts*. And of their sonnes there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing armes: Agreeable to the greatnesse of this number was the greatest Territorie giuen, called afterward *Judea*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simcon* included. And many Cities named in these Tribes, did first, as they say, belong vnto the children of *Juda*: who had a kind of Soueraignty ouer them: as *Succoth*, *Carathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Beithemes*, *Tsiglag*, *Beerseba*, and others. The multitude of people within this small Province (if it be meant by that ground giuen to this Tribe only) were vncredible if the witness of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *Dauid* numbered the people they were found five hundred thousand fighting men.

²⁰ The Cities of *Juda* were many. But I will remember the chiefe of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which standeth in the entrance of *Judea* from *Idumea*: whose King first surpris'd the *Israelites* as they pass'd by the border of *Canaan* towards *Mab*: and tooke from them some spoiles, and many prisoners: who being afterward ouerthrowne by the *Israelites*, the sonnes of *Keniz*, the Kinsmen of *Moses*, obtained a possession in that Territorie: who before the coming of the *Israelites*, dwelt betweene *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumea* and the South, *Aserus Scorpionis*, or *Nom 344. Acrahim* is placed, the next to *Arad*: so called because of Scorpions, which are said to be in that place: from which name of *Acrahim*, *Herone* thinks that the name of the *Toparche* called *Acrahathena* was denominated: of which wee haue spoken in *Masses*. On the South side also of *Judea* they place the Cities of *Iagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Alfina*, *Iethman*, and *Afor* or *Chafor*, most of them Frontier Townes.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the *Desart* and *Forrest* adioyning tooke name: where *Dauid* hid himselfe from *Saul*. After these are the Cities of *Esfon*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Afmona*, or *Hatfmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumea* towards the North, we finde the Cities of *Danna*, *Shebak*, *Anam*, the other *Afor*, or *Chafor*, *Rebaleth*, and the two *Sechoes*: of all which see *Ios. 15*. also *Cariath* by *Iosua. 15. v. 23*. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Is-carioth*, as it were a man of *Cariath*. Then *Hethan* the abode of *Sampsen* which *Rehebaam* redified. Beyond these towards the North border, and towards *Elcetheropolis*, is the Citie of *Iethar*, or *Iathir*, belonging to the *Leuites*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Iethura*: and inhabited altogether with *Christians*: neare vnto this Citie was that remarkable battaile fought betwene *Asa* King of *Juda*, and *Zera* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Asa* following the victorie as farre as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recovered.

Not farre from *Iethar*, standeth *Iermuth*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*, and the Citie ouerturnd. Next vnto it is *Maresa* the natue Citie of the Prophet *Michea*: ⁵⁰ Betweene it and *Odell*, *Judas Machabeus* ouertrew *Gorgias*: and then came ten thousand *Dragmas* of silver to be offered for Sacrifice.

Odell or *Hadukom* it selfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by *Iosua*, and the King thereof slaine. *Ionathas Machabeus* beautified it greatly. Then *Cela* or *Keila* afterward *Ebels*, where *Dauid* sometime hid himselfe: and which afterward

Nom. 31. v. 3.
Ios. 15. v. 14.
Iud. 1. v. 46.

Nom. 344.
Deut. 8. 15.

10. de. 15. R. 5.
Chron. 11. 6. 100.
out of the 2.
Chron. 4. 32.
notes that this
Hethan though
it were within
the bounds of
Juda belonged
to *Simcon*.
Ios. 15. 48.
Hieron. in loc.
Hieron.

2. Macc. 12. 35.

Gen. 8. v. 1.
Ios. 12. 15.

1 Sam. 23. 1.

afterward he deliuered from the assaults of the *Philistims*: neare which the Prophet *Ahab* was buried: whose monument remained and was scene by *S. Hierome*.

Neare it is *Hebron* sometime called the *Citie of Arbab*, for which the *Pulgar* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reason of this name they giue as if it signified the *Citie of foure*: because the foure *Patriarchs*, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but supposed: and it is plaine by the places *Iosua* 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that *Arbab* here doth not signifie foure, but that it was the name of the Father of the *Giants* called *Anakim*, whose sonne as it seemes *Anak* was: and *Achim*, *Sheshai*, and *Tahmai* (whom *Caleb* expelled *Iosua* 15.) were the sonnes of this *Anak*, *Num.* 13. 23. The name of *Anak* signifieth *Torquem*, a chaine worn for ornament: and it seemes that this *Anak* enriched by the spoiles which himselfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold, and so got this name: and leauing the custome to his posteritie left also the name: so that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not as much be expounded by *Torquati*.

The *Citie Hebron* was one of the ancientest *Cities of Canaan*: built seven years before *Isaac* or *Tamir* in *Aegypt*. and it was the head and chiefe *Citie* of the *Anakim*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part giuen: to wit, the Villages adioyning, and the rest to the *Leuites*. It had a *Bishop* in the *Christian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine*.

Not farre hence they finde *Eleutheropolis* or the free *Citie*, remembered often by *S. Hierome*. Then *Eglon* whose King *Dabir* associated with the other foure Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hierusalem*, *Hebron*, *Iarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibeanites*, were by *Iosua* utterly ouerthrowne. From hence the next *Citie* of fame was *Emmaus*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the *Cities of Government* or *Presidencies* of *Iudaea*. In sight of this *Citie* *Iudas Machabaeus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gaue a third ouerthrow to *Gorgias* Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

In the yeare 1301. it was ouer-turned by an earth-quake, saith *Eusebius*. In the *Christian* times it had a *Bishops* seate of the *Diocesse of Caesaria of Palestine*.

From *Emmaus* toward the West Sea there are the *Cities of Nahama*, *Bethdagon* and *Gader* or *Gedera*, or *Gederothama*, of which and of *Gederoth* * *Iosua* 15. v. 36 & 41. 30 Then *Azatha* to which *Iosua* followed the slaughter of the five Kings before named, a *Citie* of great strength in the Valley of * *Terebinto* or *Turpentine*: as the *Pulgar* before named, *1 Sam.* 17. 2. whence (as it seemes) they feat it neare vnto *Soco*, and vnto *Lehna* of the *Leuites*. It reuolted from the subiection of the *Iewes* while *Ioram* the sonne of *Iosaphat* ruled in *Hierusalem*: And next vnto this standeth *Maceda* which *Iosua* utterly dispeopled.

On the other side of *Emmaus* towards the East standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethfora*, and *Bethfor*: one of the strongest and most fought for places in all *Iuda*: It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (the house on the Rocke, or of strength). It was fortified by *Roboam*: and afterward by *Iudas Machabaeus*. *Lyfias* fortit, and 49 *Antiochus Eupator* by famine: *Ionathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* Kings.

Bethleem is the next vnto it within fixe miles of *Hierusalem*, otherwise *Lehem*: sometime *Ephrata*: which name, they say, it had of *Calebs* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts *Gen.* 38. 16. Of this *Citie* was *Abeisan* or *Ibzani*, *Iudge of Israel*, after *Iephthah*, famous for the thirtie Sonnes and thirtie Daughters, begotten by him. *Eliemelech* was also a *Bethleemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Iuda* in the time of the *Iudges*, with whom *Ruth* the daughter in law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Ishai*, of whom *Dauid*. It had also the honour to be the native *Citie* 50 of our Saviour *Iesus Christ*: and therefore shall the memorie thereof neuer end.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a *Citie* of the same name: and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem Iuda*.

From *Bethleem* some foure or five mile standeth *Thetsa*: the *Citie* of *Amos* the Prophet:

Ios. 10. v. 12.

Macc. 1. 3.

Euseb. in Chron.

Broch. 11. 6. 6.

* *Alfo 1. Chron.*

4. 39. as it is

about remem-

bered in the

Tribe of Si-

mon.

2. Iamur for in

Valle Terebin-

thi hab in valle

guercini.

Watshin keeps

the Hebrew

reading in val-

le Elab.

Ios. 13. ant. 9.

Macc. 1. 6.

Gen. 33. 48.

Ruth. 1.

Hieron. in comm.

super Math. c. 2.

Mat. 2. 1.

Amos. 1. v. 2.

Prophet: and to this place adioyning is the Citie of *Bethzatur*, in the way between *Bethjura* and *Hierusalem*: on whose Hills adioyning the glorious gilt shields of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the *Iewes*. The Citie of * *Bezek* was also neare vnto *Bethleem*, which *Adoni-bezec* commanded; who had during his raigne tortured 70. Kings, by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes: and made them gather bread vnder his Table: but at length the same end befell himselfe by the sonnes of *Juda*, after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) wee may passe by vntill we come to the magnificent Citie of *Hierodum*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting therunto with 200. Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and strong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adioyning to the Desert of *Ierud*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *cinus floridus*, where in the time of *Iehosaphat*, the *Iewes* stood and lookt on the *Mobites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, massacring one another, when they had purposed to ioyne against *Juda*: neare which place is the Valley of blessing, where the *Iewes* the fourth day after, solemnely came and blessed God for so strange deliuerance.

Now the Cities of *Juda* which border the Dead Sea, are these; *Adran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tjohar* which the *Pulgar* calleth * *Segor*: so called because *Lor* in his priar for it vrged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tjohar*, which signifies a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen. 14. 2*. In the *Roman* times it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: in *Hieromes* time *Balezena*. Then *Engaddi* or *Hon-gaddi*, first *Asaphonim*: neare vnto which are the Gardens of *Balsamum*, the best that the world had called *Opobalsamum*: the most part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queene of *Egypt* sent for out of *Judas*; and *Herod* who either feared or loued *Antiochus* her husband, caused them to be rooted vp and presented vnto her: which shee replanted neare *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This Citie was first taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of *Judas*: and one of the *Presidencies* thereof.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land; and among them *Iezrael*; not that which was the Citie of *Nabob*, of which already: but another of the same name, the Citie of *Achim*, the wife of *Dauid*, the mother of that *Ammon*, whom *Abisalam* slew: also as some thinke the Citie of *Amasa*, *Abisalam*s Lieutenant, and the commander of his Armie. But this seemeth to bee an error grounded vpon the nearnesse of the wordes, *Israel* and *Iezrael*: and because the 2. *Sam. 17. 25*. *Amasa*s father is called a *Israelite*, who first of the *Chron. 2. 17*. is called an *Ismaelite*: indeede the *Hebrew* Orthographie sheweth that *Amasa*s father is not said to be of the Citie *Iezrael*, but an *Israelite* in Religion, though other wise an *Ismaelite*.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills or Mountaines, as those of *Engaddi* vpon the Dead Sea: and the Mountaines of *Juda*, which beginne to rise by *Emau*, and end neare *Taphna*, and these part *Juda* from *Ben* and *Simcon*. Of others which stand lingere there is that of *Hiebron*: at the foote whereof was that Oake of *Mambre* where the three *Angells* appeared to *Abraham*, which *S. Hierome* calleth a Fir tree; and saith that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountaine called *Collis Achille*, on the South side of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the old Citie, erected by *Ionathas Macchabaus*, and called *Masada*, garnished it with seuen and twentie high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundred thousand men: being as it seemeth a place vnaccessable, and of incomparable strength.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Sea, or the Lake *Asphaltitis*, this Countrey so had foure Cities, *Adama*, *Sodon*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorrah*, destroyed with fire from Heauen for their vnnatural finnes.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF REUBEN
and his Borderers.

†. I.

The seats and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon,
part whereof the Reubenites wanne from SEIRON King
of Hesbon.



N the other side of the Dead Sea, Reuben the eldest of Jacobs Sonnes inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount Sina 46000. who dying with the rest in the *Desarts*, there remained to possesse the Land promised 43700. bearing armes. But before wee speake of these or the rest that inhabited the east side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first wee are to remember that out of *Abrahams* kindred came many mightie Families: as by *Isaac* and *Jacob* the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Jewes*: by *Esau* or *Edom* the *Idumeans*: by *Ismael* the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites*: and by *Keturah* his last wife the *Midianites*. And againe by *Lot*, *Abrahams* brothers sonne, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: all which being but strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly posselt by the *Canaanites*, and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliances of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adioyning.

Esau and his sonnes held *Idumea*: which bounded *Canaan* on the South. *Ismael* tooke from the South-east part of the Dead Sea: stretching his possession over all *Arabia Petrea*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Desart*, as farre as the Riuer of *Tigris*, from *Sur* to *Hanileh*.

Moab tooke the rest of the coast of the Dead Sea, leauing a part to *Midian*: and passing ouer *Arnon*, inhabited the plaines betweene *Jordan* and the Hills of *Abarim* or *Arnon*, as farre North as *Essebon*, or *Chesbon*.

Ammon fate downe on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and posselt the Tract from *Rabbah* afterward *Philadelphus*, both within the Mountaines of *Gilhead*, and without them as farre forth as *Arroer*, though in *Moses* time hee had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thrust him ouer the Riuer of *Iaboc*, as they had done *Moab* ouer *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundrie parts of *Canaan*, for the border betweene the Riuer of *Iaboc* and *Damascus* was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territorie on the East side of *Jordan*, and on the East side of the Dead Sea, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and halfe *Manasse*: whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first posselt by the *Emims* a Nation of Giants weakened and broken by *Chedorlahomer*, after expelled by the *Moabites*, as before remembered. That which the *Ammonites* held was the Territorie and ancient possession of the *Zamezammims* or *Zurei*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlahomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest: and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is written that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be understood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancestor beaten the *Moabites* out of the plaine Countries, betweene *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driuen them thence from *Hesbon* ouer *Arnon*, and this happened not long before

CHAP. 10. §. 4. 1. 2. of the Historie of the World.

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before *Moses* arrivall vpon that border, when *Reuben* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the sonne of *Reuben*, but his name was *Belac* the sonne of *Zippor*. And it may be that those Kings were electuie, as the *Edumians* anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab* betwene *Arnon* and *Iordan*, as farre North as *Essebon* was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrived there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Seben*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreu*: and therefore did *Iephthah* the Iudge of *Israel* iustly defend the regaining of those Countreies against the claime of the *Ammonites*: because (as he alleged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab* or *Ammon*: who (saith *Iephthah*) had three hundred yeares time to recover them, and did not: whence hee inferreth that they ought not to claime them now.

And least any should marvaile why the *Ammonites* in *Iephthah* his time should make claime to these Countreies: whereas *Moses* in the place *Numb. 21. vers. 26.* rather accounts them to have bene the ancient possession of the *Moabites* then of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted that *Dent. 3. 11.* when it is said that the yron bed of *Og* was to be seene at *Rabbath*, the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possessed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sebon* was from the *Moabites*.

20 And as the *Canaanite* Nations were seated so confusedly together that it was hard to distinguish them: so also were the sonnes of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Ashdod*, and *Israel*. Yet the reason seemeth plaine enough why *Ammon* commended in chiefe, in *Iephthah* time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Soueraigntie: and againe that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely within the Mountaines of *Gadgad*, or *Gilead*, and as farre South as *Arroer* belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then sought to recover it againe. Yet at such time as *Moses* overthrew *Sebon* at *Iabac*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Ammonites*, all that part of their possession which lay about *Arroer*, and betwene it and *Iaboc*: *Sebon* and *Og* two Kings of the *Ammonites* having dispianted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of *Numb. 21. 24.* that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sebon* from *Arnon* vnto *Iaboc*, even vnto the children of *Ammon*, so as at this time the River of *Iaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon*, within the Mountaines, when as anciently they had also possessions ouer *Iaboc* which at length the *Gadites* possesed, as in the thirteenth chapter of *Iosua vers. 25.* it appeares.

1683. 1685. 1687. 1689. 1691. 1693. 1695. 1697. 1699. 1701. 1703. 1705. 1707. 1709. 1711. 1713. 1715. 1717. 1719. 1721. 1723. 1725. 1727. 1729. 1731. 1733. 1735. 1737. 1739. 1741. 1743. 1745. 1747. 1749. 1751. 1753. 1755. 1757. 1759. 1761. 1763. 1765. 1767. 1769. 1771. 1773. 1775. 1777. 1779. 1781. 1783. 1785. 1787. 1789. 1791. 1793. 1795. 1797. 1799. 1801. 1803. 1805. 1807. 1809. 1811. 1813. 1815. 1817. 1819. 1821. 1823. 1825. 1827. 1829. 1831. 1833. 1835. 1837. 1839. 1841. 1843. 1845. 1847. 1849. 1851. 1853. 1855. 1857. 1859. 1861. 1863. 1865. 1867. 1869. 1871. 1873. 1875. 1877. 1879. 1881. 1883. 1885. 1887. 1889. 1891. 1893. 1895. 1897. 1899. 1901. 1903. 1905. 1907. 1909. 1911. 1913. 1915. 1917. 1919. 1921. 1923. 1925. 1927. 1929. 1931. 1933. 1935. 1937. 1939. 1941. 1943. 1945. 1947. 1949. 1951. 1953. 1955. 1957. 1959. 1961. 1963. 1965. 1967. 1969. 1971. 1973. 1975. 1977. 1979. 1981. 1983. 1985. 1987. 1989. 1991. 1993. 1995. 1997. 1999. 2001. 2003. 2005. 2007. 2009. 2011. 2013. 2015. 2017. 2019. 2021. 2023. 2025. 2027. 2029. 2031. 2033. 2035. 2037. 2039. 2041. 2043. 2045. 2047. 2049. 2051. 2053. 2055. 2057. 2059. 2061. 2063. 2065. 2067. 2069. 2071. 2073. 2075. 2077. 2079. 2081. 2083. 2085. 2087. 2089. 2091. 2093. 2095. 2097. 2099. 2101. 2103. 2105. 2107. 2109. 2111. 2113. 2115. 2117. 2119. 2121. 2123. 2125. 2127. 2129. 2131. 2133. 2135. 2137. 2139. 2141. 2143. 2145. 2147. 2149. 2151. 2153. 2155. 2157. 2159. 2161. 2163. 2165. 2167. 2169. 2171. 2173. 2175. 2177. 2179. 2181. 2183. 2185. 2187. 2189. 2191. 2193. 2195. 2197. 2199. 2201. 2203. 2205. 2207. 2209. 2211. 2213. 2215. 2217. 2219. 2221. 2223. 2225. 2227. 2229. 2231. 2233. 2235. 2237. 2239. 2241. 2243. 2245. 2247. 2249. 2251. 2253. 2255. 2257. 2259. 2261. 2263. 2265. 2267. 2269. 2271. 2273. 2275. 2277. 2279. 2281. 2283. 2285. 2287. 2289. 2291. 2293. 2295. 2297. 2299. 2301. 2303. 2305. 2307. 2309. 2311. 2313. 2315. 2317. 2319. 2321. 2323. 2325. 2327. 2329. 2331. 2333. 2335. 2337. 2339. 2341. 2343. 2345. 2347. 2349. 2351. 2353. 2355. 2357. 2359. 2361. 2363. 2365. 2367. 2369. 2371. 2373. 2375. 2377. 2379. 2381. 2383. 2385. 2387. 2389. 2391. 2393. 2395. 2397. 2399. 2401. 2403. 2405. 2407. 2409. 2411. 2413. 2415. 2417. 2419. 2421. 2423. 2425. 2427. 2429. 2431. 2433. 2435. 2437. 2439. 2441. 2443. 2445. 2447. 2449. 2451. 2453. 2455. 2457. 2459. 2461. 2463. 2465. 2467. 2469. 2471. 2473. 2475. 2477. 2479. 2481. 2483. 2485. 2487. 2489. 2491. 2493. 2495. 2497. 2499. 2501. 2503. 2505. 2507. 2509. 2511. 2513. 2515. 2517. 2519. 2521. 2523. 2525. 2527. 2529. 2531. 2533. 2535. 2537. 2539. 2541. 2543. 2545. 2547. 2549. 2551. 2553. 2555. 2557. 2559. 2561. 2563. 2565. 2567. 2569. 2571. 2573. 2575. 2577. 2579. 2581. 2583. 2585. 2587. 2589. 2591. 2593. 2595. 2597. 2599. 2601. 2603. 2605. 2607. 2609. 2611. 2613. 2615. 2617. 2619. 2621. 2623. 2625. 2627. 2629. 2631. 2633. 2635. 2637. 2639. 2641. 2643. 2645. 2647. 2649. 2651. 2653. 2655. 2657. 2659. 2661. 2663. 2665. 2667. 2669. 2671. 2673. 2675. 2677. 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3011. 3013. 3015. 3017. 3019. 3021. 3023. 3025. 3027. 3029. 3031. 3033. 3035. 3037. 3039. 3041. 3043. 3045. 3047. 3049. 3051. 3053. 3055. 3057. 3059. 3061. 3063. 3065. 3067. 3069. 3071. 3073. 3075. 3077. 3079. 3081. 3083. 3085. 3087. 3089. 3091. 3093. 3095. 3097. 3099. 3101. 3103. 3105. 3107. 3109. 3111. 3113. 3115. 3117. 3119. 3121. 3123. 3125. 3127. 3129. 3131. 3133. 3135. 3137. 3139. 3141. 3143. 3145. 3147. 3149. 3151. 3153. 3155. 3157. 3159. 3161. 3163. 3165. 3167. 3169. 3171. 3173. 3175. 3177. 3179. 3181. 3183. 3185. 3187. 3189. 3191. 3193. 3195. 3197. 3199. 3201. 3203. 3205. 3207. 3209. 3211. 3213. 3215. 3217. 3219. 3221. 3223. 3225. 3227. 3229. 3231. 3233. 3235. 3237. 3239. 3241. 3243. 3245. 3247. 3249. 3251. 3253. 3255. 3257. 3259. 3261. 3263. 3265. 3267. 3269. 3271. 3273. 3275. 3277. 3279. 3281. 3283. 3285. 3287. 3289. 3291. 3293. 3295. 3297. 3299. 3301. 3303. 3305. 3307. 3309. 3311. 3313. 3315. 3317. 3319. 3321. 3323. 3325. 3327. 3329. 3331. 3333. 3335. 3337. 3339. 3341. 3343. 3345. 3347. 3349. 3351. 3353. 3355. 3357. 3359. 3361. 3363. 3365. 3367. 3369. 3371. 3373. 3375. 3377. 3379. 3381. 3383. 3385. 3387. 3389. 3391. 3393. 3395. 3397. 3399. 3401. 3403. 3405. 3407. 3409. 3411. 3413. 3415. 3417. 3419. 3421. 3423. 3425. 3427. 3429. 3431. 3433. 3435. 3437. 3439. 3441. 3443. 3445. 3447. 3449. 3451. 3453. 3455. 3457. 3459. 3461. 3463. 3465. 3467. 3469. 3471. 3473. 3475. 3477. 3479. 3481. 3483. 3485. 3487. 3489. 3491. 3493. 3495. 3497. 3499. 3501. 3503. 3505. 3507. 3509. 3511. 3513. 3515. 3517. 3519. 3521. 3523. 3525. 3527. 3529. 3531. 3533. 3535. 3537. 3539. 3541. 3543. 3545. 3547. 3549. 3551. 3553. 3555. 3557. 3559. 3561. 3563. 3565. 3567. 3569. 3571. 3573. 3575. 3577. 3579. 3581. 3583. 3585. 3587. 3589. 3591. 3593. 3595. 3597. 3599. 3601. 3603. 3605. 3607. 3609. 3611. 3613. 3615. 3617. 3619. 3621. 3623. 3625. 3627. 3629. 3631. 3633. 3635. 3637. 3639. 3641. 3643. 3645. 3647. 3649. 3651. 3653. 3655. 3657. 3659. 3661. 3663. 3665. 3667. 3669. 3671. 3673. 3675. 3677. 3679. 3681. 3683. 3685. 3687. 3689. 3691. 3693. 3695. 3697. 3699. 3701. 3703. 3705. 3707. 3709. 3711. 3713. 3715. 3717. 3719. 3721. 3723. 3725. 3727. 3729. 3731. 3733. 3735. 3737. 3739. 3741. 3743. 3745. 3747. 3749. 3751. 3753. 3755. 3757. 3759. 3761. 3763. 3765. 3767. 3769. 3771. 3773. 3775. 3777. 3779. 3781. 3783. 3785. 3787. 3789. 3791. 3793. 3795. 3797. 3799. 3801. 3803. 3805. 3807. 3809. 3811. 3813. 3815. 3817. 3819. 3821. 3823. 3825. 3827. 3829. 3831. 3833. 3835. 3837. 3839. 3841. 3843. 3845. 3847. 3849. 3851. 3853. 3855. 3857. 3859. 3861. 3863. 3865. 3867. 3869. 3871. 3873. 3875. 3877. 3879. 3881. 3883. 3885. 3887. 3889. 3891. 3893. 3895. 3897. 3899. 3901. 3903. 3905. 3907. 3909. 3911. 3913. 3915. 3917. 3919. 3921. 3923. 3925. 3927. 3929. 3931. 3933. 3935. 3937. 3939. 3941. 3943. 3945. 3947. 3949. 3951. 3953. 3955. 3957. 3959. 3961. 3963. 3965. 3967. 3969. 3971. 3973. 3975. 3977. 3979. 3981. 3983. 3985. 3987. 3989. 3991. 3993. 3995. 3997. 3999. 4001. 4003. 4005. 4007. 4009. 4011. 4013. 4015. 4017. 4019. 4021. 4023. 4025. 4027. 4029. 4031. 4033. 4035. 4037. 4039. 4041. 4043. 4045. 4047. 4049. 4051. 4053. 4055. 4057. 4059. 4061. 4063. 4065. 4067. 4069. 4071. 4073. 4075. 4077. 4079. 4081. 4083. 4085. 4087. 4089. 4091. 4093. 4095. 4097. 4099. 4101. 4103. 4105. 4107. 4109. 4111. 4113. 4115. 4117. 4119. 4121. 4123. 4125. 4127. 4129. 4131. 4133. 4135. 4137. 4139. 4141. 4143. 4145. 4147. 4149. 4151. 4153. 4155. 4157. 4159. 4161. 4163. 4165. 4167. 4169. 4171. 4173. 4175. 4177. 4179. 4181. 4183. 4185. 4187. 4189. 4191. 4193. 4195. 4197. 4199. 4201. 4203. 4205. 4207. 4209. 4211. 4213. 4215. 4217. 4219. 4221. 4223. 4225. 4227. 4229. 4231. 4233. 4235. 4237. 4239. 4241. 4243. 4245. 4247. 4249. 4251. 4253. 4255. 4257. 4259. 4261. 4263. 4265. 4267. 4269. 4271. 4273. 4275. 4277. 4279. 4281. 4283. 4285. 4287. 4289. 4291. 4293. 4295. 4297. 4299. 4301. 4303. 4305. 4307. 4309. 4311. 4313. 4315. 4317. 4319. 4321. 4323. 4325. 4327. 4329. 4331. 4333. 4335. 4337. 4339. 4341. 4343. 4345. 4347. 4349. 4351. 4353. 4355. 4357. 4359. 4361. 4363. 4365. 4367. 4369. 4371. 4373. 4375. 4377. 4379. 4381. 4383. 4385. 4387. 4389. 4391. 4393. 4395. 4397. 4399. 4401. 4403. 4405. 4407. 4409. 4411. 4413. 4415. 4417. 4419. 4421. 4423. 4425. 4427. 4429. 4431. 4433. 4435. 4437. 4439. 4441. 4443. 4445. 4447. 4449. 4451. 4453. 4455. 4457. 4459. 4461. 4463. 4465. 4467. 4469. 4471. 4473. 4475. 4477. 4479. 4481. 4483. 4485. 4487. 4489. 4491. 4493. 4495. 4497. 4499. 4501. 4503. 4505. 4507. 4509. 4511. 4513. 4515. 4517. 4519. 4521. 4523. 4525. 4527. 4529. 4531. 4533. 4535. 4537. 4539. 4541. 4543. 4545. 4547. 4549. 4551. 4553. 4555. 4557. 4559. 4561. 4563. 4565. 4567. 4569. 4571. 4573. 4575. 4577. 4579. 4581. 4583. 4585. 4587. 4589. 4591. 4593. 4595. 4597. 4599. 4601. 4603. 4605. 4607. 4609. 4611. 4613. 4615. 4617. 4619. 4621. 4623. 4625. 4627. 4629. 4631. 4633. 4635. 4637. 4639. 4641. 4643. 4645. 4647. 4649. 4651. 4653. 4655. 4657. 4659. 4661. 4663. 4665. 4667. 4669. 4671. 4673. 4675. 4677. 4679. 4681. 4683. 4685. 4687. 4689. 4691. 4693. 4695. 4697. 4699. 4701. 4703. 4705. 4707. 4709. 4711. 4713. 4715. 4717. 4719. 4721. 4723. 4725. 4727. 4729. 4731. 4733. 4735. 4737. 4739. 4741. 4743. 4745. 4747. 4749. 4751. 4753. 4755. 4757. 4759. 4761. 4763. 4765. 4767. 4769. 4771. 4773. 4775. 4777. 4779. 4781. 4783. 4785. 4787. 4789. 4791. 4793. 4795. 4797. 4799. 4801. 4803. 4805. 4807. 4809. 4811. 4813. 4815. 4817. 4819. 4821. 4823. 4825. 4827. 4829. 4831. 4833. 4835. 4837. 4839. 4841. 4843. 4845. 4847. 4849. 4851. 4853. 4855. 4857. 4859. 4861. 4863. 4865. 4867. 4869. 4871. 4873. 4875. 4877. 4879. 4881. 4883. 4885. 4887. 4889. 4891. 4893. 4895. 4897. 4899. 4901. 4903. 4905. 4907. 4909. 4911. 4913. 4915. 4917. 4919. 4921. 4923. 4925. 4927. 4929. 4931. 4933. 4935. 4937. 4939. 4941. 4943. 4945. 4947. 4949. 4951. 4953. 4955. 4957. 4959. 4961. 4963. 4965. 4967. 4969. 4971. 4973. 4975. 4977. 4979. 4981. 4983. 4985. 4987. 4989. 4991. 4993. 4995. 4997. 4999. 5001. 5003. 5005. 5007. 5009. 5011. 5013. 5015. 5017. 5019. 5021. 5023. 5025. 5027. 5029. 5031. 5033. 5035. 5037. 5039. 5041. 5043. 5045. 5047. 5049. 5051. 5053. 5055. 5057. 5059. 5061. 5063. 5065. 5067. 5069. 5071. 5073. 5075. 5077. 5079. 5081. 5083. 5085. 5087. 5089. 5091. 5093. 5095. 5097. 5099. 5101. 5103. 5105. 5107. 5109. 5111. 5113. 5115. 5117. 5119. 5121. 5123. 5125. 5127. 5129. 5131. 5133. 5135. 5137. 5139. 5141. 5143. 5145. 5147. 5149. 5151. 5153. 5155. 5157. 5159. 5161. 5163. 5

Isop. 17. ent. 6. 9
 & Hieron. in
 quesh. Hebr. in
 Gen.

Art. 1. 3.

Isop. 13. ent. 6. 9
 14. & 15. ent. 6. 9
 10. & 11. ent. 6. 9
 Isop. 11. ent. 6. 9
 7. & 8. ent. 6. 9

Diet. 4. 43.
 Isop. 10. 8.
 Hieron. in Gen.
 Hieron. in Lev. 10.

Numb. 35. 1.

Isop. 1. 1.

Diet. 34. 1.

* The same as
 is it seems which
 Num. 31. 30 is
 called *Mediana*
 whence we read
 of the plaine of *Me-
 diana*. 1. 1. v. 9.
 16. of which al-
 so we read in the
 warres of
 David against
 H. Num. the Am-
 monites. 1. 1. v. 9.
 19. 7. Also 1.
 2. v. 36.
 1. v. 16. a.
 See before, 5
 7.

Isop. 1. 28.
 Ind. 7. 44.
 Isop. 1. 47.

Numb. 35. 1.
 Exod. 34. 10.

which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water, all which soone after their rising, being ioyned in one streame, doe make a very wholesome bath, especially for all contractions of sinewes: to which *Hierod* the elder, when hee was desperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others say that these Springs arise out of the hills of *Macherus* in this Tribe. The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenies*; and in *Penn*, called the *Baths of the Ingas* or *Kings*. The other town is *Macherus* the next between *Lafa* and *Jordan*: of all that part of the world the strongest In-land Citie and Castle, standing vpon a mountaine euery way vnaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Ianneus*, who made it a frontier against the *Arabians*: but it was demolished by *Gabinus*, in the warre with *Aristobulus*, saith *Iosephus*. It was thither (saith *Iosephus*) that *Hierod* sent *Iohn Baptist*, and wherein hee was slaine: his armie soone after being vterly overthrowne by *Aretas* king of *Arabia*, and himselfe after this murder neuer prospering. Not farre from *Macherus* was *Bozor* or *Bozra*, a towne of refuge, and belonging to the *Leuites*, and neere it *Linias* vpon *Jordan*, which *Hierod* built in honour of *Linia* the mother of *Tiberius Caesar*.

To the north of *Linias* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*: where the children of *Israel* embraced the daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*: and where *Phineas* pierced the bodie of *Zimri* and *Cossi* with his speare bringing due vengeance vpon them, when they were in the midst of their sinne: and from hence *Iosua* sent the Discoverers to view *Ierico* slaying here vntill hee went ouer *Jordan*. As for the Torrent *Setim*, which in this place *Atrichomus* dreames of, reading *Isa. 18. irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum*: and *Iunius vallem cedrorum*: expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*: but for the *Chureb*, in which the iust being placed, grow as the *Cedars*, as it is *Psal. 92. 13*.

The plaine Country hereabout by *Moses* called *The Plaines of Moab*, where he expounded the Booke of *Deuteronomy* to the people, a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same booke precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South it had the great *Desart of Paran*: where they had long wandered. On the East it had *Chasirath*, and *Dizahab* (of which two the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolemy* in *30 Palaestina*, the later was a Tract belonging to the *Nabathais* in *Arabia Petraea*, where was * *Mezahab*, of which *Gen. 36. 39.*) by the Geographers called *Medana* and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Jordan*: and on the North it had *Laban* (in *Iunius* Edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban Deuteron. 1. 1.*) the same which the Geographers call *Libanis*: and some confound it with *Linias*, of which euery now wee spake.

Also on the same North side towards the confines of *Calefyria*, it had *Thobel*: whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Calefyria* stood: which was in the region of *Decapolis*, and as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called *Battis*. It is also noted in *Moses* to be ouer against or neere vnto *Saph*, for which the vulgar hath the red Sea, as also *Numb. 2. 14* it translateth the word *Saphah* in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy* there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to signifie the Sea: yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, vltch the addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the region of *Saph* or *Saphah*: which doubtlesse was about these Plains of *Moab* towards the dead Sea: where the Country being full of reedes, was therefore thus called: as also the red Sea was called *Mare Saph*, for like reason.

The place in these large plaines of *Moab*, where *Moses* made those diuine exhortations, some say was *Bethabara* where *Iohn* baptized, which in the Storice of *Edem* is called *Beth-barra*. *Iosephus* saies it was where after the Citie *Alula* stood, neere *Bozra*, in a place set with palme trees: which sure was the same as *Abel-sittim* in the Plains of *Moab*, *Numb. 33. 49.* (that some call *Abel-sathaim* and *Bel-sathim*) which is reckoned by *Moses* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42. and last place of the *Israelites* incamping in the time of *Moses*: T his place is also called *Sittim*: which word if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from *Cedars*, than from *Thornes*, with

Atrichomus

Abrichomus and others. It was the wood of which the Arke of the Tabernacle was made.

Toward the East of these plaines of *Moab*, they place the Cities *Nabo*, *Basal*, *Moon*, *Sibma*, and *Hebron* the chief Citie of *Schon*, and *Elhabel*, and *Kiribhama* the seat of the Giants *Emm*. Of the two first of these *Moses* seems to give a note that the names were to be changed: because they talked of the *Moabites* * *Idolatrie*. For *Nabo* (in stead of which *Iunius* *Epifanius* reads *Denn vaticinius*) was the name of their Idol-Oracle, and *Basal* is the habitation of *Basal*. Of the same Idoll was the Hill *Nabo* in these parts denominated: from whose top, which the common Translators call *Phasgab*, *Moses* before his death saw all the Land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which storie *Iunius* doth not take *Phasgab* or *Pisgab*, for any proper name: but for an appellative, signifying a Hill: and so also *Vatallus* in some places; as *Num. 21. 20* where he noteth that some call *Pisgab* that top which looketh to *Sericho*, and *Heir* as it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of a Citie of *Reuben* mentioned *Ios. 13. 20*. called *Asphoth-Pisga*, which is as much as *decurfus Pisga*: to wit, where the waters did runne downe from *Pisga*. In the same place of *Iosus* there is also named *Beth-peor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: so called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence also *had* the Idoll was called *Basal-Peor*, which they say was the same as *Prisus*: the chief place of whose worship seems to have beene
20 *Bamah-Bahal*, of which also *Ios. 13.* in the Cities of *Reuben*: for which *Num. 22. 41.* they read the high places of *Basal* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Balaam* first brought *Balaam* to curse the *Israelites*.

†. III.

Of divers places bordering *Reuben* belonging to *Midian*, *Moab* or *Edom*.

30 There were besides these divers places of note ouer *Arnon*, which adioyned to *Reuben*: amongst which they place *Gallim*, the Citie of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* 1. Sam. 25. 28 gave his Daughter *Michol* from *David*: but *Iunius* thinks this Towne to be in *Beniamin*: gathering so much out of *Ezra* 10. vers. 29. where it is named amongst the Cities of *Beniamin*. With better reason perhaps out of *Num. 21. 2. 19.* we may say that *Mathana* and *Nahabel* were in these confines of *Reuben*: through which places the *Israelites* past after they had left the Well called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim* which the Prophet *Eremitie* threatneth with the rest of the Cities of *Moab*.

Midian also is found in these parts, the chief Citie of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: 40 but not that *Midian* or *Madian* by the Red Sea; wherem *Iethro* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations, of which these of *Moab* became Idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the plaines of *Moab*: at such time as *Israel* beganne to accompanie their Daughters: their five Kings with *Balaam* the South-lair were then slaine: and their Regall Citie with the rest destroyed. The other *Madianites* ouer whom *Iethro* was Prince, or Priest, forgate not the God of *Abraham*, their Ancestor, but relieved and assisted the *Israelites* in their painefull traualles, through the *Deserts*: and were in all that passage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adioyning to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the chief Citie of *Edom*, there is 50 that *Petra* which in the Scriptures is called *Sela*, which is as much as *rupe* or *petra*. It was also called *Iothbed*, as appeares by the place 2. Reg. 14. It was built (saith *Iosephus*) by *Reem*, one of those five Kings of the *Madianites* slaine as before is said: after whom it was called *Reem*. Now they say it is called *Crae* and *Mozera*.

The *Soldans* of *Egypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the first and strongest Citie: the same perhaps which *Plinie* and *Strabo* call *Nebathea*, whence also the Province adjoining tooke name: which name seems to have been taken at first from *Nabaioth* the sonne of *Abraham* by *Kethura*. For *Nabathea* is no where understood for all *Arabia Petraea*, (at least where it is not misunderstood) but it is that Province which neighboureth *India*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ismael*, whose people *Ptolemie* calleth *Pharanites*, in fteede of *Ismaelites*, and all those Territories of the *Cusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumeans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hue*, *Sin*, and of *Os*. *Arabia* the *Desart* belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles* the fifth calleth *Hagarims* of *Hagar*.

This Citie *Petra*, *Scarus* besieged with the *Romane* Armie; and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content by the perswasion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of money, and to quit it. Yet *Amasis* King of *Inda* (after he had slaughtered 10000. of the *Arabians* in the Valley called *Salinarum*) wanne also this Citie. *S. Hierame* finds *Ruth* the *Moabite* to be naturall of this Citie. In the time when the *Christians* held the Kingdom of *Hierusalem*, it had a *Latine Bishop*, having before benee vnder the *Greeke Church*. It is seated not farre from *Hor* where *Avon* died, and on the other side towards the North is the Ruer of *Zared* or *Zered*, by which 20 *Moses* incamped in the 38. Station. *Adrichome* describeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not farre hence, and betwene *Zared* and *Arnon*: and so dotheth the Valley of *Sauc*: but the waters of *Nimra* or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seems *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh the plaines of *Moab*: 2 and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Sauc* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and vnder *Midien*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Sauc*, or *Shaub*, which is the Kings Dale, where *Abraham* set vp his Monument, as it seems, not farre from *Hierusalem*. And at the same time *Melchizedec* King of *Salem* also incountried him. But *Abraham* comming 30 from the North, and *Melchizedec* inhabiting, either neare *Bethsan* otherwise *Scythopolis* in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Hierusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Jordan*) could not incountrier each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Sauc* which was also called the Kings Dale, could not be in these parts.

†. IIIL.
Of the Dead Sea.

Now because the Sea of *Sodom* or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of *Asphaltus*, and the salt Sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tiberius* which was fresh water) also the Sea of the Wildernesse, or rather the Sea * of the plaines, is often remembred in the Scriptures, and in this storie also, therefore I thinke it not impertinent, to speake somewhat thereof. For it is like vnto the *Caspian* Sea, which hath no out-let or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Iosephus* makes 180. furlongs (which make two and twentie miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth which make eighteene of our miles and somewhat more. *Plinie* makes it a great deale lesse. But those that haue of late years seene this Sea, did account it (saith a *Weissburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirtie of ours) in length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus est immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruption, granulato odoris accolis pestifer: neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suetus aquis volucres patitur, incertum unde superiecta vit solido feruntur periti imperitij, nandi perinde at* *Moab* *Deut.* 34. 1. as also we haue *Crysalis* in *Harbath*, that is in the plaines, to wit of *Zabulon*. *1. Mac.* 5. *Adrichomius* imagines a City in *Zabulon* called *Araba*. a *Deut.* 34. 1. *scribitur*

* So *Iakin* resides for the *Hebrew* *Harbat* both euery where, and so also the edition of *Pateblus* *Druet.* 3. 17. though *Deut.* 4. 49. it hath more *solimudum* as also *1. Reg.* 14. 25. the real'm of this name seems to bee because it becometh the plaines of *Moab* which are called *Harbath* 9. 2. whence

solimudum

collantur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taste: of small infectious, and pestilent to the borders. It is neither moued nor raised by the winde: nor induceth fish to line in it, or fowle to swimme in it. *These things that are cast into it, and the* *upskilfull of swimming, as well as the skilfull, are borne up by this water.* At one time of the yeare it casteth vp *Bitumen*: the art of gathering which Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is vsed in the trimming of ships, and the like busineses.

And then of the Land, hee speaketh in this sort: The fields not farre from this Lake, which were sometime fruitfull and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning: of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a sad face as hauing lost her fruitfulness: for what sower doth either grow or is set thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripeness haue nothing within them, but moulder into ashes: Thus farre *Tactius*. And it is found by experience, that those Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe full grow on the banks of this cursed Lake, doe looke faire and are of good colour on the outside, but being cut haue nothing but dust within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake casteth vp, it was by the *Greekes* called *Asphaltitis*. *Vespaian* desirous to bee satisfied of these reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certaine Captiues to be cast into it, who were not only vnskilfull in swimming, but had their hands also bound behind them, and notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sinke.

†. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Countrie within Arnon Reuben possesse.

OF the Kings of Moab, whose Countrie (within Arnon) Reuben possesse (though not taken from Moab but from *Sehon* the Amorite) few are knowne. *Iustus* in the 21. of *Numbers* verse 14 nameth *Vahab*, which seemeth to bee the Ancestor or Predecessor of *Balaam*, the sonne of *Zippor*: which *Balaam* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. Forbearing to contend with *Moses* by armes by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, hee hoped by the helpe of *Balaams* curlings or inchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first moued by the Spirit of God, blest *Israel* contrarie to the hope and desire of *Moab*: yet being desirous in some sort to satisfie him, and to doe him seruice, he aduised *Moab* to send *Madianitis* Women among the *Israelites*: hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the Heathen: but in the end hee receiued the reward of his falling from God, and of his euill counsaile, and was slaine among the rest of the Princes of *Median*.

After these times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named: hauing that we finde in the first of *Chro.* the fourth, that *Iokim*, and the men of *Chosech*, and *Iasph*, and *Sareph*, all being of the issue of *Iuda*, sometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the same Verse, *These also are ancient things*: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens Governments are no where extant or remaining: or as others, *hac prius fuer*; these Families of *Iuda* were once thus famous: but now their posteritie chuse rather to abide in *Babylon*, and bee Clay-workers to the King there.

Then we finde *Egion* King of *Moab*, who with the helpe of *Amimon*, and *Amalek*, mastered *Israel* and commanded them eightene yeares: which *Egion*, *Ehud* slew in his owne house, and afterward 10000. of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had vnto whom *David* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appeare: or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made *Warre*, it is not manifest, for neither are na-

1. Sam. 14.

2. Sam. 8.

1. Chron. 18.

2. Sam. 10.

2. Sam. 10.

2. Reg. 3.

2. Chron. 30.

Hierem. 37.

med. But in respect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to *Saul*, he received *David*, and relieved him: knowing that *Saul* fought his life.

After this, *David* himselfe entered the Region of *Moab*, but not likely in the same Kings time: for he slaughtered two parts of the people; and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was said of *DAVID*. *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my shoe*: meaning that he would reduce them to such an abjection, and appoint them for base seruice: And that he would tread downe the *Idumaeans*.

The next King after *David*'s time, of the *Moabites*, whose name lieth was *Mesha*: who falling from *Juda*, (perhaps in remembrance of the seruice of *David*), fastened himselfe to the Kings of *Israel*, and paid tribute to *Ahab* 100000. Lambs, and 200000. Rammes, with the wolle: who reuoluted againe from *Israel* after the death of *Ahab*, was invaded by *Iehoram*: with whom ioynded the Kings of *Juda* and *Idumea*: and being by these three Kings prest and broken, he fled to *Kir-hareseth*, as is else where shewed. There is also mention made of the *Moabites* without the Kings name: when that Nation, assisted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumaeans*, invaded *Iehoshaphat*: and by reason of some priuate quarrells among themselves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* set vpon the *Idumaeans*, and slaughtered them: and then one against another; so as *Iehoshaphat* had a notorious victorie ouer them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of *Hieremie* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab* which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Moab* many descents: for *Mesha* liued 20 with *Iehoram*, and this *Moabite* in *Zedekias* time, foureteen Kings of *Juda* comming betwene, who wasted three hundred and odd yeares.

V.

Of the memorable places of the *Gadites*, and the bordering places
of *Ammon*.

Gen. 30.

Num. 1. 34. 36.

2. Sam. 13.

2. Sam. 15.

Dent. 2.

THe Territorie adjoining to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which ioynded to the Mountaines, was sometime in the possession of the *Ammonites*, as farre to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad* the seuenth sonne of *Isaac* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the *Deserts* 45550. and of their sonnes there entered the Land promised 45000. bearing armes: from the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* the Riuer of *Jaboc* diuided them: from *Reuben* the Cities of *Heitron*, *Elhele*, and *Apher*.

The chiefe Citie of *Gad* was *Aroer*: which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Iunius*, attending diligently to those wordes of *Moses*, *Dent. 2. 36. Ab Harahero, qua est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & Cimitate ipsa qua est in flumine*; 3. Where the Citie in the Riuer is distinguished 40 from the Citie vpon the banke of the Riuer, (as also in like manner *Ios. 6. 12. v. 2. and 4. 13. v. 2.*) thinketh that *Haraher* which doubtlesse belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Num. 32. 34.* it is said that they built it) was indeede seated neare *Har* of the *Moabites*, but diuerse from it. For that *Har* was neuer possesed by *Moses*, it is plaine *Dent. 2. 9.* where God forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith he hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the sonnes of *Lot*. Now that this Citie, which in diuers places is said to be within and in the middle of the Riuer of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Haraher*, which is said in the same places to be on the banke of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*, the same *Iunius* proueth out of *Num. 21. 15.* where *Arnon* is said to bee diuided into diuers streames, where or among which *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Ios. 13. 25.* where *Haraher* is said to be seated before *Rabbath*: which *Rabbath*, as it seemes, can not be the *Rabbath* of the *Ammonites* (for they seate not *Haraher* near it, nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbath* here wee must vnderstand *Rabbath* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar* or *Har*: and so we must needs distinguish it from *Haraher*.

Iunius refers the name of the Citie *Rephan* 1. *Mach.* 37. of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching *Iulias* (according to *Iosephus* sometimes *Bataramphs*) the same *Iosephus* placeth it in the Region of *Peraa*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Peraa*, as the Greeke word signifieth, is no more than *Regio ulterior*, the Countie beyond the River; and therefore they which labour to set downe the bounds of this *Peraa* take more paines than needes. Fourteene Villages this *Iulias* had belonging vnto it, according to *Iosephus*. He makes it to haue bene built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Iulias* in honour of the adoption of *Linia*, *Augustus* his Wife, into the *Iulian* Familie: by which adoption shee was called *Iulia*. An other *Iulias*, he saith, was built by *Phelip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which hee saith is the same as *Bethsaïda*.

Vpon the Sea of *Galilee* neare to *Iulias* in *Peraa* (that is, in the Region ouer *Jordan*) they finde *Petrezabrah*, as it is called in *Iosephus*, for *Beth-zabab*, which is as much as *dimis hissepi*. Of a noble Woman of this Citie, which for safeguard in the time of War with the *Romanes*, came with many others into *Hierusalem*, and was there besieged, *Iosephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable Historie; how for hunger shee eate her owne child, with other Tragickall accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Ios.* 13. is placed with *Beth-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*) it is plaine by the storie of *Gedeon*, that it is neare vnto *Jordan*: where it is said, that as hee was past *Jordan* with his three hundred, wearie in the pursuit of *Zebab* and *Salmunah*, hee requested reliefe of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gedeons* returne were by him tortured, as it seemes vnder at the third *Carre* or *Tribulum*, betwene which and their flesh he put *Thornes* to teare their flesh as they were prest and trod vnder the *Tribulum*, and after which fort also *David* vsed some of the *Ammonites*, though not with *Thornes*, but with yron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such *Tabernacles* as were made in haste, either for Men or Cattle, *Moses* Gen. 33. 17. witnesseth that the original of the name was from such harbours, which *Isaac* in his returne from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: As also the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Rameses* in *Aegypt*, had their first *Tabernacles* or *Tents*: which they vsed after for tie yeares in the *Wildernesse*. In remembrance whereof, the Feast of *Succoth* or *Tabernacles* was instituted.

Other foure Cities of *Gad* are named *Ios.* 21. 38. *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaim*, *Cheshbon*, and *Iahzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* giuen to the *Leuites*, of which *Iahzer*, as *Cheshbon* or *Heibon* was a chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, whence *Nam.* 32. 1. his Countie is called the Land of *Iahzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, hauing first sent spie to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In later times (as it may be gathered by the prophetic of *Esaï*, touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Esaï* also *Hieremie* in a like prophetic alludes. It was at length re-gained (but as it seemes from the *Ammonites*) by *Isaac Machabaeus*: as it is 1. *Mac.* 5. 8. where *Iunius* out of *Iosephus* reads *Iahzer*, though the Greeke hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gözer* (as he gathereth out of *Iosua* 16. 3. & 8. and *Iud.* 1. 29.) was farre from these Countries of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, vntill *Solomons* time, for whom the King of *Aegypt* won it from the *Canaanites*, and gaue it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter.

Of *Cheshbon* it may be meruilled that in the place of *Iosua*, and 1. *Chron.* 6. 81. it should be said to haue bene giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Iosua* 13. v. 17 it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the *Reubenites*: *Atrichomius* and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Cashon* 1. *Macc.* 5. 36. among the Cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Isaac Machabaeus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Cashon* had bene the *Cheshbon* of *Gad*: and that of *Reuben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betwene *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gaue their part to the *Leuites*: for so also it seemeth that

Ant. 10. 11.

Ios. Ant. 18. 3.
& Beth. Iud. 2. 8.Ios. de Beth.
Iud. 4. 6.

Iud. 8. 5.

1. Sam. 13. 31.

Exod. 12. 37.

Leuit. 23. 43.

Num. 22. 32.

1. Chron. 27. 31.

Esaï. 6. 8.

Hierem. 48. 32.

that in like reason *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Manachaym*, which word signifieth a double Arnie, we reade *Genesis* 32. 2. that it was therefore so called, because the *Angells* of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another Hoast or companie, to ioyne with his for his defence: as also *Luke* 2. 13. we reade of a multitude of the Hoast of heaven, which appeared to the sheep-herds, at the time of our Saviours birth: and so vnto the Godly King *Oswald of Northumberland*, when he was soone after to ioyne battaile with the *Pagan Pends* of middle-England, when he was soone after to ioyne comfort appeared: whence the field where the battaile was fought in the North parts of England, is called *Heaven-field*. In this Citie of *Manachaym* *David* abode during the rebellion of *Abshalom*: and the same for the strength thereof *Abner* chose for the seat of *Ishboeth*, during the warre betwene *David* and the house of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Towne which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, we reade often in the Scripture, for the recouering of which King *Ahab* lost his life. *Ieremie* thinks that *Ramotha-Mispha*, of which *Iosiah* 13. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* were one to the other, as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witnessing heape, because of the heape of stones which *Laban* and his sonnes left for a monument; so also that it was called *Mispha*, which signifieth ouer-looking (because there they called God to ouer-see and be witness to their covenant) it is plaine by the place *Gen.* 31. 49. that in these parts there was not only a Towne, but likewise a Region called *Mispha*, it appeares *Ios.* 11. 3. where we reade of the *Chibinites* vnder *Hermom*, in the Countrie of *Mispha** the Towne of *Mispha*, as it seemes both by this place and in the eight verse following, being not in the Hill Countrie, but in the valley. But seeing that *Iephtha* the Iudge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whether his bretheren had driuen him) dwelt in this Towne of *Mispha*, who doubtlesse was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his bretheren, it may seeme that they did not well which place this Towne of *Mispha* rather in *Gad*, than in *Manasse*. By *Iudas Macchabeus* this Towne of *Mispha* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and all the males of it slaine: for it was then possit of the *Ammonites*.

Betwene *Suscho* (of which we haue spoken) and the Riuer *Iaboc* was that *Peniel* or *Penuel*, which name signifieth *Locus faciei Dei*; A place where the face of God was seene: so called for memorie of the *Angells* appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churifullnesse of which Citie, in refusing to relieue *Gedeon*, was the cause that in his returne he ouer-threw their Tower, and slew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To these places of the *Gadites*, they adde *Rogelim*, the Citie of that great and faithfull subiect *Burizai*, as it seemes, not farre from *Mahanaima*, where he sustained King *David*, during *Abshalom*'s rebellion. To these they adde the Townes of *Gadai*, *Arnor*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi* being in Hebrew no more then *Gaditis*, is ignorantly made a name of a place. *Arnor* also no where appeares to be the name of a Towne, but still of a Riuer. *Alimis* *Adrichomius* frames of in *Isidore*, 1. *Macc.* 5. 26. so that the name should rather be *Alenis*, but *Iunius* out of *Iosephus* reads *Malle*, for this in *Alimis*: and vnderstanding *Malle* to be put for *Mille*, and to beas much as *Manitis* (as we haue shewed touching the *Millo* of the *Schemites*) he takes this *Malle* to be *Mispha* *Moditarum*, of which 1. *Sam.* 22. 3. As for that *Mageb* which *Adrichomius* findes in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mabacath*, which *Moses* noeth to be as farre as the furthest of *Manasse* out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which 1. *Macc.* 5. 10. (which *Iunius* takes to be * *Rishma*, of which *Num.* 33. 18. a place of strength in the Territorie of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Minnith* and

50 *Abel vinearum*, though by some they be attributed to the *Gadites* or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we readen *Iephtha*'s pursuit of the *Ammonites*: seated as it seemes by that place of the booke of *Iudges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other in the East border, both farre remoued from the *Gadites*. But the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites* was nearer, and not farre from

* Of other townes of this name, see in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. *Iud.* 11. 36.

1. *Macc.* 5. 35.

Gen. 32. 30.

Iud. 8. 17.

1. *Sam.* 19. 33.

Deut. 3. 14.

16. 11. 5.

* The letters D

& R in the Hebrew

are very like so that one

is oft mistaken

for an other, &

frequently with-

out withstanding

one is put for

an other as for

Rekem 1. *cliv.*

7. we haue *Dathema*, *Gen.*

10. 4.

* Other names of this Citie according to Strabo were *Ammon* & *Astara* - but in this last perhaps he mistakes, which might seem to be the same *Astara*, one of the chief Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be spoke of *Manasse*, *Adriani* was also called *Pharagor*, because of the river labours winding about it, but in the place. *2 Sam. v. 27*. where he gathers this opinion, *Iustus* reads *intercepti* at *tribe agum*, *ipse* must read with others *repi* *urbem agnam*, yet it can not be taken of *Rabba* it selfe, but of some Fort adjoining a *Gen. 14.*

Deut. 3.

2 Sam. 12.

11. 17. 18.
12. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Pto.

Strabo. l. 16.

* *Trachon* is loci asper & felsibrosus: whence it appears that *Trachonitis* in these parts was properly the hill country. *Deut. 3. vers. 9.* *Here. 11.*

from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometime *Rabba* as *Deut. 3. 11.* but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that * *Philadelpia* which *Ptolome* findes in *Calestria*. *Hierome* and *Cassius* in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but as it seems neuer posselt by the *Israelites*, after the overthrow of *Og*, but lett to the *Ammonites*: whereupon at length it became the Regall seat of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zumzummites*: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickedness infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his ancestors: who having beene first beaten by the *Assyrians*, and their assistants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had beene) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* by the *Idumaei*. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom these Gyants were defended, contend with the Conquerors for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Heshbon* had disposelt *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan* the *Ammonites*, and betweene them recovered the best part of all the Valley, betweene the Mountaines and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba* or *Philadelpia*: And in the possession of the one or the other of these two, *Moses* and *Israel* found all those Cities and Countries, which were giuen to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450. yeares since that these *Zumzummites* or *Raphaim* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but hauing these two Kings of one kindred, and both valiant and vndertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Ammonites*, they recovered againe much of their lost possessions, and thruke the sonnes of *Lot* ouer the mountaines, and into the *Deserts*. And as the Kings or Captaines of *Persia* and *Assyria* (remembered in the 14. of *Genes*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*, so by that great conquest which *Moses* had ouer those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, take opportunity to looke back againe into those plaines: and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manassites* forsooke the worship of the liuing God, and became slouthfull and licentious, they taking the advantage invaded them, and cast them out of their possessions: and were sometime their masters, sometime their tributaries, as they pleased to or displeased God: and according to the wisdom and vertue of their Commanders.

In this Citie of *Rabba*, was the yron bed of *Og* found, nine cubites of length, and foure of breadth. The Citie was taken in *Dauid*s time, and the inhabitants slain with great seueritie, and by diuers torments. At the first assault thereof *Urias* was shot to death, hauing bene by direction from *Dauid* appointed to be employed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Armie perished: and wherein *Dauid* so displeased God, as his altaires had ill successe afterward, euen to his dying day. From hence had *Dauid* the waightie and rich crowne of gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* wore: or which as some expound it, was vsed to be set on the head of their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60 pound waight after the common talent. In the time of *Christians* it had a *Metropolitan* Bishop, and vnder him twelue others.

The Mountaines which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those which *Ptolome* calleth the hills of *Elippus*, a Citie of *Calestria*: and *Strabo* * *Trachones*: the same which continue from near *Damascus* vnto the *Deserts* of *Moab*: and recieue diuers names as commonly mountaines do, which neighbour and bound diuers Countries: For from the South part, as farre Northwards as *Asteroth* the chief Citie of *Og*, they are called *Galaad* or *Gilead*, from thence Northward they are knowen by the name of *Herman*, for so *Moses* calleth them: so The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*, but the *Amorites* *Shenir*, others *Seir*: of which name all those Hills also were called which part *Idumaea* and *Idumaea*: and lastly they are called *Libanus*, for so the Prophet *Hieremie* makes them all one, calling the high mountaines of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*. These mountaines are very fruitfull, and full

full of good pastures, and haue many trees which yeeld *Balsamum*, and many other medicinale drugs. The Riuer of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah* and *Dibon*, and the Riuer *Iaboc*: Others doe also fancie an other Riuer, which rising out of the Rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

§. VI.

Of the *Ammonites*; part of whose Territories the *Gadites* warne from
Oo the King of *Bajan*.

10 His Tribe of *Gad*, posselt halfe the Countrie of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petraea* called *Nabalthea*, as well within as without the mountaines of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* wan it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og Ammorites*: and therefore *Moses* did not expell the *Ammonites*, but the *Amerites*, who had thrust the *issues of Lot* ouer the mountaines *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othaniel* the first Iudge of *Israel*, the *Ammonites* ioyned with the *Moabites* against the *Hebrewes*, and so continued long. *Iephth* Iudge of *Israel* had a great conquest ouer one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Sannul* they were at peace with them againe.

20 Afterward we finde that cruel King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nahas*: who besieging *Iabes Gilead*, gaue them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame vpon *Israel*) because those *Gileadites* vling to carrie a Target on their left armes, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by loosing their right, be vtterly disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and deliuered them from that danger. This *Nahas*, as it may seeme, became the confederate of *Dauid*, hauing friended him in *Sauls* time, though *Iosephus* thinks that this *Nahas* was slaine in the battaile, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Iabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

30 *Hanan* succeeded *Nahas*: to whom when *Dauid* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirme the former friendship which he had with his Father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadors garments to the knees, and shaued the halfe of their beards. But afterward notwithstanding the aides receiued from the *Saramites* subiect to *Adadazer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maach*, and from *Israhel*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were ouer-turnd: their chiefe Citie of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken, the Crowne which waighed a talent of gold was set on *Dauids* head, all such as were prisoners *Dauid* equited with strange furniture, for with lawes and harrowes, he tare them in peeces, and caft the rest into lime-kills.

40 *Iosaphat* gouerning *Juda*, they assisted the *Moabites* their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Osias* made them Tributaries, and they were againe by them insort to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundredth talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two yeares.

The fift King of the *Ammonites* of whose name we read was *Baalis*, the confederate of *Zedechia*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ismael* of the blond of the Kings of *Juda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who serued *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. VII.

of the other halfe of MANASSE.

THe rest of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdome of *Og* in *Basán*, with the Land of *Am*, and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein alio were part of the small Territories of *Batanea*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*, of which those three later Provinces defended themselves against them, for many ages. But *Batanea* *Ptoleme* setteth farther off, and to the North-east, as a skirt of *Arabia* the *Desert*: and all these other Provinces before named with *Peraa*, and *Sturaa*, he nameth but as part of *Calefrya*; as farre South as *Rabia* or *Philadelpus*: likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, laing the Land neare the Dead Sea, he makes a part of *Arabia Petraea*: for many of these small Kingdomes take not much more ground then the Countie of *Kent*.

Basán, or after the *Septuagint* *Basinitis*, stretcheth it selfe from the River of *Jaboc* to the *Machati* and *Gessuri*: and from the Mountaines to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattle. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world: especially of Oakes, which beare mast (of which the Prophet *Zacharias*, *Hewle* to see Oakes of *Basban*) and by reason hereof they bred so many Swine, as *20000*. in one Heard were carried head-long into the Sea, by the violence spirits which *Christ* had cast out of one of the *Gaderens*. It had in it threefoore Cities walled and defended: all which after *Og* and his Sonnes were slaine, *Iair* defended of *Manasse* conquered, and called the Countie after his owne name, *Anoth Iair*, or the Cities of *Iair*.

The principall Cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these; *Pella* sometimes *Butis*, otherwise *Berenice*; by *Seleucus* King of *Syria* it is said to have bene called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Sonne *Alexander* King of the *Jewes*: because it refused to obey the *Jewes* lawes: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, saith *Niger*. *Carnaim* by the River of *Jaboc*, taken by *Judas Maccabaeus*: where he set on fire the Temple of their Idolls: together with all those that fled thercinto for Sanctuary: and neare it they place the Castle of *Carnaim*, of which *2. Mate. 12. 22*. Then the strong Citie of *Ephraim* neare *Jordan*: which refusing to yeeld passage to *Judas Maccabaeus*, was forced by him by assault, and taken, and burnt with great slaughter.

Tabes Gilead, or *Jabesur*, was an other of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which being belieged by *Nabab* King of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is elsewhere mentioned. In memorie whereof these Citizens recovered, imbalanced, and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his Sonnes: which hung despitfully over the walls of *Beithan* or *Scythopolis*. *Gadara* or *Gadara* is next to be named, seated by *Plinius* on a Hill neare the River *Iheromiacus*, which River *Ortelius* seemes to thinke to be *Jaboc*. At the foote of the Hill there spring forth also hot bathes, as at *Machari*. *Alexander Tannus* after ten Moneths siege wan it, and subverted it. *Pompey* retored it: and *Gabinus* made it one of the five Countes of Justice in *Palastine*. *Iherusalem* being the first, *Gadara* the second, *Emath* or *Amathus* the third, *Therice*, and *Sephra* in *Galilee* the fourth and fift. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyrannic of *Herode* surnamed *Ascalonitis*, accused him to *Julius Caesar* of many crimes: but perceiving that they could not prevaile, and that *Herode* was highly favoured of *Cesar*, seeking the terrible revenge of *Herod*, they slew themselves: some by strangling, others by leaping out high Towers, others by drowning themselves.

To the East of *Gadara* they place *Seber*: in which *Iosephus* ant. 5. 13. saith, *sephus* in *Josep. 15. Antiq. 13.* Of *Metipsa* in *Gilbad* the Citie of *Iosabab*, see in the Tribe of *Gad*.

* An other territory adjoining to *Manasse* whose limits were confounded with some of these was that *Ushethus*, the countie of *Eliath*, as it is the *2. Kings 16. 1. & of Tobias 7. 6. 2.* It lay on the east to the tribe of *Neph*, on the right had of it, as in *Tob. 1. 2.* and was possit by Colonies of the *Israelites* in the time of *Saul* after his victory over the *Amalekites* & *Gittaites* in those parts, as it is gathered out of the *1. Chron. 18. 30.* whence it appears that it was part of *Israel*, of which chap. 7. §. 4. f. 5. & 6.

a So they call them of *Machati*, of which *Machati* some what hath been spoken toward the end of the first Chapter of this Chapter, see the *1. Mate. 5. 36.* and *Deut. 3. 14. & 10. 12. b. 2. Mate. 1. 12. c.* Ascentiety as it seems it was called *Tophel*, see above in the boundes of the plaines of the *Man* in this Chapter.

d 4. f. 2. d 1. *Mace. 5. c. 10. f. 12. d. 12. f. 1. *Mace. 5. g. 2. *Mace. 11. 27. h. 1. *Mace. 11. i. 10. f. 6. ant. 1. l. 1. *Sam. 31. 1. 1. *Chron. 10. m. 10. f. 14. ant. 13.******

was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Iud.* 12. 7. *Sepultus est in Civitate sua Gilehad*, (for in *vna Civitatem Gilehad*) imagine *Gilehad* to be the name of a Citie, and to be the same with *Sebei*. In like manner following the *Vulgar*, 1. *Mat.* 5. 26. where it readeth *Casphor* for *Cheshon*; the same *Archevianus* imagineth it to be ample & firme *Galehaditarum Civitas*, so of one Citie *Heshon* or *Cheshon*, which they call *Eschbon*, the chief Citie of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, hee imagineth two more: this *Casphor* in *Manasser*, and a Citie in *Gad* which he calleth *Cashon*, of which we have admonished the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (so called, because the Hill on which it stood, was in falthion like the back of a Cammell) which *Iosephus* placeth not farre from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* over against *Tarichea*, which is on the West side of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, see this *Iosephus* in his fourth booke of the *Iewish warre*: where he describes the place by nature to be almost invincible: and in the storie of the siege, shewes how *Vespasian* with much danger of his owne person, entering it, was at first repulsed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length after the coming of *Titus*, when it was taken, many leaping downe the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished: besides foure thousand slaine by the *Romanes*: so that none escaped, save only two women that hid themselves.

About foure miles West from *Gadara*, and as much East from *Tiberias* (which is on the other side of the Lake) *Iosephus* placeth *Hippu*, or *Hippene*, whence *Ptoleme* gives the name to the hills that compaile the plaines in which it standeth: so that it may seeme to have bene of no small note. It is seated farre from the hill Countie: on the East of the Lake, as also *Plinie* noteth *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. It was reitor by *Pompey*, after by *Augustus* added to *Herods Tetrarchie*: It was waied by the *Jenes*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many massacres of their Nation; they were intraged against their borderers.

The next Citie of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Ederbi* or *Edras*, wherein *Os King of Basan* chiefly abode, when *Moses* and *Israel* invaded him: and neare unto this his Regall Citie, it was that belost the battaile and his life. It stood in *S. Hierome*'s time: and had the name of *Adar* or *Adara*. Not farre from these Townes near *Jordan*, in this valley stood *Gerasa* or *Gergessa*, inhabited by the *Gergesites*, descended of the first sonne of *Canaan*. Of these *Gergesites* we read *Mat.* 8. 28. that *Christ* coming from the other side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coasts: where calling the Devils out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the heard of Hogs: in which storie for *Gergesites* or *Gergesins*, *S. Luke* and *S. Marke* haue *Gadarens*: not as if these were all one (for *Gergessa* or *Gerasa* is a distinct Towne in these parts from *Gadara*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this storie. This Citie received many changes and calamities: of which *Iosephus* hath often mention. For besides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Antnius* Lieutenant to *Vespasian*, and 1000. of the ablest yong men put to the sword, and the Citie burnt. In the year 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine King of Damas* cus: and in the same year recovered by *Baldwine de Burge King of Hierusalem*: and by him vterly razed. Neare unto *Gerasa* is the Village of *Magadan*, or after the *Syriack* *Magda*, or after the *Greeke* *Magdala*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* desired of our Saviour a signe from heaven: the place or some adioyning to it, which *S. Marke* calleth *Dalmannitha*. By the circumstances of which storie it appeares that this coast lay betwene the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Countie of *Decapolis*: *Brocard* makes both these places to be one: and findes it to be *Phiale*, the fountaine of *Jordan* according to *Iosephus*: but this *Phiale* is too farre from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Be. shaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmannitha*. For as it appears by the storie, not far hence towards the North was the Desert of *Be. shaida*, where *Christ* filled 5000. people with the five Barley loaves and two Fishes.

On the North of this *Be. shaida* they place *Iulias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the

M m

South

Joseph. 18. ant. 3.
et alibi.

Gen. 14. 5.

See chap. 7

§. 3. 1. 2.

Because

Horne when it

is polished di-

rectly, hence it

is that the verb

of this Noun

is sometime

Lucet; and so

were certain

eff: whereupon

the Vulgar

Exod. 24. 29.

reading corrup-

tion directed;

or lucidum Ja-

colem, gave oc-

casione to the

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exts to paine.

Mose with all

Horens.

Indish, 1. 8. m.

1. Cant. 5.

32. 8. m. 11.

32. 8. m. 11.

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32. 8. m. 11.

South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of Christ it was compassed with a wall by Philip the Tetrarch of Iturae and Trachonitis; and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberius*, called *Julias*; as hath bene farther spoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Josephus* makes this *Julias*, to be the same as *Bethsaida*: Vpon the East side of the same Lake of *Tiberias* stands *Corozaim*, or *Corazin*, of which Christ in *Matthew*; *We be vnto thee Corazin*.

But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*: sometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*; and therefore the Countrey adioyning called the Land of Giants, of whose race was *og*, King of *Basan*. In *Genesis* this Citie is called *Asteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1. *Mas*. 5. 26. it is called simply *Carnaim*, as *Ios*. 13. 21. it is called *Asteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* signifieth a pair of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll *Asteroth*, which was the Image of a sheepe, as it is elsewhere noted, that *Asteroth* in *Deut*. signifieth sheep: Others from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take *Karnaim*, to haue bene the name of the people which inhabited this Citie: and expound it heres * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphai* which inhabited this Citie (*Gen*. 14. 5.) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut*. 3. 11. *Og ex reliquo giganteum*, with the words *Ios*. 13. 12. *Og ex reliquis Raphazorum*; but if the *Karnaim* (or *Karnajim*) were these *Raphai*, the word would not haue bene in the dual number: neither would *Asteroth* in the place of *Genesis* haue said the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Raphai*, or some other way fittest for perspicuity: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Not farre from *Asteroth* *Adrichomius* out of *Brocherd* and *Breidenbachius* plaeth *Ceslar*, in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, foure miles from *Corazin*. This Citie (saith he) is remembered in the *Canticles*, and in the booke of *Ruth*; and there at this Citie vnderstand *David* in his 120. *Psalme*: and here the Sepulcher of *Iob* is yet to be secho, saith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is so that the Greeke hath *Gadala* in stead of the word *Ceslar*; which the *Vulgar* doth vlein that place of *Isidore* and *Ioyner* in *Galilee* and *Gadilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Psalme* doe rather proue that *Ceslar* was not here about, than any way helpe *Adrichomius*. For that they speake of *Secnit* & *Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as euiden by the place in the *Canticles* that they were *deplorans*, much more than any vnder the *Climates* of the land of *Canaan*: whence *Strabo* but of *Lampridius* and *Plinie* plaeth them in *Arabia Petraea*, farre from these parts. Touching the Sepulcher of *Iob* it is certaine that the *Arabians* and *Saraceni* (holding those places) haue many thinges to abuse the *Christians*; and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed that many (if not all) the historical circumstances of *Iob* are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Countrey seeke to gett some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded vpon him, inferre what his Countrey was, and build vnto him a Citie by coniecture.

Of *Iob* himselfe whether he were the same *Iobab* remembered in the 36. of *Genesis*, descended from *Esau*, and King also of *Idumea*; though *Rupertus*, *Eysanus*, *Oleifer*, and *Bellarmino* are of an other opinion, yet *S. Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostomus*, and *Gregorie*, with *Abanasius*, *Hippelitus*, *Iranens*, *Eusebius Emisenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Eusebius* & other, cited by *S. Hieron* in his 126. Epistle to *Eugenius*, take him for the same.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus* wherein *Iob* dwelt is from the Greeke *Ὀς*, which the Septuaginte le for the word *Huts*, translated by the *Vulgar* sometime *Hus*, as *Iob*. 1. 1. sometime *Aufinus* as *Hierome* 2. 5. 20. This Land is placed by *Iunius* between *Palsina* and *Cadafrya*, besides *Chamaaba* (or *Hamath*) vnder *Palmyrene* in the Countrey called by *Ptolomius* *Trachonitis* or *Bathanea*, the bounds of which Countreies are confounded with *Basan* in this halfe Tribe of *Manasser*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus seated it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Ieremie* the 27. 20. where he reckons the *Ephraimites* among the promiscuous borderers of the *Israeites*, whom he therefore calleth promiscuous or *miscellaneam turbam*, because their bounds were not

not only ioyned but confounded, and their *Seignories* mingled one with the other, but of this place the wordes of *Iheremie*, *Lamentations* 4. 2. 1. speaking of the same prophetic, of which he speaketh in the five and twentieth Chapter, mult needes be expounded: as *Iunius* reads them distinguishing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O fusa Edom, à qua habitas in terra Hus* 2. *O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus*. Now because the *Vulgar* doth not so distinguish, but readeth *Fusa Edom que habitas in terra Hus* 3. *Daughter of Edom which dwellest in the Land of Hus*: Hence, as it seemes, some of the learned haue thought that *Iob* was an *Edomite*, as we haue said, and King of *Edom*, which if they vnderstand by it *Idumea* or *Edom*, so called in *Moses* time, they are greatly mistaken, making this Land of *Hus* to be in *Edomaea*. For it is very probable that *Efsau* when he first parted from *Jacob* did not leave himselfe in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the South border of *Iudaea*, but inhabited *Seir* farre to the East of *Jordan*, and held a part of those Mountaines otherwise called *Galad*, and *Herman*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites* *Shenir* for *Seir*, and from this habitation did *Efsau* encounter *Jacob* when he returned out of *Assyriopolis*, who passed by the very border of *Efsau* his abiding. It is true that at such time as *Moses* wandered in the *Deserts*, that the posteritie of *Efsau* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Iudaea*: for it is like that the *Amorites* who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did also drive the *Edomites* out of those parts, who thence-forward created themselves to the South of *Iudaea*, bordering the *Desert Parau*, and stretched their habitations ouer the *Deserts* as farre as *Hur* where *Aram* died.

Now for this *Hus* which gaue the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, as *Iunius* thinks in his note vpon *Gen* 10. 23. or rather *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the question is doubtfull. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*: partly because these Families of *Aram* seeme long before to haue bene lost: and partly because in *Iob* 6. 32. 2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Iob*'s friends, which seemes to be of *Iob*'s owne Countrie, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz*, the brother of *Hus*, the sonne of *Nachor*: as also *Iheremie* 25. in the same continuation (though some other Nations named between) where *Hus* is spoken of, there *Buz* is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture that in the place of *Iob* 32. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is said to be of the Familie of *Ram*: (which *Iunius* expounds to be as much as of the Familie of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to vnderstand *Aram* the sonne of *Sen*, *Iunius* himselfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation vpon the beginning of his booke, where he saith that one of *Iob*'s friends (which mult needes be this *Elihu*) was of the posteritie of *Nachor* (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressly) and in as much as he readeth not *à familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *à familia Syra* 3. likeas elsewhere *Laban* who sprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

As for the other three of *Iob*'s friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Familie, or of the familie of *Nachor*) it is implied that they were of other kindreds; as also by the *Septuagints* addition, that this *Hus* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Ausitis*, it is implied that they thought only *Elihu* to haue bene of *Iob*'s owne Countrie.

Franciscus Brocard the Monke, in his description of the holy Land in the journey from *Acon* Eastward, findeth *Suetia*, and *Theman* on the East of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very neare to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may seeme to haue denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchiti*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Iob*, of the which *Iob* 2. 11. But *Iunius* thinks that the *Shuchitis* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Desert*, defended of *Shuaab* the sonne of *Abraham* and *Keturah*: of whom *Gen* 52. 2. perhaps, saith he, the same whom *Plinie* calls *Sacae*. So also he thinketh the *Themanites* of whom *Eliphaz* was, to haue bene of *Arabia* the *Desert*: and *Eliphaz* himselfe to haue bene of the posteritie of *Theman* the sonne of *Eliphaz*, which was the sonne of *Efsau*. And so also *Nahamab* whence *Typhar* the third of *Iob*'s friends (which in this place of *Iob* 2. 2. v. 1. are mentioned) is by the same learned expolitor

De Bell. Sac. l.
33. c. 15. §. 21.

thought either to be named of *Thinnab* by transposition of letters (which *Thinnab* Gen. 36. 40. is named among the sonnes of *Esau* that gave denomination to the places where they were seated) or else to be the same *Nahamab*, which *Ios. 15. 41.* is reckoned for a Citie of *Iuda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I denie not but that neare to the Land of *Hus*, in *Basan*, as it seemes, in the Tribe of *Manasses*, there is a Region which at least in latter times was called *Sunitis*, or of some like name. For this is evident by the Historie of *Willielmus Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita* or *Suites* (as he calls it diversly) of exceeding great strength and use for the retaining of the whole Countrie: which in the time of *Baldwine* the second King of *Iherusalem* was with great digging through rocks recovered 10 by the *Christians*: having not long before been lost to the great disadvantage of the Countrie, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* described to be sixteene miles from the Citie *Tiberias*, on the East of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* foure miles North-ward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Ios. 21. 27.
Deut. 4. 43.

Other Cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the Scripture are these: *Golan*, *Behethera*, *Mitpa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Israelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitpa* of *Gilead*, we haue spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*: The two other were giuen to the *Leuites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* wee haue both *Gaulanitis superi- 20* rior & inferior, oft in *Iosephus*. *Behethera* is accounted the chiefe Citie of *Basan* by some, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Basra* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Jerome* hath *Arga*, a name of a Citie placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Iosus*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Iosephus* calls it. This Lake being as it were in the midst betwene *Casaria Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth it is very large, saith *Brachard*: otherwise more contract, leauing the marish ground on both sides, for *Lyons* and other wild beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plen- 30 tifully grow there.

2. Chron. 3. 2.

Adioyning to this Lake in this Countrie of *Manasses*, *Iosephus* names two places of strength fortified by himselfe in the beginning of the *Iewes* rebellion: *Selenia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the North side of this halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-east, the Scripture nameth diuers bordering places toward *Damascus*, as *Tsedad*, *Chauran*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, lying in a line drawne from the West of which three Cities we reade *Ezek. 47. 15.* with which also agrees the place *Numb. 34. 8.* where for *Chauran*, betwene *Tsedad*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauran* is the name of *Auranitis regio*, in *Iosephus* and *Tyrius*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gesur* and *Mahachab* or *Macati*, which were likewise 40 borderers to *Manasses* toward the North-east) are vnkowne: only that *Gesur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married *Mabaca* the Daughter of *Tholmay* King of *Gesur*: by whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked, and vnfortunate *Abfalon*.

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Chap. 11.

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CHAP. XI.

The Historie of the Syrians the chiefe borderers of
the Iſraelites that dwelt on the Eaſt
of Jordan.

§. I.

Of the citie of Damſcus and the diuers fortunes thereof.



AMASCUS of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches, and was therefore called the Citie of ioy or gladnes, and the House of pleasures; and is not onely remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrewes saith *Iscophus* thinke it to haue bene built by *Hus* the sonne of *Abam*: of which opinion *S. Hierome* vpon *Esai* seemeth to be: though in his Hebrew questions hee affirmeth that it was founded by *Damascus*, the sonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* Steward, a thing very

vnliklie, seeing the citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appeares by *Abrahams* calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damſco*. *Dauid* was the first that subiected it to the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after the ouerthrow of *Adadezer* their King, but in *Salomons* time, *Rezon* recovered it againe, though he had no title at all or right to that principallitie: but *Dauid* hauing ouerthrowne *Hadadezer* king of *Sophena*, (otherwise *Syria Soba* or *Zobab*) *Razon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken armie, invaded *Damſcens*, and posselt *Damſcus* it selfe, and became an enemy to *Salomon* all his life.

The next King of *Damſcus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Aegypt* from *Dauid*, and *Isab*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Aegypt* wiues sister: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was so called. This *Adad* returning againe became an enemy to *Salomon*, all his life, and (as some writers affirme) invaded *Damſcus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence-out. In the line of *Adad* that Kingdome continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Assyrians* & then the *Grecians* succeeded. This citie was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the riuers of *Abanah*, and *Parphor*: wherof one of them prophane writers call *Chrysoshow*: the golden riuier. *Iunius* takes it for *Alonis*. The countrey adioyning is very fruitfull of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle built as it seemes by the *Florentines*, after it became *Christians*: the lillies being found cut in many marbles in that Citie adell. Against this Citie the Prophets *Amos*, *Esai*, *Ieremy* and *Zacharias*, prophecied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heape of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon* and tenth King of the *Damſcens*, *Teglathphalsar* invited by *Achaz* king of *Iuda* carried away the naturals of *Damſcus* into the East: leaving of his owne nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, saith *Hierome* vpon *Esai*: which thing was performed by *Salmansar* according to *Iunius*, in his note vpon that place, five yeeres after the prophetic. In time it was restored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Palestines*; but long after when *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romans*, it was taken by *Metellus* and *Lullius*. In the time of the *Christians* it had an Archbishoppe: *S. Hierome* liuing, as he affirmeth vpon the *Actes*, it was the Metropolis of the *Saracens*

Oniphrius in
clivus.

Viri c. 46. 17.
Tyr. B. R. Sac. 1.
17. c. 13. 4. 5.

Herold. B. C.
Sae. 4. c. 14.

Herold. 1. 6. c. 4.

being taken by *Haomar* their King from the *Romanes*, in the yere of our redemption 636. And in the yere 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Leues* King of *France*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Iherusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Austria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Fredereick Barbarossa* afterward Emperour, *Theodorick* Earle of *Flanders*, and other Princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea coast, determined to recover *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians* they failed of the enterprize.

In the yere 1262. *the Tartar* incompt it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him vnder the wals, and threatned extreame torture vnto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne asunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken, *Agab* the sonne of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof.

In the yere 1400. *Tamperlaine* Emperour of the *Parthians*, invaded that region, and besieged the citie with an armie of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken) He entred it and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners, those that retired into the Castle which seemed a place impregnable, hee overtopped with another Castle adjoining: he forbore the demolishing of the citie in respect of the beautie of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000. lanternes of gold & silver: but while he invaded *Ægypt* they againe surprized *Damascus*. Lately in his returne after three monethes siege he for it; the *Mahometans* prostrating themselves with their prielts, desired mercie: But *Tamperlaine* commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwarde to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a *Trophey* of his victory he raised three towers with great Arte, builded with the heads of those whom hee had slaughtered. After this it was restored and repossessed by the *Soldane of Ægypt*, with a garrison of *Mammalukes*: And in the yere 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turkes* wrested it out of the hands of the *Ægyptians*: in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with *Mahometans*, and *Christians*, of all neighbouring nations.

§. II.

Of the first Kings of *Damascus*, and of the growing up of their power:

NOW bee it that *Damascus* were founded by *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the sonne of *Eliezer* *Abrahams* Steward, we finde no relation of their Kings, or Commonwealth till *Dauids* time. For it stood without the boundes of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Iosua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that *Storie*: But were it so that it had some regalls, or pettie Kings over it, as all the Cities of those partes had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *David* overthrew *Adadazer* prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*: the same Nation which *Plinie* calleth *Nubai*, inhabiting betwene *Batanes* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to vnderstand the storie of those *Syrian* Princes, whom soone after the Kings of *Damascus* made their vassals, the reader may informe himselfe, That on the Northeast parts of the holy land there were three chiefe principalities whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Commonwealth of *Israel*, namely *Damascus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chemath*, or *Chamath-Zoba*, of which these were the Princes in *Dauids* and *Salomons* times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadazer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tobu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth that *Damascus* was one of the cities subiect to *Adadazer* when *David* invaded him, though when *Saul* made warre against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Iosephus* affirmeth the leader of those succours, which were leuied and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battaile slaine with 22000. *Arames* of *Damascus*: whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adadazer*, *Rezon*, the Commander of his

Plin. 6. c. 29.

1. Sam. 14. 47.

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1. Sam. 9.

his armie, taking advantage, made himselfe King of *Damascus*: *Adad-ezer* and *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slaine. About the same time *Tobu* King of *Chamath* or *Itura*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adad-ezer* was utterly overthrowne, sendeth for peace to *David*, and presenteth him with rich gifts, but in dole saith *S. Hierom*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Jews* and *Israelites*. But to returne to the kings of *Syria*, I meane of *Syria* as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath* or *Itura*, to which I may adde *Gilboa*, because it is so accounted in the

2. of *Sam. 15*. asioyning in the territorie to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is faire greater, of which *Palestina* it selfe is but a Province, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our latter writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

Some account *Rezon*, other *Adad* of *Idumea*: of whom it is written in the first of Kings, that *David* having invaded that region, and left *Isab* therein to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the kings seed, fled into *Egypt*: and was there married to *Taphnes*, the Queens sister as before, who hearing of *David*'s death, and of the death of his Captaine *Isab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) hee returned againe, and as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expell *Rezon* out of *Damascus*: and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To mee it seemeth otherwise. For as

2. *Sam. 8.3.*
and 12.
1. *Sam. 14. 47.*
I take it, *Adad-ezer* the sonne of *Reboab*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the founder of that principalltie: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his fathers name, as hee grew powerful, tooke vpon him the stile of *Adad*, the great God of the *Affrians*, saith *Macrobius*, which signified onenesse or *Vnitie*. I also finde a citie called *Adada* in the same part of *Syria*: of which whether these Princes tooke the name or gaue it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eli-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adioyned. And that *Adad-ezer* was of great power, it appeareth first because it is against him, that *David* vnderooke the warre: secondly because he leuied 22000. *Aramites* out of the territorie of *Damascus*: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damasceni* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would haue giuen vs his name, thirdly because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adad-ezer* was king, was an exceeding large territorie, and contained of *Arabia* the Desert as farre as to *Euphrates*, according to *Plinie*: and the greatest part of *Arabia* *Petræa* according to *Niger*. Whosoeuer was the first, whether *Adad-ezer*, or *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezon* was the second: who was an enemy to *Israel* all the dayes of *Salomon*. Besides the euil that *Adad* did, the euil that *Haded* did, seemeth to be referred to *Eliad* of *Idumea*, lately returned out of *Egypt*: to wit, 23. yeeres after he was carried thither.

The third king of *Damascus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*, to *Hezion* succeeded *Tabremmon*, or *Tabremmon*, to him *Benhadad*, as is proued in the first of Kings. 40 For a King of *Juda* the sonne of *Abiam*, the sonne of *Joabab*, the sonne of *Salomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Basia*, the succellour of *Nadab*, the sonne of *Ieroboam*, sent to *Benhadad*, the sonne of *Tabremmon* the sonne of *Hezion*, king of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israel* (while *Basia* sought to fortifie *Rama* against *Asa*: thereby to blocke him vp, that he should not enter into any of the territories of *Israel*) who according to the desire of *Asa*, hauing recieued his presents, willingly invaded the countrey of *Neptalim*, and tooke diuers cities, and spoiles thereof: *Asa* in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which *Basia* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withall, and conuerted them to his owne vse.

1. *King 15. 18.*
1. *King 15. 19.*
This *Benhadad*'s father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Asa*: and so was his father 50 *Hezion*; for *Asa* requireth the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his sonne: though it seemeth that the gold and siluer sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Israel*, before the enterprise of his sonne *Benhadad*, it is coniectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Asa*, spake as followeth. The Cities which my father tooke from thy father, I will restore



restore: and thou shalt make streetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in *Damascus*: as my father did in *Samaria*. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it selfe were of such importance) because *Tabremmon* was father indeed to *Benhadad* which invaded *Bascha*, at the request of *Asa*: But this *Benhadad* that twice entred vpon *Achab*: and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Asa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the sonne of *Tabremmon*. For betweene the inuasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Bascha* time, and the siege of *Samaria*, and the ouerthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there past 49. yeeres, as may be gathered out of the raignes of the Kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30. yeeres of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Bascha*, and after that 49. yeeres, ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eightie lacking one, it is vnlkely that *Benhadad* at such an age would make warre. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pompe, but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I resolute that *Benhadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* invaded *Bascha* and *Omri*, and *Benhadad* the second invaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* recieued two notorious ouerthrowes: the first at *Samaria*, by a fallie of 700. *Israelites*: the second at *Aphec*, where with the like number in effect, the *Israelites* slaughtered 100000. of the *Aramites*: besides 27000. which were cruell by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* againe setteth at libertie: to whom he rendreth those townes, that his father had taken from the predecessour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refuseth to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier towne, and of great importance. Now three yeeres after (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* not being deliuered, *Achab* invaded *Gilead*, and assaigeth the citie, being assisted by *Iosaphat*. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded and dieth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the commandr of his forces called *Naaman*, to *Ioram* the sonne of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him: yet he picketh quarrell against *Ioram*: and when *Ioram* by *Elizeus* his intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforesaid. After *Benhadad* besiegeth *Samaria* againe, and being terrified thence from heaven, he departeth home, and sickneth, and sendeth *Azal* with 30 great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate, if he might liue. *Azal* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad* *Adar*, and the sonne of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Hieremie* mention the towers of *Benhadad*. *Iosephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his successour *Azal* were worshipped for Gods by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquitie, ignorant faith he, that scarce yet 1100. yeeres are complete since their warres with the *Israelites*.

Hazael or *Azal* the first king of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus* was anointed by *Elisba*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* should recouer his present sickness: He waged warre with *Ioram*; who 40 receiued diuers wounds at the incounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*: from whence returning to be cured at *Iezabel*, he and the King of *Juda*, *Ahaziah*, or *Ochozias*, are slaine by *Iehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Ioram*, *Azal* continued the warre against *Iehu*, and wasted *Gilead*, and all those portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse*, ouer *Jordan*. Hee then invaded *Juda*, and tooke *Gath*, but by gifts from *Ious* hee was averted from attempting *Iherusalem*: for he presented him all the hallowed things which *Iehosaphat*, *Iehoram*, and *Ahaziah* his fathers, Kings of *Juda* had dedicated; and which he himselfe had dedicated: and all the gold which was found in the treasures of the Lord: and in the Kings house. This was the second time that the Temple was spoiled to please the *Adads* of *Damascus*. For *Asa* did present *Benhadad* with those treasures, when he inuited him to warre vpon *Bascha* King of *Israel*. And notwithstanding this composition betweene *Ious* and *Azal*, yet a part of his armie spoiled the other prouinces of *Judaea*, and slaughtered many principall persons. Lastly, *Azal* vexed *Iosiah* the sonne of *Iehu*, and brought him to that extremitie,

1. Reg. 15.

1. Reg. 20.

1. Reg. 22.

3 2 7.

3 2 3.

2. Reg. 5.

2. Reg. 6.

2. Reg. 6.

2. Reg. 7.

3 2 4.

Amos. 1. Aior. 49.

Aut. 1. 8. 8.

2. Reg. 12. 17.

2. Reg. 12.

1. Reg. 15.

1. King. 13. v. 7.

extremities, as he left him but fiftie horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand footemen of all his people.

§. III.

Of the latter Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.



After Hazael, Benhadad the second, or rather the third of that name, the sonne of Hazael, reigned in Damascus: who fought against Israel, with ill successe: for Iosias king of Israel, the sonne of the vnhappie Iosias, as he was foretold by Elisha the Prophet, beat Benhadad in three severall battels: and he lost all those cities to Israel, which his father Hazael had taken violently from Iosias.

After this Benhadad the sonne of Hazael, there succeeded three others of the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, onely Nicholaus Damascenus, cited by Josephus, maketh mention of them: and in one of these Kinges times it was that Ieroboam the second, the sonne of Iosias recovered Damascus it selfe, to Iudah saith the Genea, but better in Iudah, utique recuperabat Damascus, or Chathamem Iehuda pro Israel, that is, And how he recovered for Israel, Damascus and Chathamem of Iudah; these cities sometimes conquered by David, did of right belong to the tribe of Iuda.

And it is likely that this conquest upon the Adads was performed: the first of these three Adads then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as Iehozabab the king of the tenne Tribes had three overcame the Syrians in the time of Benhadad the sonne of Hazael, and had recovered the cities which Hazael had wonne from Israel; and so left his Kingdome to his sonne Ieroboam the second, it seemeth that this Ieroboam without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and invaded Damascus.

Razin, or Resin, after Josephus Raser, after Zonarus Razon, the 10. Adad, maketh league with Pekah, or Phacai King of Israel, against Achaz King of Iuda; both carie away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege Achaz in Hierusalem: but in vaine. Then Adad alone invadeth Elath, and beating out the Syrians, maketh it a Colonie of Syrians. Wherefore Achaz brought Tiglathpalsar against Razin, who tooke him and beheaded him, and wonne Damascus: with whom ended the line of the Adads and the Kingdome of Damascus: the Assyrians becoming masters both of that and Israel. These Adads as they reigned in order are thus reckoned.

- 1 Adadecer, the sonne of Rehob.
- 2 Resin the sonne of Eliadad, or Razin.
- 3 Hazael.
- 4 Tobremmon.

5 Benhadad who invaded Baasba.

6 Benhadad the second, taken prisoner by Achab.

7 Hazael, whom Elisha foretold, with teares, of his advancement; the same who overthrow Ioram King of Israel, at Ramoth Gilead. And that there was a second Hazael which preceded Benhadad the third, it is not improbable, because that Hazael which tooke Geth, and compounded the warre with Iosias, made the expedition, and had slain Ioram the sonne of Achab King of Israel. For Iosias began to reigne in the 7. yeere of Iehoi King of Israel; and after he had reigned 23. yeeres, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long wee know not) it is said that Hazael tooke Geth, and turned his face towards Ierusalem.

It is also some proofe that Hazael which tooke Geth, was not the same with Hazael that murdered Benhadad, because hee could not at that time but be of good yeeres, being as it seemeth the second person in the Kingdome, and Commander of Benhadads men of warre. To this Hazael, be he the first or second, succeeded.

8 Benha-

8 Benhadad the third, whom *Iosaph* King of *Israel* thrise ouerthrew.
9 *Rezin*, or *Rezin* the last, who ioynd with *Pekah* King of *Israel*, against *Iuda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Iuda* waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now betweene *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicholus Damascenus* findes three other Kings of the *Adads*, which maketwelve in all.

For the rest of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but regents, as those of *Emath*, and *Geffur*, we finde that *Tohu* was King of *Emath* or *Chemath* in *Dauid* time, to whom he sent his sonne *Ioram* with presents, after *Dauid*'s victorie against *Adadazer*. Also *Senacherib* speaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not.

2.5 cm. 8.9.

f/ai.37.

p. IIII.

Of other lesser Kingdomes of the *Syrians*, which being brought vnder the *Assyrians*, neuer recovered themselves againe.



F *Geffur* wee finde two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his father *Ammibur*. To *Talmai*, whose daughter *Dauid* married, it was that *Abulon* Red, who was his maternal grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sophena* or *Syria*, *Soba* or *Calefryia*, there are two named, *Rehob* or *Rechob* the father of *Adadazer*, and *Adadazer* himfelfe, and it is plaine that after his death the seat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damascus*, a Citie better fitting their greatnelle. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of *Syria* (which became so potent, and ioynd *Soba*, *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the desert of *Arabia* with other Prouinces into one, vnder *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *Dauid*, so it ended at once with the Kingdome of *Israel*. For *Achaz* King of *Iuda* waged the *Assyrian* *Teglatphalassar* against *Pekah* King of *Israel*, and against *Rezin* the last King of *Damascus*: which *Teglat* first invaded *Damascena*, and the region of *Soba*, and tooke *Damascus* it selfe, and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the inhabitants captiue. This was the second time that the *Assyrians* attempted *Israel*. For first, *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Memabem* governing *Israel*) who stooped the enterprize of *Phul* with a thousand talents of silver: for this *Phul Belochus*, whose pedigree wee will examine hereafter, being scarce warme as yet in his seat at *Babylon*, which hee, with the helpe of his companion *Abaces*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*: hauing besides this King of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of *Israel* for that present time. But his sonne *Teglat* following the purpose of his father *Belochus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betweene *Israel* and *Iuda*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that warre, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Iuda*, his imprest and entertainment. So, first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his path towards *Israel*, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease possesst himfelfe of the Cities of *Nephtholim*: leading with him a great part of the people captiue. And his sonne *Salmanassar*, whom *Ptolomy* calleth *Nabonassar*, after the revolt of *Hosea*, forced *Samaria*: and rent that Kingdome asunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted; the race and Monarchie of the Syrian *Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglat* slaughtered; the Kingdome of *Israel* in *Hosea*, whom *Salmanassar* ouerturned, happened neere about a time: that of *Ninus* in the daies of *Belochus*, and the other two in the daies of *Teglatphalassar*, and *Salmanassar* his sonne. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Osar* ruling *Iuda*; and the other two Kingdomes were dissolued, *Achaz* yet liuing.

Lastly, the Kingdome of *Iuda* it selfe, being attempted by *Senacherib*, the sonne of *Salmanassar* in vaine, and preferred for the time by God miraculoussly, was at length

length utterly ouerturned. *Hierusalem* and the Temple burnt 132. yeeres after the captiuitie of *Israel*, and *Samarra*: the destruction of *Israel* beng in the ninth yeere of *Hofes*: that of *Iuda* in the eleauenth of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Affyria* and *Babylon* held also the Kingdome of *Syria* from the eight yeere of *Salmasser*, to the last of *Baltassar*, whom *Hierodotus* calleth *Lathynus*; in all about 200. yeeres. After these the *Persians* from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about 200. yeeres.

Then *Alexander Macedon* tooke this among other Prouinces of the *Persian* Empire, and his successours the *Seleucide* reigned therein, till it became subiect vnto the power of the *Romanes*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in possession of the *Turke*, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering vpon the *Israelites*, with whom they had most to doe both in warre and peace, being the onely people, whose Historie in those ancient times carried an assured face of truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of BENIAMIN, and of Hierusalem.

Of diuers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mithpa, Bethel, Rama, Gobeah and Geba.



Of the Tribe of Benjamin, the twelfth and youngest sonne of *Iacob*, whom hee had by *Rachel*, there were mustred at Mount *Sinai* 35000. able bodies: all which perishing in the Deserts, there entered the holy Land of their Illiues 45600. fit to beare Armes: and these had their Territorie on this side *Jordan*, betwene *Iuda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities within this Tribe neerest *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Ono*: of which *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shennah* a *Beniamite*: they were all three re inhabitants with *Beniamites*, after the returne out of captiuitie, as is mentioned, *Neh.*

11.35. and *Esd.* 2.35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Nehemia*, a Citie called *Lodhadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon* *Macc.* 12.39. *Maccab.* 8.11.

Samarim or *Tsemarim*, named of *Tsemari*, one of the sonnes of *Cansan*, was another of their Cities; and further into the Land standeth *tericho*, one of the *Toparchies*, and the last of *Iuda*; seated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and therefore else where called the Citie of *Palmes*. From the time of *Iofas*, who utterly destroyed it, it lay waste vntill the time of *Achab*: in whose daies *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the losse of *Abiram* his eldest sonne. In after times it was destroyed by *Isaphan*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

To the Southeast of *tericho* stood *Halmom* of the *Leuites*, of which *Iof.* 21.18. To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Iof.* 15. and *e.* 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is

fo much mention in the Scripture, where *Iofua* first eate of the fruites of the lande, circumcised all those borne in the *Desarts*, and celebrated the *Passeover*.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the *Etymologie* of this name (for it seemes by the place, *Deut. 1. 1. 30.* that the name was knowne before the coming of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *10. 5. 9. Ob deuolutionem probi Aegyptiaci*, because their foreskinnes (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis praepitumum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geliloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Ios. 15. 7. and 18. 17.* for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Ios. 22. 13.* and *Geliloth* signifieth borders. * It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, ouer against the two hills *Garizim* and *Hebal*: vpon the one of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the mountaines of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitpa* of *Beniamin* (of which also wee read oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midd of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reason * *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which he came yeerly to giue iudgement to the *Israelites*: of which two, *Gilgal* (as is said) was neere *Jordan* on the East side of this Tribe; and *Mitpa* neere the West Sea, towards the land of the *Philistims*.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* vsed yeerly to come, is * *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of *Beniamin*. But to returne to *Gilgal* which was the first place, where the *Ark* resided; after they past ouer *Jordan* from whence it was carried to *Silo*; & thence to *Kiriath-harim*, and at length to *Hierusalem* here in *Gilgal* it was that *Iofua* pitched vp the twelue stones, which were taken out of the channell of *Jordan* when it was drie, that the *Israelites* might passe ouer it, by which *Storie*, as it is set downe *Ios. 4.* it appears, that the same day that they passed ouer *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitpa*, whither also *Samuel* came yeerly to giue iudgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held; as that for the reuenge of the *Leuites* wife against *Gibba*, and the *Beniamites*, *Jud. 20. 1.* and another against the *Philistims* *1. Sam. 7. 12.* Thither also *Iudas Machabeus* gathered the *Iewes* (when *Hierusalem* was possesed by the *Heathen*) as it is *1. Macc. 3. 47.* in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationis fuerat Mitpa antea Israeli*. Touching this *Mitpa*, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembered, that the Scriptures mention foure places of this name: *Mitpa* of *Iuda*, of which *Ios. 15. 38.* * *Mitpa* of *Gilead*, of which wee haue spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*; *Mitpa* of the *Manites*, where *Dauid* for a while held himselfe, commending his parents to the King of *Amab* *1. Sam. 22. 3.* and lastly, this chief *Mitpa* of the *Beniamites*. And as in this place the chief meetings were held both before *Hierusalem* was recovered from the *Iehusites*, and also in the time of the *Machabees* (as we haue said) when *Hierusalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Hieremie*, after the destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldeys*, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Ieruy* as Governour ouer those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to the great hurt of the *Iewes*) he was slaine by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royall blood of *Iuda*, as it is *Hierem. 41.*

Neere vnto this *Mitpa*, the * Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Hazer*, that is, the Stone of helpe: where *Samuel* pitched vp the pillar or Stone, for a Trophy against the *Philistims*.

Toucing *Bethel* which (as it seemes) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief meetings for the ministring of Iulstice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Ioseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Beniamin*, as it is *Nehem. 11. 31.* and *Ios. 18. 22.*) and how another Citie called *Luz* neere adjoining to it, was built by the man of the Citie which shewed the entrance to the *spies*, as it is *Iudg. 1.* and of the occasion of the name from *Iacobs* vision: and how

* *Deut. 11. 30.*

* *1. Sam. 7. 15.*

* *Iunio* in this place for *Bethel*, reads *Dumou Da feris*, and interprets it, *Kiriath-harim* where the *Ark* abode.

For (saith he) by the Law,

Exod. 23. 17. the greatest meetings in their annual feasts were to be,

where the *Ark* was, but this place doth not

speake of festi- uall, but of iudicial mee- cings: and be- side the *Ephraim* did vie to bring the *Ark* to their great meetings

wherefore *Ios. 4.* it is set downe

1. Sam. 12. 11. and *14. 5.* neither is it easie to expound

Bethel other- wise then for the Citie *Bethel* though

Iunio also take it for the place where the *Ark* was. *1. Sam. 10. 3.*

* It was no other then this

Mitpa of *Gilead*, of which *Ios. 15. 38.* ap- pears by that which is added

1. Ios. 18. 22. for *Iofua* notes the three quarters North

West and East, to which hee followed the

Canaanites, though *Adichon* and others

saueth this place imagine a *Mitpa* or

Mitpa (as they write it) in the Tribe of

Adur.

* *1. Sam. 7. 12.*

Ios. 16. 2.

Jerusalem, by erecting one of his calves here, of Bethel (which signifieth the house of God) made it * Beth-aven, that is, the house of Vanitie *Ios. 4. 15. & 10. 5.* as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well knowne, out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may well passe them over.

The territorie of Bethel, which at the first belonged to the Kingdom of the tenne Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of Abia against *Ieroboam* (of which *2. Chr. 13.*) was taken from them, and adjoynted to the Kingdom of *Juda*: and so it continued, as appears by the storie of *Ioshua*, which performed the Prophecies against the altar of Bethel, *2. Reg. 23.* whence those calves *1. Mace. 11. 34.* are called *Alphar*, *10* *rama*, which Greeke word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the tenne Tribes. It was one of the three *Sagimories* or *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the Dition of the *Jewes*, out of the *Samaritan* Country. A part of it as appears *2. Chron. 13. 19.* was *Hephraam*, which *Ios. 18. 23.* is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not farre from this Bethel, in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gibba*, and *Gebah*. Of the name *Rama*, * it is noted already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many townes so called, because of their high situation. But whereas they finde out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it seemes because *Mat. 2.* it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also out of *Brethard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to have beene called *Rama*, and finde yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*, these three have no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Asher*, as it seemes, we have testimonie *Ios. 19. 29.* and of another in *Nephthali* *Ios. 19. 36.* of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in *Mount Ephraim* *1. Sa. 25. 1.* which more often is called * *Ramatha*, and *1. Sam. 1. 1.* *Ramahum Tophim*: for which the *Septuagint* have *Aramathum Tophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke *Ioseph* of *Armathea* *Mat. 27. 57* was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama* we read *2. Reg. 8. 29.* which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, leated as we said, nere Bethel, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, leated as we said, nere Bethel, the uttermost South-border of the Kingdom of the tenne Tribes: for which cause *30* *Basbe* in the time of *Asa* King of *Juda*, fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from him to *Asa*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha* I should rather thinke *Ioseph* was, that buried *Christ*: because it was nearer to *Jerusalem*, and after the captivtie belonged to *Judea*, as it appears *Esd. 2. 26.* where in that it is ioyned with *Gebah*, it is plaine that he speaketh of that *Rama* with whose stones (after *Basbe* had ceased to build it) *Asa* (as it is *1. Reg. 25. 22.*) built *Gebah* adjoyning to it: both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the tenne Tribes, so was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdom of *Juda*: whence *2. Reg. 23. 8.* we read that *Ioshua* through all his Kingdom, euen from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-Sheba* which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie *Gibba* which was the Citie of *Saul* (the wickednesse of which Citie in the time of the *Judges* had almost utterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichimus* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished *Esd. 10. 27.* of which word * *Gibba*, in another forme *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gabaath* another Citie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinie of this Citie also to *Rama* of *Benjamin*, appears *Iud. 19. 13.* where the *Leuit* with his wife not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibba*. By that place of *1. Sa. 22. 6.* it seemes that there was in this *Gibba* some tower or Citadel called *Rama*: where *Iunio* reads in *exce. 10.* for in *Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings place in this Citie, was *Rama*: as it seems that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chiefe place where *Samuel* with the College of Prophets abode, was *Naioth*. The great Citie of *Hai* overthrowne by *Jos.* which *Ios. 7. 2.* is placed nere *Beth-aven* vpon the East of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe as is proued *Neh. 7. 10. 30.* though it be not named by *Iosua* *1. 18.* for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is *Ios. 8. 28.* in *salutudinem in tumulum perpetuum*; Another



* The word *Nethunip* or *Neibung*, is as much as *dati* (as it were a *Deo dati*) or as *luxus* ex- pounds it *dediti*, it is *vid.* *eban. 9. 2.* and in *Esdra* and *Nethunip* of- ten.

Citie of cheife note reckoned *Isa. 8: 25*; in this Tribe was *Gibbon*, the cheife Citie of the *Heuites* : whose cunning, to bind the *Israelites* by oath to faue their lues, is fet downe *Isa. 9*; whence they were reckoned among the * *Nethinim* or *Profelits*; and were bound to certaine publicke feruices in the house of God: which oath of fau- ing these *Gibeonites* broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine *2. Sam. 21. 1*. This *Gibeon* or *Gibbon* with *Aimon* and *Iebah* (of both which wee haue spoken) and with *Hanoth* hath the natipl place of *Hieremie* the Prophet, were said *Ier. 21. 8* to be giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Beniaminites*. Neere to this *Hanoth* was *Nub*, as appears *1. Reg. 2. 26*; where *Eliabhar* the Priest, which was of *Nub* before it was de- stroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanoth* : It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Nehem. 9. 11*, and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the *Ark* was at *Kiriah-gearim* : yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloodhed, which *Saul* traifed in this place (as it is fet downe *1. Sam. 22. 1* and *22. j*) in the iudgement of *Iu- nus*, it is proued that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this Tribe *Nehem.* 9. 31. was a place of flame, of which *Esaï* 10. 28. where also he nameth *Gallim*, and *Magdon* in this Tribe. In *Micmas* Saul had his Camp 1. *Sam.* 12. (when he left *Gilboa* to *Jonathan*) and there also was *Jonathan Macebabeus* his aboad. 1. *Mace.* 9. 73. Of *Gilgala* in *Galilee* *Iosaphus* makes often mention, but of any here in *Beniamin*, which they make the northern place of *S. Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he sailed with his parents to 29 *Tharsis*, of this I find no good warrant. Other places of little importance I omit, and come to the City of *Hierusalem*, and the Princes and Governors of this City: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, whence *Ios.* 18. 28. it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin*.

ø. II.

Of diuers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.



* See in the
higher half of
Mavalle.

AT what time *Hierusalem* was built (which afterward became the Princess of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there are who imagine that *Melchisedec* was the founder thereof in *Abraham*'s time. But according to others, that Cite out of which *Melchisedec* did incounter *Abraham* (in his returne from the ouerthrow of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings or Captaines, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the river of *Iordan*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the *Greekes Solima*.

Hierusalem (when feweur or by whom feweur built) was a principall Citie in *Iofua* his time : yet not so renowned as *Hasor* the *Metropolis* (in those daies and before) of all the *Cannites*. *Adonisedek* (whom *Iofua* lew) was then King of *Hierusalem*.⁴⁰ That it was belonging to the *Iebusites* it manifest : for how long fouer they held it before *Mojſes* time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400. yeeres after him : euen till *Dauid* wanne it : and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Iebusis* (the children of *Iebus* the sonne of *Canaan*) built ; after whom it was called *Iebuſ*. And ſo much did that Nation rely on the strength of the place, as when *Dauid* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people should defend it.

David after he had by Gods assistance off set it, and turned out the *Iebusites* gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit: strengthened it with a *Citadell* or *Callee*: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Iebusalem*, the *Citie* of the *Iebusites*, to *Hierusalem*, which the *Greekes* call *Hierosolima*.

After *Dauids* time *Salomon* amplified, beautified and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the worke of the Temple, which was no lesse admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and wals, could not any wher in the world

bee exemplad: and besides that it had 150000. inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foor of depth: cut out of the very rocke: and 250. foor of breadth: whereof the like hath seldom been heard of, either since or before.

After the death of *Salomon*, and that the Kingdome of the *Jewes* was cut afunder, *Sisufus* King of *Aegypt*, and his predecessour, having bred vp for that purpose, *Adad* the *Damasc*, and *Ieroboam*, *Salomons* sruant; and both married to *Aegyptians*: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: *Sisufus* first invaded the Territorie of *Juda*: entred *Iherusalem*, and sackt it, and became Master not onely of the riches of *Salomon*, but of all those spoiles which *Dauid* had gotten from *Adadazer*, *Tobin*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was againe sackt and a part of the wall throwne downe by *Iosias* King of *Israel*, while *Amasias* the twelfth King thereof governed *Juda*.

Not long after *Achaz* the fifteenth King of *Juda* impoucrishd the Temple, and presented *Teglabassar* with the treasures thereof. And *Manasse* the sonne of *Ezekiah*, the sonne of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embassadors of *Merodach*, lost the remaine, and the very bottom of their treasures. It was againe spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Ioskim* then reigning. But this vngratefull, Idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kinde of impietie, filling the Citie euen to the mouth with innocent blood, God raised vp that great *Babylonian* King *Nabuchadensor*, as his scourge and reuenger, who making this glorious King and Temple with all the Palaces therein, and the wals and towers which imbraced them, euen and leuell with the dust: carried away the spoiles with the Princes and people, and crusht them with the heauie yoke of bondage and seruitude full 70. yeeres, in somuch as *Sion* was not onely become as a torne and plowed vp field, *Iherusalem* a heape of stone, and rubble, the mountaine of the Temple as a groue, or wood of thornes and briars, but (as *Hierome* speaketh) Even the birds of the ayre scorned to flie ouer it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soile.

Then 70. yeeres being expired according to the Prophecie of *Daniel*, and the *Jewes* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was againe built, though with interruption and difficultie enough: and the Citie meanly inhabited, and without wals or other defences, for some 60. and odde yeeres, till *Nebemias* by the fauour of *Artaxerxes* rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie spoiled by *Bagojes* or *Pargotes*, the Licutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolemæus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphane*s: and againe by *Appollonius* his Licutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Craesus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as he could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the industrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberaltie of strangers. Before the captiuitie, the people of the land through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repaire the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolemæus Lagi* to the second Temple, was requited by the bountie of his sonne *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphane*s and his followers was mended partly by the great Offerings which were sent to *Iherusalem* out of other Nations. Finally all the losses, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well seeme forgotten in the reigne of *Herod* that vsurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous workes did so adorne them, that he left them fairemore stately and glorious than they had beene in the daies of *Salomon*.



In this flourishing estate, it was at the comming of our Saviour Christ Iesus: and after his death and ascension, it so continued about 400. yeres. But then did Titus the Roman, being stirred vp, by God, to be the reuenger of Christ his death; and to punish the Iewes sinfull ingratitude, incompasse it with the Roman armie, and became Lord thereof. Hee began the siege at such time as the Iewes, from all parts, were come vp to the celebration of the Passouer: so as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts; and no manner of prouision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the ciuile dissension, oppressed them within the walles; a forcible enemy assailed them without. The Idumaeans also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the Iewes Kingdome, thrust themselves into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when Nabuchodonosor tooke it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the victorie, eleuen hundred thousand soules: and the Citie was so beaten downe, and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly beleue that there had been any such place or habitation. Onely the three Herodian towers (workes most magnificent, and ouertopping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the Roman garrisons, as that thereby their victorie might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after ages might iudge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining that thereouer became victorious.

After this, such Iewes as were scattered here and there in Iudas, and other Princes, beganne againe to inhabit some part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the Roman State: but after 65. yeres, when they againe offered to reuolt, and rebell, *Elisus Adrianus* the Emperour slaughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three Herodian Towers, with all the rest, making it good which Christ himselfe had foretold: That there should not stand one stone vpon another, of that vngratefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeased, and the Prophecie accomplished, he tooke one part without the wall, wherein stood Mount Caluarie, and the Sepulcher of Christ, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, hee againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Elia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Behet*, he caused a Sowe to be cut in marble, and set in the front thereof, which hee did in despite of the Iewes Nation: making an *Edific*, that they should not from thenceforth euer enter into the Citie, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

But the Christian Religion flourishing in *Palestina*, it was inhabited at length, by all Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500. yeres.

It was afterward in the 636. yeere after Christ, taken by the Egyptian Saracens, who held it 400. and odd yeeres.

In the yeere 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey of Buillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the Saracens, which *Godfrey*, when hee was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because Christ, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recovery, it remained vnder the successours of *Godfrey* 88. yeres: till in the yeere 1197. it was regained by *Saladine of Aegypt*: and lastly, in the yeere 1517. in the time of *Selm*, the Turkes cast out the Egyptians, who now hold it, and call it *Constaninople*, or the Holy Citie. Neither was it Ierusalem alone that hath so oftentimes bene beaten downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the world haue with their inhabitants, in severall times and ages, suffered the same shipwracke. And it hath bene Gods iust will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the

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impetie of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slaucric; but hee hath re-
 unged himselfe of the very places they posselt; of the wals and buildings, yea of
 the loyle and the beasts that fedde thereon.

For, even that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect, lost all her fertilitie, and
 fruitfulness; withnelfe the many hundreds of thousands which it fedde in the dayes
 of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*; it being at this time all ouer, in effect, exceeding
 stony and barraine. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from
 heauen, the Cities of the Sodomites; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and doth
 feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beast that belonged
 10 to *Amelek*, no not any small number of them to bee sacrificed to himselfe, neither
 was it enough that *Achan* himselfe was stoned, but that his moueables were also
 consumed and brought to alhes.

§. IIII.

Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the
 ancient *Jewes*.

20  F the original of the *Jewes*, prophane writers haue conceived diuerf-
 ly and inuiously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of
 their leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation.
Diodore and *Strabo* make them *Aegyptians*. Others affirme that while
Isis governed *Aegypt*, the people were so increased, as *Ierusalem*,
 and *Judas* ledde thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted
 the neighbour Regions; which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name
 of *Moses* was accidentall, because hee was taken vp and saued out of the waters. But
Isis, of all other most malicious, doth deriue the *Jewes* from the *Syrian* Kings; of
 whom, *Damascus*, saith hee, was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*,
 and *Israel*. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that *Israel* had
 tenne sonnes, among whom hee diuided the land of *Juda*; so called of *Judas* his el-
 dest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sonnes of *Israel* he calleth
 30 *Isoph*: who being brought vp in *Aegypt*, became learned in magicall Arts, and in
 the interpretations of Dreames, and signes prodigious, and this *Isoph* (saith hee)
 was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foule diseases, and lest
 they should infect others, were banished *Aegypt*. Further, hee telleth how these
 men thus banished, when in the *Deserts* they suffered extreme thirst and famine,
 and therein found reliefe the seventh day, for this cause euer after obserued the se-
 uenth day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselves, which afterward
 became a branch of their Religion. Hee addeth also that they might not marrie
 40 out of their owne Tribes, lest discouering their vncleanness, they might also be
 expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Aegyptians*. These and like fables
 hath *Isis*.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grossly belie them in affirming That in the inmost Ora-
 torie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an *Asse*, which they adored.
 But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himselfe, hauing in the first booke of his owne *Historie*
 truly confuted of the *Jewes*, that they worshipped one only God: and thought
 it most prophane to represent the *Deitie* by any materiall figure, by the shape of a
 man, or any other creature; and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or
 representation, no nor so much as in any Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like
 50 this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*; who also makes *Judas* with *Idumea*, the
 first parents of the *Jewes*.

Claudius Iulius drawes them from *Judas*, whose parents were *Spartan* and *Thebis*;
 whence it came that the *Spartans* or *Lacedaemonians* challenged kindred of the *He-*
brenes: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Josephus*. Some of these re-
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Tert. in 4p. l.

Calch. f. 69.

ports seeme to haue been gathered out of diuine letters, though wrested and peruer-
 ted, according to the custome of the Heathen. For so haue they obscured and altered
 the storie of the Creation, of *Paradise*, of the Flood; and giuen new names to
 the children of *Adam* in the first age: to *Noah* and his sonnes, in the second: and so
 to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the fathers, and leaders of the *He-
 brewes*: all which finings, as touching the *Jewes* and their originals, *Iosephus* against
Appion, and *Tertullian* haue sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrewes* were the
 Children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and so *Chaldeans* originally,
 taking name either of *Heber*, the sonne of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandering,
 as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greeke Grammarian,
 deriue the *Hebrewes* or *Jewes*, from *Abramon*; hauing mistaken the name of *Abra-
 ham*, who was the sonne of *Heber*, in the first descent. Their ancient names were
 first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Jacob*, otherwise *Isra-
 el*, the chiefe part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at
 length the remnant of *Jacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name
 of *Judas*, the sonne of *Jacob*, and became *Judaans* or *Jewes*: as also for a time in the
 name of *Ephraim* the sonne of *Ioseph*, the chiefe of the *Patriarches* of the ten Tribes,
 the rest of the tenne Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when
 the Kingdome of *Israel* fell. The *Judaans* continued their names, though they suf-
 fered the same seruitude not long after, vnder *Nabuchodonosor*.

The gouernment which this Nation underwent, was first paternall: which
 continued till they serued the *Aegyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their
 Captaines and leaders, *Moses* and *Iesus*, by a pollicie Diuine. Thirdly, they
 subiected themselves to Iudges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and
 had *Saul* for the first: Of whom and his successours, before
 wee intreat, wee are first to speake of their Gouern-
 ment vnder Iudges, after the death of *Iesus*:
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Chap. 14. 8.
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CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the world, from
the death of *Iosua* to the Warre of *Troy* :
which was about the time of

I E P H T H A.

§. I.
Of the inter-regnum after *Iosua*'s death : and of
Othniel.



WHEN *Iosua* was now dead, who with the ad-
uise of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held
authoritie ouer the people, and ordered that
Common-weale: It pleased God to direct the
Tribe of *Iuda* (in whom the Kingdom was
afterward established), to vndertake the Warre
against the *Canaanites*, ouer whom (with Gods
fauour, and the assistance of *Simeon*) they be-
came victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they
not only slew ten thousand, but made *Adoni-
bezek* prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Com-
mander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*.

This tyrants crueltie as else where hath beene signified, they returned in the same
30 kinde vpon his owne head: and so by the torments which he now felt in his owne
person (before no otherwise knowne vnto him but by his malicious imagination)
made him confesse and acknowledge Gods iust iudgment against himselfe.

The Tribes of *Iuda* and *Simeon* did also master and possesse during this inter-
regnum (or as some thinke, before the death of *Iosua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Akkon*,
Eckron, and *Iherusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Iebusites* afterward reedified.
They took also the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, after-
wards *Horms*. And although it be not set downe in expresse wordes that any one
person commanded in chiefe ouer the people, as *Moses* and *Iosua* did: yet it seemeth
that *Caleb* was of greatest authoritie among them: and that hee with the aduise of

40 *Phinees* directed and ordered their warres. For if any thinke that they proceeded
without a chiefe, the good successe which followed their undertakings witnesseth
the contrarie. And it was *Caleb* euen while *Iosua* gouerned, as appears *Ios. 10. 39*:
that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the Captaines: for the perfor-
mance of which enterprise, he promised his Daughtre *Achisab*: which he performed
to *Othniel* his younger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that seruice
was such, as (next vnto the ordinance of God) it gaue him the greatest reputation
among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election
for their first *Iudge* soone after. But while those of *Iuda* made warre with their bor-
ders, from whom they only recovered the mountainous Countries (for they
could not drine out the inhabitants of the Vallies, because they had Chariots of yron.)

50 The rest of the Tribes fought also to enlarge and establish their owne Territories:
in which warre they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of *Ioseph* re-
covered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recouer from *Dan* all
the plaine Countries: and fort them to saue themselves in the Mountaines. And
Iud. 1. 35
Iud. 1. 33.

NOW

Ind. 3. 10.

2608.

2648.

now the *Israellites* vnmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously a fore-time defended them, and made them victorious ouer their enemies (the *Eiders* being all consumed, who better aduised them in the *inter-regnum*) did not only ioyne themselves in marriage with the *Heathen Nations*: but (that which was more detestable) they serued the *Idols of Baal*, and *Asteroth*, with other the dead Gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amerites*. And therefore did the Lord God whom they had prouoked with their idolatrie, deliuer them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*: whom *Chusban Rishathum* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeares, it pleased him to haue compassion on his people, and to raise vp *Othoniel* to bee their Iudge and Leader: who by God assisted, deliuered his bretheren from oppression: and inuorth the *Aramites* to returne into their owne *Desarts*, and into *Mesopotamia* adioyning after which the *Israellites* had peace fortie yeares, during all the time of *Othoniels* gouernment. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tostatus* to haue bene the yonger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the booke of *Iudges* he is twice called *Othoniel* the sonne of *Cenez* *Calebs* yonger brother. Others doe rather interpret those wordes (*Caleb* yonger brother) as if they signified the meanest of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely, that *Calebs* Daughter should marrie with her owne Vnle; yet it followes not therefore that *Othoniel* should haue bene the meanest of the kindred. Wherefore we may better thinke that he was the Nephew of *Caleb* (as some learned men expound it) and as the very wordes of Scripture seeme to enforce. For *Caleb* was the sonne of *Iephunneh*, and *Othoniel* the sonne of *Cenez*, *Calebs* yonger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his yonger brothers sonne; to whom it was not only lawfull, but commendable to marrie with his Cousen German *Calebs* daughter.

Ind. 7. & 18.
& 19.

How long it was from the death of *Iosuah* to the gouernment of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it seemes to haue bene no short time. For many Warres were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Laijs* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best writers are of opinion that between the times of *Iosuah* and *Othoniel* that ciuill warre brake out betweene the *Beniamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Leuites* wife. For it is written that in those daies there was no King in *Israel*, but euery man did that which was good in his owne cies. And as *Iuda* led the people against the *Canaanites* during the *Inter-regnum*, so was hee commanded to doe against *Beniamin*, euen by the Lord God, whose direction they craued, as wanting a Iudge to appoint what should be done, which sheweth it to haue bene when *Iosuah* was dead, and before the gouernment of *Othoniel*, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Gouernours, were spent vnder such oppression of strangers, as would haue giuen them no leaue to haue attended such a ciuill Warre, if their power had bene as great, as it was in the managing of this action, wherein they so weakened the body of their estate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies,

d. II.

Of the memorable things of this Age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.

Here liued in this age of *Othoniel*, *Pandion* or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the fifth King of *Athens*: who beganne to rule in the twentieth yeare of *Othoniel*, and gouerned fortie yeares. Hee was father to *Erichonius*: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Phlomis*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose Daughter *Semele* was borne *Dionysius* or *Liber pater*: vnder whom *Linus* the *Musitian* liued. In his time

time also the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharus*, were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flourished in this age, who are said to have found out the use of iron: but *Genesis* hath taught vs the contrarie, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in iron and brasile. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zeubus* gouerned *Thebes*: whom diuers *Chronologers* finde in *Elands* time. But *S. Augustine* making a repetition of those fables, which were deuised among the *Græci* and other Nations, during the gouernment of the Iudges, begins with *Triptolemus* of whose parentage there is a little agreement. *Vines* vpon the thirteenth Chapter of *S. Augustine de Cuitate Dei*, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where hee that desires his pedigree may finde it. *Plautius* and *Eusebius* make him native of *Attica*: and the sonne of *Elenus* King of *Elenus*: which *Elenus* by careful industrie had fed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This when vpon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boate, which carried in her Prowe a grauen or carued Serpent: who becaule he made exceeding great speede to returne and to relieue his people with Corne; from some neighbour Nation: it was fained by the *Poets*, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the aire.

Whether the times of these Kings which liued together with *Othniel*, and after him with the rest of the Iudges and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set downe, I cannot auow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I desire to be excused if in these comparisons I erre with others of better iudgement. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves so conuerfant with these ancient Kings, and with the very years when they beganne to rule) haue hit the marke of time of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the ancientest *Chronologers* haue borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne works, but coniecture: Secondly, because their owne disagreement and contention in those elder daies, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans vnderstanding, saue his owne, but that he is greatly diffracted, after what patterne to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not only in the raignes of Heathen Kings and Princes; but euen in computation of those times which the indisputable authoritie of holy Scripture hath summed vp, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the Iudges and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression to the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the *Persian* Empire, the sequente Weekes, and in what not? Where soeuer the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men haue sought by so many waies to vncouer the Sunne, that the daies thereby are made more darke, and the cloudes more condensit than before, I can therefore giue no other warrant, than other men haue done in these computations: and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this or that yeare, I auow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a priuate opinion: which I submit to better iudgements. *Nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad vnguam querenda;* In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth, saies *Diodore*.

6. 4. 12.
Whence came
the name of
Palais by A-
phrodis of the
two hill letters
Ang. de ciuit. Dei
l. 8. c. 13.

fruct

171. 256

p. III.

of ENYDVS time, and of PROSERPINA, ORITHYA, TEREVS,
TANTALVS, TITYVS, ADMETVS, and others that
liued about these times.



After the death of *Orsonid* when *Israel* fell back to their former Idolatrie, God encouraged *Mosh* to inuade and suppress them: to performe which he ioyned the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amale* vnto his owne, and so (as all kinde of miserie readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to make them feeble the difference betwene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations, had an easie conquest ouer *Israel*: whom God himselfe exposed to those perills: within which they were so speedily folded vp. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteen yeares vnder *Eglon* King of the *Moabites*, and his confederates. Yet as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his eares from their crying repentance: but raised vp *Ehud* the sonne of *Gera* to deliuer them: by which weak man though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the iustnesse of his quarrell, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, he resolved to attempt vpon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguishe, he assured himselfe of the following victorie: especially giuing his Nation no time to reestablish their government, or to choose a King to command, and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embassador to *Eglon*, loaden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appeale him, and obtaining priuate access vpon the pretence of some secret to be revealed: he pierd his bodie with a Poniard, made of purpoe with a double edge: and shutting the doores of his closet vpon him, escaped.

It may seeme that being confident of his good successe, hee had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readinesse. For sodainly after his returne, he did repasse *Jordan*, and inuading the Territorie of *Moab*, ouerthrew their Armie consisting of 100000 able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victorie, and that *Sangar* his Successor had miraculously slaine 600. *Philistines* with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of *Israel* liued in peace vnto the end of fourescore yeares from the death of *Orsonid*, which terme expired in the Worlds year 2691.

In the daies of *Ehud Naomi* with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two sonnes, trauielled into *Moab*, and so the storie of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourescore yeares which are giuen to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Molossians*: otherwise *Pluto*, stile *Proserpina*, as shee walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hippocynnus* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pausanias*) by the Riuer *Cephissus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he mean not two distinct Riuers. This shee then being made knowne to *Pyrius* with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* ioyned themselves, they agreed together to recouer her: but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidenius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on *Pyrius*, and tare him in peeces, and had also wearied *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him: and by strength tooke and mastered the Dogge *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his deliuering of *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zexes*, as I take it, hath written this storie somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrius* such he, attempted to steale *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidenius*, King of the *Molossians* who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina*. *Proserpina* being a generall name also for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to *Aidenius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrius* were both taken, and because *Pyrius* was the principall in this conspiracie, and *Theseus* drawne on by a kinde of affection or enforcement, the one was giuen for food to *Aidenius* his great Dogge *Cerberus*: the other held prisoner til *Hercules* by the instigation of *Enirithus* deliuered him by strong hand. The *Molossians* which

Paus. in dit.

which Stephanus writes with a single (S) were a people of Epirus inhabiting neare the Mountaines of Pindus: of which Mountaines Oeta is one of the most famous, where Hercules burnt himselfe. The River of Acheron (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Ala* in Thessalie: but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopei*, saith *Plutarch* in his *Greek* questions.

The rape of *Orithya* the Daughter of *Erichon*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Eubud*. The Poets ascribethis rape to the North winde, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In his time also *Tereus* 10 ransied *Philomela*, of which the fable was devised of her conuersion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, forst her in the passage, and withall cut out her tongue that shee might not complaine; persuading *Progne* his Wife that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother in law's mercilesse behaviour towards her, *Philomela* expressed by her needle vpon cloth, and sent it *Progne*. In reuenge whereof *Progne* caused her only Sonne *Irys* to be cut in peeces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, lo dressed as it appeared to be some other ordinarie foode: of which when he had eaten his fill, shee caused his head, handes, and feete, to be presented vnto him: and then fled away with such speede towards *Athens* where her Father *Pandion* yet liued, as the Poets faied, that shee was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis* in *Phocis*: and the Tombe of *Tereus*, *Pausanias* hath built neare the Rocks *Mergi*, in the Territorie of *Athens*. By which as also by the name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to haue bene done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulis ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his *Peloponnesian* Warre, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryssa*, (as the Poets call him *Odrysius*) but that *Phocis* a Countie in Greece not farre from *Attica* a Citie whereof is called *Daulis*, was in *Pandion*'s time inhabited by *Thracians*: of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion* to haue amitie with his neighbours, made him his sonne in law: as it is good

to beleeue, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King from whom he might haue succour, rather then with any *Tereus*, that should haue held the Kingdome of *Odryssa*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seeme to haue bene partly because, as *Pausanias* saies: *Daulide nec midifciant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines*; As if a Swallow remembering the wrong that was there done to her, and to her sister, did for euer hate that place.

Neare this time *McLampus* (who is said to haue vnderstood the voices of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Philisician. Hee restored to their former health the Daughters of *Praxus* King of the *Argues*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Iuno*: and thinking themselves to be Kinged into the woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countreies, where the ground was light, they did vse often to plough with Kine.

In the 47. yeare of *Eubud*, *Troi* beganne to raigne in *Dardania*, and gaue it his owne name, about which time *Phemone* the chiefe Priest of *Apollo* in *Delfhos*, deuised the *Hiericall* Verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Ensebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Maones*. *Oytantalus* was deuised the fable that some Poets haue applied to the passion of loue: and some to the couetous that dare not inioy his riches. *Ensebius* calls this *Tantalus* 15 Sonne of *Iupiter*, by the *Nymph* *Pleta*: *Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zece*. giue him another Mother. He was said to be the sonne of *Iupiter*, as some will haue it; because he had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening wisdom and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the Gods, hauing nothing more precious: he caused his owne Sonne to be slaine and dressed for the banquet: of whom *Ceres* eat part of one of the shoulders:

17 8 212 240 101 17
84 86 88 89 90 91
117 74 160 5
182 5 9 74
112 5 20 12 3
100 2016

Paus. Ath.
Thuc. 2.

Paus. 11.
Homer. Odys. 13.

Paus.

Polib. prop. 2.
Hic. 12. Zet.
Hic. 12. 13.



shoulders: whereby was signified that those men which seeke after diuine knowledge, *preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children,* of all life the most dearelt. And wherewith was deuised, that he had alwaies Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst: *he meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwise and to higher desires transported, he enioyed no pleasure at all by therit.* Of whom *Onida*:

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
TANTALVS, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here TANTALVS in water seekes for water, and doth misse,
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted vpon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the Gods: that is, because he taught wisdom and vertue to mortall men: which storie *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expose this fable otherwise and say, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thir-
stie of more abundance, was neuer satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against cou-
routieffe.

TANTALVS à labijs siliens fugientia captat
Flumina quidrides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting TANTALVS doth catch at streames that from him flee,
Why laugh'st thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceiue where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gaue the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the Gods to vaine and vnworthie men, that hee was therefore by them in 30
that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*.

*Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Coëtanijs cōnuis
Nec̄tar Ambrosiamq. dedit.*

Because that stealing immortallitie,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* giue
To guests of his owne age to make them liue.

Whereby it was meant that the secrets of Diuinitie, ought not to be imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneſt meates in a foule ſtomack, are therein corrupted, ſo the moſt high and reſerued myſteries are often peruerſed by an vnclene and defiled minde.

Mark 4:11. To you it is given (saith Christ in MARK) to know the myserie of the Kingdome of God, but vnto them that are without it these things be done in parables. So is said of him, that he expounded all things to his Disciples a part. And therefore doth Gregori. Nazianzen inferre vnto a place of S. PAUL. Quod si PAULO licuisset scribere, quoniam ipse cognitionem eam litterarum et vsque ad illud progressus suppetuauit, fortasse de deo bis aliquid amplius conuictet? If PAUL might haue uttered the things, the knowledge of whereof the text becaues, and his going thither did bring vnto him, peraduenture we might know somewhat more of God.

Pythagoras, faith Rendin, thought it not the part of a wise man, *Asino lyram experire, aut mysticria, quae ita reciperet, ut Sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & unguenta Scra-*

Mark. xii.

Mark 9:24.

Greg. in Orat. de
revelatione dis.
de Deo.
2. Cor. 12.

bani: quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo diuinorum arcanis pateficerent, qua meditatione facilius, quam loquendo apprehenderentur; To set an Asse to a harpe, or to learne mysteries: which he would handle as a Svine doth a trumpet, or a Tay a viall, or Scarabes and vncleane flies soueraigne ointment. Wherefore he commanded silence to his disciples: that they should not disciose diuine mysteries to the common sort, which are easier learnt by meditation than by babling. And therefore did the Egyptians communicate their mysteries among their Priests in certaine Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their secrets might be hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their couered meanings.

- 10 But to proceede with the contemporaries of *And*, or *Ehud*, with him it is also said, that *Tityus* liued whom *Apollo* slew, because he fought to force his Mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the Sonne of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloued of *Iupiter* to auoid *Iuno*'s reuenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where shee was deliuered of *Tityus*: whose Mother dying, and himselfe therein nourished, he was therefore called the sonne of the earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the graue of this *Cyant*, affirms that his bodie occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his stature out of *Homers*.

*Porrectusq; nouem TITYVS per ingera terra
Aethiis atro viscere passit aues.*

Hom. Od. 11.

Nine furlongs stretch lies *TITYVS*, who for his wicked deedes
The hungrie birds with his renewing liuer daily feedes:

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a Citie in *Phocia*, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still liued, and had his flesh renewed.

- 30 *Aemetus* King of *Thessalia* liued also in this Age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first serued as a Heard-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him aduanced; but hauing slaine *Ilyacinthus* he crost the *Hellispon*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where together with *Neptune*, hee was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricke leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in *Ouid* which fairh:

*Iliou apicies, formatq; turribus altis
Mentis, APOLLINEAE structa canore lyra.*

- 49 Strong *Iliou* thou shalt see with walls and towers high
Built with the harpe of wife *APOLLO*'s harmonic.

Thus the Poets: but others, that hee laboured with his handes, as hired in this worke. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Pausanias* 411. 127
Megarians witness, saith *Pausanias*.

- In these daies also of *Ehud*, or (as some finde it) in the daies of *Deborah*, liued *Persus* the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Danae*, by whose Souldiers (as they sailed out of *Peloponnesus* to seeke their adventure on *Affrica* side) *Medusa* the Daughter and Successor of *Phorcus*, being weakely accompanied as shee hunted, neare the Lake
50 *Triton*, was surpris'd and slaine: whose beutie when *Persus* beheld, he caused her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beaume whereof was such and so much admired, and the beholders to astonish'd which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa*'s head, were turned into stones.

*Triton a Lake of
Affrica which
Plinie calls
Pallantia.
Diodor. in perre-
gry.*

Oo

Cecrops

Cecrops the second of that name and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or after *Eusebius*, the 14. King of the *Argives*, began also their reigns, as it is said, in the time of this Iudge: of which the first ruled 40. yeares, and the second 31. yeares. Also *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the sonne of *Glaucon*, the sonne of *Sisyphus*: who inticed by *Antea* or *Sthenobia* the wife of *Præus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refusing it, shee accus'd him to her husband that he offered to force her: wherupon *Præus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia* about some affaires of weight, between him and his Sonne in law *Iobates*: giuing secret order to *Iobates* to dispatch him: but *Iobates* thinking it dishonorable to lay violent handes on him: imployed him against *Chimæra*, a Monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the Gods (as the report is) pitying his innocencie, sent him the winged Horse *Pegasus*, sprung vp of the blood of *Medusa*, formerly slaine by the Souldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport him, a horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerva*: vpon which beast *Bellerophon* overcame *Chimæra*: and performed the other seruices giuen him in charge: which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Acyians* lay in ambush to haue slaine him: but being victorious also ouer all those, he arriued to *Iobates* in safetie: whom *Iobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdome: after which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to flie vp to heauen vpon his *Pegasus*: whose pride *Iupiter* disdainning, caused one of his stinging flies so to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Caliccia*, where he died blinde: of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heauen: and being fed in *Iupiters* owne stable, *Aurora* beg'd him of *Iupiter* to ride on before the *Sunne*. This tale is diuersly expounded, as first by some, that it pleaseth God to relieue men in their innocent and vnderfused aduersitie, and to cast downe those which are too high-minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*: that when he was exposed to extreame hazard, or rather certaine death, he found both deliuerance and honor: but waxing ouer-proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of sorrow, and euer-during miserie. Secondly by others, that vnder the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruell Pyrate of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her 30 prow a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearne, of which three beasts this Monster *Chimæra* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kinde of Galley of such swiftnesse that it was called the flying Horse: to whom the inuention of sailes (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other explications are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not vnlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Æneas*.

L. 5. *Æneid.*

Ion also from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquite of their parent *Iauan*) deriue their name of *Iones*, is said to haue bene about *Ebuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Jaones*, which hath a neare resemblance to the word *Iauan*. Perhaps it might be so that *Ion* himselfe tooke name from *Iauan*: it being a custome obseruable in the Histories of all times, to reuiue the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his issue.

The inuasion of *India* by *Liber Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but *S. Augustine* makes him farre more ancient: placing him between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Iofua*.

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to *Ebud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished: who gaue name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.



After *Israel* had lived in peace & plenty to the end of these 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giuer of all goodnesse, and many of those being worne out, which were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliuerance by *Ehud*, and after him by *Samgar*, the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandments. For as Plentie & Peace are the parents of idle securitie: so securitie as fruitfull in getting and bringing forth both danger and subuersion: of which all estates in the world haue tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their sinnes were againe ripe for punishment, *Isabir* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the Territorie of *Israel*, and hauing in his seruice 900. yron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subiection twentie yeares, till it pleased God to raise vp *Deborah*, the Prophetesse, who encouraged *Barak* to leuie a force out of *Asphatim*, and *Zabulon*, to encounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nephthali* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seem to haue proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barak* had among them, being of the same Tribe, and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more sensible, than in others, because *Hazor* and *Harofeth* the chiefe holds of *Isabir*, were in *Nephthali*. So in the daies of *Iephtha* the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites* with whom the Warre was, pressed most vpon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliuer *Israel* from the *Midianites*: and by the counsaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Iael* the *Kenites* wife: so was it his will at other times, to worke the like great things by the weakest meanes. For the mighty *Assyrian Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistlesse, he ouerthrew by his owne imaginations, the causes of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchlesse pride into the base humilitie of a Beast. And to approue that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by inuisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Armie of *Senacherib* by his Angell: or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Mosies* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharao* by the waues of the Sea: and the *Canaanites* by haile-stones in the time of *Iosua*: sometimes by the ministerie of men, as when he ouerthrew the foure Kings of the East, *Chedorlommer*, and his companions, by the household seruants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Mozabites* and *Ammonites* to set vpon their owne confederate the Armie of the *Edomites*; and hauing slaine them to kill one another in the fight of *Iehosphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Prophetesse speake vnto *Barak* in these wordes: But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for the Lord sell still *Sisera* into the hands of a Woman. In which victorie all the strength of the *Canaanite* *Iabim* fell to the ground, euen to the last man: in the end of which Warre it cometh that *Iabim* himselfe also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of *Iudges*.

After all which *Deborah* giueth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgment of all his powerfullnesse, and great mercies, she sheweth the weak estate wherinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatrie by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations in these wordes: Was there a shield or speare seen among *fortie* thou sand of *Israel*? he also sheweth how the *Israelites* were feuered and amazed, some of them confined ouer *Jordan*, and durst not ioyne themselves to the rest; as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: so that the *Amorites* kept the Sea-coast, and forooke their habitations towards the Land, and the children of *Dan* who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safetie, shewing thereby that all were disperfed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curseth the inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling neare the place of the battaile (be-like fearing the successe) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesteth *Iael* the

goud in den Jordaan

goud in den Jordaan

Chon. 2. 10.

Jud. 4. 9.

Jud. 5. 10. 11.

Jud. 5. 17.

the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Israelites*. For though the Familie of *Heber* were inforced in that miserable time of subiection, to hold correspondencie with *Iabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occasion offered them meanes, they witnessed their loue and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, shee derideth the Mother of *Sisera* who promised her sonne the victorie in her owne hopes: and fancied to her selfe, and described the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, shee directeth her praises and thanks to God only victorious.

From the beginning of *Iabin*s oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased vnto *Israel*, there passed 40. yeares. In which time the Kingdom of *Argos* which had continued 544. yeares was translated to *Mycena*: The translation of this Kingdome *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lyncus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the sonne of *Lyncus* diuide the Kingdom: of which *Acrisius* being eldest hold *Argos* it selfe. *Prætus* his brother posselt *Ephra* or *Corinth*, and *Tyrniboi*, and other Cities with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in *Tyrniboi*, which witness *Prætus* possession, saith *Pausanias*.

Paus. in Corinthiaca.

Now *Acrisius* was foretold by an Oracle, that hee should be slaine by the Sonne of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Ladie being exceeding faire, it so fained that *Iupiter* turned himselfe into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings sonne, or other Worthie man, corrupted her keepers with gold: and enioyed her, of whom *Perseus* was borne: who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Ctesias*) or in shewing his grand-father the inuention of the discus, or leaden ball, slew him vnwillingly. After this *Perseus* to auoide the infamie of *Patriicide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdomes with his Vncle *Prætus*: and built *Mycena*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise: and that shee was inclosed in a brazen vault, vnder the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Vpon this close custodie *Horace* hath this witty obseruation.

*Inclusam DANAEN, turris aenea,
Robustaq; fores, & vigilum Canum
Tristes exenbia, munierant satis
Nec Furis ab adulteris:
Sic non ACRISIUM Virginis abdita
Custodem panidum, IVPITER & VENUS
Risissent, fore enim tulum iter & patens,
Conuerso in pretium Deo.
Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perumpere amat saxa, potentius
Ictum fulmineo.*

The brazen Tower with doores close barred,
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,
Kept safe the Maidenhead
Of *DANAË* from secret loue:
Till smiling *VENUS*, and wife *Ioue*
Beguid her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden shower,
The God into her lap did powre
Himselfe, and rooke his pleasure.
Through gardes and stonie walls to breake,
The thunder-bolt is farr more weake,
Then is a golden treafure.

The

The first Kings of the Argiues were these.

Inachus the first King, who beganne to reigne in the first yeare of *Jacob*, and the 61. of *Isaac*: from which time to the end of *Sihendus*, *Casilor* misreckoneth 400. yeares. This Kingdome before the translation, *Enchibus* accounteth to haue stood 544. yeares, others but at 417. *Io* was the Daughter of this *Inachus*: whom the *Aegyptians* called *Isis*.

Phoroneus;

Apis,

Argus,

Phryas,

Phorbas,

Triopas,

Crotopus,

Sihendus,

Danaus,

Lyncus,

Abas,

Acritus,

Pelops.

After the translation to *Mycenæ*, *Mar. Scotus* finds these Kings.

Perseus,

Sihendus,

Eurythens,

Atræus and *Thyestes* } The sonnes of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atræus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

Agamemnon,

Aegythius,

Orestes,

Tisamenus,

Penthius and

Cometes.

Of these Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leaue out the two first, and the last: beginning with *Eurythens*: and ending with *Penthius*. In *Tisamenus* time the *Heratida* returned into *Peloponnesus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, were *Midas* who reigned in *Phrygia*: and *Ilus* who built *Ilium*: with others mentioned in our *Chronological* table, as contemporaries with *Debora*.

§. V.

Of *GIDEON*, and of *DAEDALVS*, *SPHINX*, *MINOS*, and others that lived in this Age.

DE *ORAA* and *Barac* being dead the *Midianites* assisted by the *Amalekites* infested *Israd*. For when vnder a *Judge* who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had inioyed any quiet or prosperitie: the *Judge* was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatrie.

Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did lo malter them in a short time (the hand of God being with-held from their defence) as to saue themselves, they crept into caues of the mountaines, and other the like places of hardest access: their enemies possessing all the plaines and fruitfull vallies: and in harvest time by themselves and the multitude of their cattle destroying all that grew vp: couering the fields as thick as grasse-hoppers: which seruitude lasted seauen yeares.

O o 3

Then

Iud. 6. v. 5.

A27 Iud. 6. v. 7.

708 710 5 672
290 35

Then the Lord by his Angell stirred vp *Gideon* the sonne of *Joas*, after ward called *Jerubbaal*: whose feare and vnwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearken him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precisely set down in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hosts: Each of these 300. by Gideons appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terror than force, with which he gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarm, who hearing so loud a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteemed the Armie of *Israel* to be infinite, and stricken with a sodaine feare, they all fled without a stroke stricken: and were slaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slaine. In his returne the *Ephraimites* began to quarrell with *Gideon* because hee made warre without their assistance, being then greedie of glorie, the victorie being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt haue held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appealing them with a mild answer followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tired with trauaile, and wearie euen with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired reliefe from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end that (his men being refreshed) he might ouer-take the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had saved themselves by flight. For they were foure Princes of the Nations which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Salmunna* which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth* sought the like reliefe from the inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatened therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the prosecution of the other two Princes he performed: to wit, that hee would teare the flesh of those of *Succoth* with *T*horns and Briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and Citie of *Penuel*: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse reliefe to their bretheren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victorie: I may presume to make coniecture; it seemes likely, first that those Cities set ouer *Jordan*, and in the way of all inuasions to be made by the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, and *Midianites*, into *Israel*, had either made their owne peace with those Nations, and were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that *Zebah* and *Salmunna* were escaped with a great part of their armie, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For these are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the warre, that both enuie and maligne others, if they performe any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safetie of their owne Countrey, though themselves may bee assured to beare a part of the smart of contrarie successe. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrey should suffer hazzard, and want, than that such men as they mislike should be the Authors or actors of any glorie or good to either.

Now *Gideon*, how or wherefoever it were that hee refreshed himselfe and his warie and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunitie, and pursued his former victorie to the vttermost: and finding *Zebah* and *Salmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no farther attempt vpon them) he againe surpris'd them, & slaughtered those 15000. remaining: hauing put to the sword in the former attempt 120000. and withall hee tooke *Zebah* and *Salmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had executed *Gideons* bretheren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slaine: or (as it is written) at their owne request slew them with his owne hands: his Son whom he first commanded to doe it, refusing it; and in his returne from the consummation of this meruallous victorie, hee tooke reuenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiuing no offence committed against him: either by strangers or by his bretheren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own children found soon after his death, according to that which hath been said before. The

A place in Bas-
sen as it is
thought.
Iud. 6. 10.

deaths of crueltye and mercie are neuer left vn satisfisd: for as he slew the 70. Elders of Succoth with great and vnusuall torments, so were his owne 70. sonnes al, but one, murdered by his owne bastard *Abimele*. The like *Analeges* is obserued by the *Rabbinies*, in the greatc of the plagues which God brought vpon the *Aegyptians*, who hauing caused the male children of the *Hebrewes* to bee slaine, others of them to be cast into the riuer and drowned: God rewarded them euen with the like measure, destroying their owne first borne by his Angel, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his armie in the redde sea. And hereof a world of examples might bee giuen, both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

10 In the end so much did the people reuerence *Gideon* in the present for this victorie, and their owne deliuerance, as they offered him the Soueraigntie ouer them, and to establish him in the Government; which he refused, answering; *I will not*

reigne ouer you, neither shall my childe reigne ouer you, but the Lord shall doe. But he desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden ear-rings, which euerie man had gotten. For the *Ismaelites*' neighbors, and mixt with the *Midianites* vsed to wear them: the waight of all which was a thousand and seven hundred Shekels of gold, which makes of ours. 2380. liif we follow the account of the Shekle vulgar.

And because he conuerted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew like purple, scarlet, and fine linnen belonging to the High Priest onely, and set vp the same in his owne Citie of *Ophrah* or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatrie, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

There was another kinde of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests which the *Leuites* vsed, and so did *David* when he danced before the *Arke*: and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demand how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. men to destroy 120000. of their enemies: and afterward 15000. which remained, wee may remember that although *Gideon* with 300. gaue the first alarme, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder; yet all the rest of the armie came into the slaughter, and pursuite, for it is written; *That the men of Israel being gathered together out*

of *Nephtalie*, and out of *Asher*, and out of *Manasse*, pursued after the *Midianites*: for this armie *Gideon* left in the tents behind him, when he went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyle of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.

There liued with *Gideon* *Aegem* the sonne of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*: *Eurijphew* King of *Mycene*: *Atruu* and *Thyestes* the sonnes of *Pelops*, who bare dominion ouer a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Eurijphew*, the Kingdom of *Mycene* fell into the hand of *Atruu*. This is that *Atruu* who holding his brother in ieaousie as an attempter both of his wife and crowne, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be drest did therewith feast their father. But this crueltye was not vngreued. For both *Atruu* and his sonne *Agamemnon* were slaine by a base sonne of *Thyestes*, yea the grandchildren, and all the lineage of *Atruu* died by the same sword.

In *Gideon*'s time also those things were supposed to haue bene done which are written of *Dadalus* and *Icarus*. *Dadalus* they say, hauing slaine his Nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos* King of *Crete* for succour, where for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, hauing made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth* like vnto that of *Aegypt*. Afterward he was said to haue framed an artificiall Cowe, for *Peliphos* the *Queene*, that he, being in loue with a faire Bull, might by putting her selfe into the Cow satisfie her lust, a thing no lesse vnatural than incredible, had not that shamelesse Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle openly before the people of *Rome* in his *Amphitheater*; of purpose as may seeme to verifie the olde fable. For so it appears by those verses of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnificeth the abhominable shew as a goodly Pageant in those vicious times.

*Invictam Pasiphaen Dictæo credite Tauræ
Vidimus, accepit fabula præfædem.
Nec se miratur Cæsar longæva vetustas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.*

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphae*, *Servius* makes a lesse vnbonest construction of it, thinking that *Dadalus* was of her counsell, and her *Pandar* for the enticing of a *Secretarie* of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with child, and that the being deliuered of two sonnes, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was fained that she was deliuered of the *Minotaur*, halfe a Man and halfe a Bull. But this practise being discouered, and *Dadalus* appointed to be slaine, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicill*: in which passage he made such expedition, as it was fained that he fashioned wings for himselfe and his sonne to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with boats which had oares onely, *Dadalus* framed sailes both for his owne boate, and for his sonnes, by which he outwent those that had him in chase. Vpon which new intencion *Icarus* bearing himselfe ouerbold was ouerborne and drowned.

It is also written of *Dadalus* that he made *Images* that could moue themselves, and goe, because he carved them with legs, armes and hands, whereas those that preceded him could onely present the bodie and head of those men whom they cared to counterfai, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarke* who had seene some of those that were called the *Images* of *Dadalus* found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the sonne of *Apollo*, & *Torfishore* who instructed *Thamiris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. Hec wrate of the Creation, of the *Sunne* and *Moones* course, and of the generation of liuing Creatures, but in the end he was slaine by *Hercules* his scholler with his owne harpe.

Againe, in this age those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus* are thought to haue beene performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the *Corinthian* Armie ledde by *Oedipus* overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rockie and vnaccessible mountaine neere *Thebes* which shee defended, and by *Oedipus* dissoluing her probleme, his victorie ouer her. Shee was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the bodie of a Lyon for her crueltie. But that which *Palephatus* reports of *Sphinx* were more probable did not the time dispoose it, for he calls her an *Amazonite* and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the siter of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despitefull part, with her owne troope he held the mountaine by *Thebes*, from whence he continued a sharpe warre vpon the *Thebans* till by *Oedipus* overthrowen. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharpe warre with the *Megarians*, and *Athenians*, because his sonne *Androgeus* was slaine by them. He posselt himselfe of *Megara* by the treason of *Sylla*, daughter of *Neisus* the King. He was long Master of the sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of deliuering him euery yeere seuen of their sonnes: which tribute *Thebes* released as shall bee shewed when I come to the time of the next Iudge *Thala*. In the end hee was slaine at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia* by *Cocalus* the King, while hee pursued *Dadalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giuer to those Islands.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the giant, who was said to haue 60. and odder cubites of length, which though *Plinius* doth confirme, reporting that there was such a bodie found by *Sertorius* the *Roman* in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Antæus*: yet for my selfe I thinke it but a lowd lie. That *Antæus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth: and because hee callt so many men to the ground, hee was fained to bee the sonne of the Earth. *Plinie* saith that he inhabited neere the gardens *Hesperides* in *Maurotanis*. S.

Augustine

Herind. Plat.
Paus. lib. 9.

Sirab. l. 9.

Strab. l. 11.

Euseb. in chr.

Angustine affirms that this *Hercules* was not of Greece, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a subtle Sophister.

§. VI.
Of the expedition of the *Argonauts*.

ABout the eleventh yeere of *Gideon*, was that famous expedition of the *Argonauts*: of which many fabulous discourses haue bene written, the summe of which is this.

Pelias the sonne of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Aeson*, who was *Iason*s father, reigning in *Ioleus* a towne of *Thessalie*, was warned by the Oracle of *Apollo* to take heede of him that ware but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificiing to *Neptune*, inuited *Iason* to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing ouer a brooke; whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should aduise him to take heede: to which question when *Iason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colebus*, to fetch the golden fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to vndertake that seruice. Therefore *Iason* prepared for the voyage, hauing
 20 a shippe built by *Argus*, the sonne of *Phryxus*, by the Councill of *Pallas*: wherein hee procured all the brauest men of Greece to saile with him: as *Typhus* the Master of the shippe, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Telemachus* and *Peleus*, sonnes of *Aeacus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged sonnes of *Boreas*, *Amphiaras* the great Southsayer, *Alelexander* of *Calidon* that slew the great wilde boare: *Ascalaphus* and *Idmenus* or *Almenus* the sonnes of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last warre of *Troy*, *Laertes* the father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgine, *Idas* and *Lyncus* the sonnes of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux* slew *Castor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slaine themselves: *Lyncus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Iupiter* with lightning.

30 There and many other went with *Iason* in the ship *Argo*: in whose prow was a table of the beech of *Dalonia*, which could speake. They arrived first at *Lenno*; the women of which *Iland*, hauing slaine all the males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were neuertheless contented to take their pleasure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: ouer whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*: who entertained them friendly; but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night they were driuen by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the same Hauens, nor being knowne by the *Doliones*, to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which meanes they fell to blowes, insomuch that the *Argonauts* slew the most part of the *Doliones* together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by daylight they perceived, with many teares they solemnized his funeral. Then departed they againe and arrived shortly in *Myisia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Poliphenus* the sonne of *Elate*, who went to seeke *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was rauished by the *Nymphes*.

Poliphenus built a towne in *Myisia*, called *Cius*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Myisia* the *Argonautes* sailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Behryces*, the aunient inhabitants of the Country, ouer whom *Amicus* the sonne of *Neptune* was then King. He being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him, at whole battes, in which kinde of fight hee had slaine many, and was now himselfe slaine by *Pollux*. The *Behryces* in reuenge of his death flew all vpon *Pollux*, but his companions rescued him; with great laughter of the people. They sailed from hence to *Samydesus*, a towne in *Thrace* (somewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a Soothsayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with the

Angustine
[A.R. 13.]
Enchiridion

77. 30
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Argonaut



Argo at night

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the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were said to be a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and fowle long claws, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for *Phenex*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonautes* craued his aduise, and direction for their voyage : you shall doe well (quoth he) first of all to deliuer me from the *Harpyes*, and then afterwards to aske my Counsaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be couered, and meat set on; which was no sooner set downe, then that presently in came the *Harpyes*, and played their accustomed pranks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men saw this, they drew their swords, and pursued them through the ayre; some say 10 that both the *Harpyes* and the young men died of wearinesse in the flight, and pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith that the *Harpyes* did couenant with the youths, to doe no more harme to *Phenex*, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turne *Phenex* gaue them informations of the way, and aduertised them withal of the daungerous rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of windes running together, did shut vp the passage: wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them into the passage: and if that passed safe, then to aduventure after her: if not, then by no meanes to hazard themselues in vaine. They did so, and perceiving that the pigeon had only lost a piece of her taile, they obserued the next opening of the rocks and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, only the end of the poepe was 20 bruised.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have stood still: for the Gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a shippe, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonautes* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteously. Here *Iason* a Soothsayer of their company was slaine by a wild boare; also here *Typhis* died: and *Aeneas* vnderooke to scare the shippe. So they passed by the river *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucasus*, and came to the river *Ibexis*, which runnes through the land of *Colechos*. When they were entred the haven, *Iason* went to *Aetes* the King of *Colechos*, and told him the Commaundement of *Pelias*, and cause of his comming, desiring him to deliuer the golden Fleece, which *Aetes*, as the Fable 30 goeth, promised to doe, if he alone would yooke together two brazen hoofe bulles, and plowing the ground with them, sowe dragons teeth, which *Minerua* had giuen to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sowe at *Thebes*. These bulles were great and fierce, and breathed out fier: *Vulcan* had giuen them to *Aetes*.

Whilest *Iason* was in a great perplexitie about this Aske, *Medea* the daughter of *Aetes*, fell into a most vehement loue of him, so farre forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, she came priuily to him, promising her helpe, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Iason* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gaue 40 she to him a medicine wherewith she bad him to annoint both his bodie and his armour, which would preserve him from their violence: further she told him, that armed men would arise out from the ground, from the teeth which he should sowe, and set vpon him. To remedie which inconuenience, shee bad him throw stones amongst them as soone as they came vp thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that he might easily slay them. *Iason* followed her counsaile; whereto when the euent had answered, hee againe demanded the Fleece. But *Aetes* was so farre from approving such his desire, that hee deuised how to destroy the *Argonautes*, and burne their shippe, which *Medea* perceiving, went to *Iason*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung vpon an oake in the groue of *Mors*, where they say it was kept by a Dragon, that neuer slept. This Dragon was by the *Magique* of *Medea* cast into a sleepe: so taking 50 away the golden Fleece, she went with *Iason* into the shippe *Argo*; hauing with her, her brother *Abysynus*.

Aetes vnderstanding the practises of *Medea*, provided to pursue the ship, whom when

when *Medæa* perceived to be at hand, she slew her brother, & cutting him in pieces she scattered his limbes in diuerſe places, of which *Aetes* finding ſome, was faine to ſeek out the reſt, and ſuffer his daughter to paſſe: the parts of his ſonne hee buried in a place which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the Greeke word ſignifieth *Diuiſion*. Afterwards he ſent many of his ſubiectes to ſeek the ſhippe *Argo*, threatening that if they brought not backe *Medæa* they ſhould ſuffer in her ſtead. In the meane while the *Argonauts* were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italie*.

Jupiter offended with the ſlaughter of *Abſyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempeſt, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the Iſlands *Abſyrtides*, there the ſhippe *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) ſpake to them, and ſaid that the anger of *Jupiter* ſhould not ceaſe, till they came to *Anſonia*, and were clenched by *Circe*, from the murder of *Abſyrtus*. Now they thereupon ſayling betwene the coaſtes of *Lybia*, and *Gallia*, and paſſing through the ſea of *Sardinia* and along the coaſt of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Aeæa*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleaſed them. Thence they ſayled by the coaſt of the *Syrens*, who ſang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other ſide ſang ſo well that he ſtayd them. Only *Butes* ſwamme out vnto them, whom *Venus* rauished, and carried to *Lybiæ* in *Sicilie* to dwell.

Having paſt the *Syrens*, they came betwene *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the ſtrangling rocks which ſeemed to caſt out great ſtore of flames and ſmoke. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conueyed them ſafe through at the appointment of *Iuno*. So they coaſted *Sicilie* where the beeces of the Sunne were, and touched at *Coreyra* the Iſland of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Meane while the man of *Colchos* that had bene ſent by *Aetes* in queſt of the ſhippe *Argo*, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger if they fulfilled not his will, betooke themſelves to new habitations: ſome of them dwelt in the mountaines of *Coreyra*, others in the Iſlands *Abſyrtides*, and ſome coming to the *Phæaces*, there found the ſhippe *Argo* and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made anſwere, that if ſhee were not *Iſſons* wife they ſhould haue her, but if ſhee were already married he would not take her from her husband. *Arete* the wife of *Alcinous* hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos* not daring to returne home, ſtayed with the *Phæaces*; ſo the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iſland *Minos* reigned, who had a man of braſſe giuen to him (as ſome of the Fablers ſay) by *Vulcan*. This man had one veine in his bodie reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was cloſed vp with a brazen nail, his name was *Talus*: his cuſtome was to runne thrice a day about the Iſland for the defence of it. When hee ſaw the ſhippe *Argo* paſſe by, he threw ſtones at it, but *Medæa* with her *Magique* deſtroyed him. Some ſay that ſhe ſlew him by poſions, which made him madde; others that promiſing to make him immortal, ſhe drew out the nail that ſtopp his veine, by which meanes all his blood ranne out, and he died; others there are that ſay he was ſlain by *Peæan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the *Argonauts* ſailed to *Aegina* where they were faine to fight for freſh water. And laſtly from *Aegina* they failed by *Eubæa* and *Loeris* home to *Iolcus*, where they arrived, hauing ſpent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are that by this iourney of *Iſſon*, vnderſtand the myſterie of the Philoſophers Stone, called the golden Fleece, to which alſo other ſuperfine *Chymiſts*, draw the twelue labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks that by the golden Fleece, was ment a booke of Parcement, which is of ſheepeskinne, and therefore called golden, becauſe it was taught therein how other metalls might be tranſmuted. Others would ſignifie by *Iſſon* wiſdome, and moderation, which ouercommeth all perils: but that which is moſt probable is the opinion of *Derſius*, that the ſtorie of ſuch a paſſage was true, and that *Iſſon* with the reſt went indeed to robbe *Colchos*, to which they might arrive by boate. For not farre from *Caucasus* there are certaine ſteepe falling

falling torrents which wash downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world, and the people there inhabiting vie to set many fleeces of wooll in those descents of waters; in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth through, which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many rocks, straites, lands, and Currents, in the passage betweene *Greece* and the bottome of *Pantus*, are Poetically converted into those fierie bulles, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasse, she *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterranean* sea, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, vnder poeticall morralls: all which *Homer* afterward vsed (the man of brasse excepted) in the description of *Ulysses* his traualles on the same Inland-seas.

p. VII.

Of *Aimelech*, *Tholoh*, and *Iair*, and of the *Lapytha*, and of *Theseus*, *Hippolytus* &c.



FTER the death of *Gideon*, *Aimelech* his base sonne begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had bene made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his their perpetuall Princes; and as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modestie) that some of his brethren might take on them the Soueraignie, practised with the inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himselfe, who being easily moued with the glorie, to haue a King of their owne, redily condescended: and the better to inable *Aimelech*, they borrowd 70. pieces of siluer of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with which treasure he hyred a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assit his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his 70. brethren the sonnes of *Gideon*, begotten on his wiues, of which he had many, of all which none escaped but *Jehon* the youngest, who hid himselfe from his present furie: all which he executed on one stone, a crueltie exceeding all that hath bene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose reuenges are without date and for eueralasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preservation of every being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beautie which neuer dieth, and with loue that hath no end. All other passions and affections by which the soules of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it selfe the childe and darling of *Satan*, looketh only towards the ends by it selfe set downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane soeuer) which may serue it: remembring nothing, whatsoeuer iustice, pietie, right or religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weaknesse of the vnderakers, and rather praiseth the aduerture than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and beganne in *Angels*: for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preceeded his creation, yet hath the Diuell which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as befitting every age, and mans condition.

Jehon the youngest of *Gideons* sonnes hauing escaped the present perill, fought by his best persuasions to allicate the *Sechemites*, from the assisting of this mercilesse tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happie estate of moderate subiection, had refused to receiue as vnlawfull, what others had not power to giue, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people) had

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ambition X

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had appointed them by whome and how to be gouerned. This hee taught them by the Oliue, which contented it selfe with it's fatnesse, the Figge tree with sweetnesse, and the Vine with the good iuyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut downe all the rest, and accepted the Soueraigntie. He also foretold them by a Prophetickall spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the Cedars of Libanon.

Now (as it is an ealie matter to call those men backe whom rage without right legde on) Gaal the sonne of Ebed withdrew the Citizens of Sechem, from the service of Abimelech: who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and maistr'd it; and in conclusion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll Baalberuth was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Castle or Tower of Teber, himselfe was wounded in the head with a stone throwne ouer the wall by a woman, and finding himselfe mortally brused, he commaunded his owne page to pierce his bodie, thereby to auoid the dishonour of being slaine by so feeble a hand.

While Abimelech vsurped the Government, the Lapiths and Centaures made warre against the Thebans. These Nations were defended of Apollo and were the first in those parts that deuised to mannage horses, to bridle and to fit them: in so much as when they first came downe from the mountaines of Pindus, into the plains, those which had neuer scene horsemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the Mexicans when Ferdinando Cortes the Spaniard first invaded that Empire.

After the death of Abimelech, Thola of Issachar gouerned Israel 23. yeeres, and after him Iair the Gileadite 22. yeeres, who seemeth to be descended of Iair the sonne of Manasse, who in Moses time conquered a great part of Gilead, and called the same after his owne name, *Haboth Iair*. For to this Iair there remained thirtie of those Cities, which his auncester had recovered from the Amorites. Of these Iudges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all their times, Israel liued without disturbance and in peace.

When Iair iudged Israel, Priamus beganne to reigne in Troy, who at such time as Hercules lacked Iunio, was carried away captiue with his sister Hesione into Greece, and being afterward redeemed for ranfome, hee rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned Troy; and so farre enlarged his Dominions, as hee became the supreme Lord in effect of all Asia the lesse. He married Hebe the daughter of Cisseus King of Thrace, and had in all (saith Cicero) fiftie sonnes, where of leuanteene by Hebe, of whom Paris was one; who attempting to recouer his aunt Hesione, tooke Helena the wife of Menelaus the cause of the warre which followed.

Theseus the tenth King of Athens began likewise to reigne in the beginning of Iair: some writers call him the sonne of Neptune and Aethra; but Plutark in the storie of his life findes him begotten by Aegus, of whom the Graecian sea betwene it and Asia the lesse tooke name. For when Aegus had maistr'd the Athenians, so farre as hee forst them to pay him sequen of their sonnes eury yeere for tribute, whom hee indolced within a Labyrinth, to be deuoured by the monster Minotaur: because belike the sonnes of Taurus, which hee begat on Pasiphae the Queene, had the charge of them: Among these sequen Theseus thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliuer the rest, and to free his Countrie of that staterie occasioned for the death of Androgeus, Minos his sonne.

And hauing posselt himselfe of Ariades affection, who was Minos daughter, hee receiued from her a bottome of thred, by which hee conducted himselfe through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the Labyrinth, made in all like that of the Citie of Crocodiles in Egypt; by meane whereof hauing slaine Minotaur, hee found a readie way to returne. But whereas his father Aegus had giuen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in safetie, hee should vie a white saile in signe thereof, and not that mournfull blacke saile, vnder

which they left the port of *Athens*. This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Aegon* desiring the shippe of *Theſeus* with a blacke faile call himſelfe o-
uer the rockes into the ſea, afterward called of his name *Aegon*.

One of the first famous actes of *Theſeus*, was the killing of *Ceryon*, who kept a pas-
ſage betweene *Megara* and the *Peloponneſſian iſthmus*, and threw all whom hee ma-
tered into the ſea, from the high rockes. Afterward hee did the like to *Ceryon*,
by wrestling, who vſed by that Arte to kill others. Hee alſo ridde the Country of
Procrustes, who vſed to bend downe the ſtrong limbes of two trees, and faſtned by
cordes ſuch as hee tooke, part of them to one and part to the other bough, and by
their ſpringing backe tare them aſunder. So did hee roote out *Periphetes* and other 10
miſchieuous theeves and murderers. Hee ouerthrew the armie of the *Amazons*,
who after many victories and vaſlations, entred the Territorie of *Athens*. The
ſeu hauing taken their Queene *Hippolyta* priſoner, begat on her *Hippolytus*; with
whom afterward his mother in law *Phadra*, falling in loue, and hee reſuſing to abuſe
his fathers bed, *Phadra* perſwaded *Theſeus* that his ſonne offered to force her: af-
ter which it is ſained that *Theſeus* beſought *Neptune* to reuenge this wrong of his
ſonnes, by ſome violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of aduantage ſent out his
Sea-Calues, as *Hippolytus* paſſed by the ſea ſhore, and ſo affrighted his horſes, as ſi-
caſting the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which
miſerable and vnderſerued deſtinee, when *Phadra* had heard of, ſhee ſtrangled 20
herſelfe. After which it is ſained, that *Diana* entreated *Aſculapius* to ſet *Hippoly-
tus* his pieces together, and to reſtore him to life: which done, becauſe hee was
chaſte, ſhee ledde him with her into *Italie*, to accompanie her in her hunting, and
field ſports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his father ſought his life, thinking to
eſcape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and receiued many woundes in forcing
his paſſage and eſcape; which woundes *Aſculapius*, to wit, ſome ſkilfull Phiſici-
an, or Chirurgion healed againe, after which hee paſt into *Italy*, where hee liued
with *Diana*, that is the life of a hunter, in which hee moſt delighted. But of
theſe ancient prophane Stories, *Plutarch* ſaith well, that as *Cosmographers* in 30
their deſcriptions of the world, whereby they finde many vaſt places whereof they
know nothing, fill the ſame with ſtrange beaſtes, birds, and fiſhes, and with *Ma-
thematiſc*all lines, ſo doe the *Gracian* Hiſtorians and Poets, imbroder and intermixe
the tales of auncient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous diſcourſes.
True it is, that *Theſeus* did many great things in imitation of *Heracles*, whom hee
made his patterne, and was the firſt that gathered the *Athenians*, from being diſ-
perſt in thine lawes and ragged villages: in recompence whereof, and for deni-
ſing them lawes to liue vnder, and in order, hee was by the beggerly, mutable,
and vngratefull multitude, in the end baniſhed. Some ſay per *Oſtracismus*, by
the Lawe of Lottes, or names written on ſhelles, which was a deuice of his
owne.

Hee ſtole *Helen* (as they ſay) when ſhe was 50. yeeres olde, from *Aphidna*, which
Citie *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ouerturned, when they followed after *Theſeus* to recouer
their liſter. *Eraſſſtratus* and *Panſanias* write that *Theſeus* begat her with child at *Ar-
gos*, where hee erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that tale vnlikely to
bee true, and ſo doth *Ouid*, *Non tamen ex factis fructum tulit ille pettum &c.* The
rape *Eufebius* findes in the firſt of *Iair*, who gouerned *Iſrael* 22. yeeres, to whome
ſucceeded *Iephtha* or *Iephthe* fixe yeeres, to whom *Iſbaan* who ruled *Iſraen* yeeres, and
then *Habdon* eight yeere: in whoſe time was the fall of *Troy*. So as, if *Theſeus* had
a child by her in the firſt of *Iair*, (at which time wee muſt count her no leſſe
than ſiftene yeere olde, for the women did not commonly beginne ſo young
as they doe now) there was then at leaſt two and ſittie yeere olde at the de-
ſtruction of *Troy*: and when there was ſollen by *Paris* eight and thirtie: but here
in the *Chronologers* doe not agree. Yet *Eufebius* and *Bunting* with *Halicarnſſus*
doe

73.4 430.151
vener y mestr y domus

Strab. l. 9.
Pon. in Cen.

In Rep. Helen.

Jud. 10. 3.

a young after is

doe in effect consent, that the Citie was sentred, and burnt in the first yeere of Demophon King of Athens, the successour of Theseus, the successour of Theseus, fifteen teene dayes before the Summer Tropique, and that about the eleventh of September following, the Troians crost the Hellespont into Thracia, & wintered there, and in the next spring that they navigated into Sicilia, where winning the second yeere, the next summer they arrived at Laurentum, and builded Lavinium. But S. Augustine hath it otherwise, that when Polyphides governed Sicily, Theseus Athens, Tautanes Assyria, Hadadon Israel, then Aeneas arrived in Italie, transporting with him in twentie shippes the remainder of the Troians: but the difference is not great: and hercof more at large in the storie of Troy at hand.

From Athens, Eufr. Ciron. Hist. l. 1.

Am. de c. d. d. 12. c. 1. 19.

In Sicily Phalaris the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeeres, beginning by the common account in the time of Thela. His successours, Adrastus who reigned foure yeeres, and Polyphides who reigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of Iair, so is also Theseus King of Athens, and Atreus, who held a great part of Peloponnesus. In Assyria, during the government of these two peaceable Iudges, Murens and after him Tautanes reigned. In Egypt Amenophis, the sonne of Ramset, and afterwards Amnemes.

§. VII.

Of the warre of Thebes which was in this age. *Ch. xviii. 690. 1*



N this age was the warre of Thebes, the most ancient that euer Greeke Poet or Historian wrote of. Wherefore the Roman Poet Lucius, affirming (as the Epicures in this point held truly against the Peripateticks) that the world had a beginning, vrgeth them with this obiection.

*Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Remque mundi, semperque aeterna fuit,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troas,
Non alius alij quoque res recitare poetæ?*

If all this world had no originall,
But things haue euer bene as now they are:
Before the siege of Thebes or Troyer last fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder warre?

It is true that in these times Greeke was very saluage, the inhabitants being often chased from place to place, by the captaines of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon hee dwelt his owne longer than hee could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercoure they vsed little, neither did they plant many trees, or sow more corne than was necessarie for their sustentance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in Greeke, when Homer did write, who measures the valew of gold and brasse by the worth in cattel, saying that the golden armour of Glaucus, was worth 100. beeces, and the copper armour of Diomedes worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to scale horses or kine was the vsuall exercise of their great men. Their townes were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For Mycenæ the principal Citie in Peloponnesus was a very little thing, and it may wel be thought that therell were proportionable: briefly, Greeke was then in her infancie, and though in some small townes of that halfe Ile of Peloponnesus, the inhabitants might haue enjoyed quietnesse within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the

Athenians because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in generall was very rude it will easily appeare to such as consider, what *They* dides the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the pæface to his Historie. Wherefore, as in these latter times, idle *Choniellers* use when they want good matter, to fill whole bookees with reports of great froises, or dry hummers, and other such things which no man cares to read, so did they who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*: or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monstres, of adulterie committed by their Gods, and the mightie men which they begat, without writing ought that favoured of humanitie before the time of the warre of *Thebes*: the brieue whereof is this.

Oedipus the sonne of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having beene cast forth when hee was an infant, because an Oracle foretolde what euill should come to passe by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage contending for the way, slay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who hee was. Afterward hee became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queene *Iocasta*, called by *Homer* *Epicaste*: on whom, not knowing her to bee his mother, hee begat two sonnes, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in processe of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee vnderstood the grieuous murder and incest hee had committed, he tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife and mother did hang her selfe. Some say, that *Oedipus* hauing his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his sonnes, because they suffered their father to bee cast out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howsoever it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them should reigne one yeere, and the other another yeere; and so by coult rule interchangeably: but this appointment was ill obserued. For when *Polynices* had after a yeeres Government resigned the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the first yeere, hee refused to giue over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled vnto *Argos*, where *Adrastus* the sonne of *Talaus* then reigned, vnto whose palace comming by night, hee was driuen to seeke lodging in an out-houe, on the backside.

There hee met with *Tydeus* the sonne of *Oeneus*, who was fledde from *Calidon*: with whom struing about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. *Adrastus* hearing the noyse, came forth and tooke vp the quarrell. At which time perceiving in the shield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lyon, hee remembered an olde Oracle, by which hee was aduised to giue his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly hee did bestowe his daughter *Argia* vpon *Tydeus*, and *Deiople* vpon *Polynices*, promising to restore them both to their Countries. To this purpose leuying an armie, and assembling as many valiant Capitaines as hee could draw to follow him, hee was desirous among others to carrie *Amphiaraus* the sonne of *Oicleus* a great Soothsayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaraus*, who is said to haue foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Capitaines should escape, saue onely *Adrastus*, did both vterly refuse to bee one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the wife of *Amphiaraus*, offering vnto her a very faire bracelet, vpon condition that shee should cause her husband to assent him. The Soothsayer knowing what should worke his desire, forbad his wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a iewell, that shee could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controuersie, betwene *Amphiaraus* and *Adrastus*, was by way of compromise put vnto the decision of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by solemne oath to stand to her appointment: shee ordered the matter so, as a woman should, that loued a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was more easie to foresee than auoide destinie, fought such com-

fort as revenge might afford, giving in charge to his sonnes, that when they came to fullage, they should kill their mother and make strong warre vpon the *Thebans*.

Now had *Adrastus* assembled all his forces, of which, the seven chief leaders were, himselfe, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in steade of whose name *Metiscus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Aetolian*, and *Parthenopaus* the *Arcadian* sonne of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the armie came to the *Nemean* wood, they met a woman whom they desired to helpe them to some water, she hauing a child in her armes, laid it downe, and led the *Argives* to a spring: but ere shee returned, a Serpent had slaine the childe. This woman was *Hippolyte* the daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom shee would haue saved when the women of the Isle slew all the males by conspiracie, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For such her pietie, the *Lemnian* wives did sell her to *Pyrrates*, and the *Pyrrates* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Country about *Nemea*, whose young sonne *Opheltes* or *Archemorus*, shee did nurse, and lost as is shewed before. When vpon the child's death shee hid herselfe for feare of her maister, *Amphiaraus* told her sonnes where they should finde her: and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent which had slaine the childe, and in memorie of the chauce, did institute solemne funerall games called *Nemean*, wherein *Adrastus* wanne the prize with his swift horte *Arion*, *Tydeus* with whorlebars, *Amphiaraus* at running and quiting, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopaus* at shooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the first institution of the *Nemean* games, which continued after famous in Greece for very many ages. Thereafter, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltes*, a *Lacedaemonian*. Some say by *Hercules*, when hee had slaine the *Nemean* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set downe.

From *Nemea* the *Argives* marching onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent Embassadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Couenants betwene him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was thoroughly resolu'd to holde what hee had, as long as hee could:

30 which *Tydeus* perceiuing and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the *Thebans*, hee made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them, not without much enuie and malice of the people, who laide fittie men in ambush to intercept him at his returne to the armie, of which fittie hee slew all but one, whome hee sent backeto the Citie as a reporter and witness of his valour. When the *Argives* vnderstood how resolu'd *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the Citie, and incamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to haue had at that time seven gates, which belike stood not farre asunder, seeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very furre stronger, could scarce muster vp more thousandes then *Thebes* had gates) did compass the towne. *Adrastus* 40 quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygian*, *Tydeus* before *Cremis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proëris*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopaus* at *Eleitra*, and *Polynices* at *Hypisla*. In the meane season, *Eteocles* hauing armed his men, and appointed Commanders vnto them,ooke aduise of *Tiresias* the Soothsay, who promised victorie to the *Thebans*, if *Menæceus* the sonne of *Creon* a principall man of the Citie, would vowe himselfe to bee slaine in honour of *Mars* the God of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Diuell, and so enuious at his Creators glorie, that hee not onely challengeth honours due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifice with all Diuine worshippe, but commaundeth vs to offer our selues, and our children vnto him, when hee hath sufficiently clouded mens vnderstanding, and bewitched their wijs with ignorance and blinde deuotion. And such abhominable sacrifice of men, maides, and children hath hee exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginiens*, *Gulles*, *Germanes*, *Cyprians*, *Aegyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with superstition. But as they grewe more wise, so did he waxe lesse impudent in cunning, though not 50 lesse

lesse malicious in desiring the continuance of such barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without aduise of any Oracle, made the Idoll of that Country rest contented with an Oxen instead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane sacrifices in *Affrick*: and crucified the Priestes in the grôues where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drowne men of haye in stead of the living: yet among the saluages in the West *Indies* these cruell offerings haue been practised of late ages: which as it is a sufficient argument that *Satans* malice is onely couered and hidden by this subtiltie among ciuill people: so may it serue as a probable Coniecture of the barbarismes then reigning in *Greece*. For *Meneceus* as soone as hee vnderstood that his death might purchase victorie to his people, bestowed himselfe (as hee thought) vpon *Mars*, killing himselfe before the gates of the Citie. Then was a battell fought, wherein the *Argines* preuailed so farre at the first, that *Capaneus* aduancing ladders to the walles, got vp vpon the rampart: whence, when hee fell or was cast downe, or (as writers haue it) was stricken downe by *Iupiter* with a thunderbolt, the *Argines* fled. Many on each part were slaine in this battell, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteodes* and *Polynices* might trie out the quarrell in single fight: whereto the two brethren according, slew each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the sonnes of *Asius* behaued themselves very valiantly: *Ismenus* one of the sonnes slewe *Hippomedon* so which was one of the seuen Princes: *Parthenopaeus* being another of the seauen (who was said to haue bene so faire that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slaine by *Amphidromus*, or as some say, by *Periclymenus* the sonne of *Neptune*: and the valliant *Tydeus* by *Menedippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menedippus* was brought vnto him by *Amphiarus*, which hee cruelly tore open and swallowed vp the braines. Vpon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas* who had brought from *Iupiter* such remedie for his wound, as should haue made him immortall, refused to bestow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might haue continued immortall did perish through the beauly rage, that hee shewed at his death.

The host of the *Argines* being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphiarus* fledde: of whom *Amphiarus* is said to haue been swallowed quicke into the earth, nere to the riuer *Ismenus*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peraduenture ouerwhelmed with dead carcases or drowned in the riuer: and his bodie neuer found nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where sitting at an Altar called the Altar of Mercie, hee made supplication for their aide to recover their bodies. For *Cremus* hauing obtained the Government of *Thebes*, after the death of *Eteodes*, would not suffer the bodies of the *Argines* to be buried: but caused *Antigone*, the only daughter then liuing of *Oedipus*, to be buried quicke, because shee had fought out and buried the bodie of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Cremus* Edict. The *Athenians* condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did send forth an armie vnder the Conduct of *Theseus*, which tooke *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the *Argines* to Sepulture: at which time *Euradne* the wife of *Capaneus*, threw herselfe into the fursell fier, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it litle contented the sonnes of those Captaines which were slaine at *Thebes*, that any lesse reuenge should be taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: wherefore tenne yeeres after hauing leuied forces *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopaeus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Meceius*, marched thither vnder the conduct of *Alcmaon* the sonne of *Amphiarus*: with whom also went his brother *Amphilochus*. *Apollo* promised victorie if *Alcmaon* were their Captaine, whom afterward by another Oracle hee commanded to kill his owne mother.

When they came to the citie, they were incounted by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteodes* then

then King of the *Thebanes*, (for *Creon* was only Tutor to *Laodamias* who though he did valiantly in the battails, and slew *Agaulus*, yet was he put to the worst, and driven to flee, or (according to *Apollodorus*) slaine by *Alcmaon*. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the meane time they conspired themselves with their wives and children away from thence by night, and so began to wandring vp and downe, till at length they built the Towne called *Ephraim*. The *Argives* when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Towne, entring into it, sacked it, threw downe the walls, and laid it waste; howbeit it is reported by some that the Towne was saved by *Thersander*, the sonne of *Polymies*, who causing the Citizens to returne, did there raigne over them. That hee saved the Cite from utter destruction, it is very likely, for he raigned there, and led the *Thebanes* to the Wars of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

§. VIII.

Of *Israhel*, and how the three hundred years which hee speaketh of, *Israhel*, 11. v. 28. are to be reconciled with the places *Act. 13. 20. I. R. G. 6. 1.* together with some other things touching *Chronologi* about these times.

20 After the death of *Isac* (neare about whose times these things happened in *Greece*, and during whose government, and that of *Isabel*, *Israhel* lived in peace and in order) they revolted againe from the law, and service of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* and *Asterah*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adjoining, and embraced the dolls of the *Ammonites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Mosabites*, and *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistines*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalchites*, and *Midianites*: so now hee scourged them by the *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philistines*.

30 Now among the *Israhelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppressed, because they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were inforced to seek *Israhel*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base borne; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of devilish hatred and revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the Warre, upon condition that they should establish him their Governour after victorie. And when he had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disprived *Ammon* of right, and fortified the title of *Israhel* by many arguments, the same prevailing nothing, hee beganne the warre; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not only beate them out of the plaines, but forst them over the mountaines of *Arad*, even to *Minith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities exprest heretofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victorie it is said, that he performed the vaine vow, which hee made, to sacrifice the first living creature hee encountered, coming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter and only child, who with all patience submitted her selfe, and only desired two Moneths time to bewaile her Virginity on the mountaines of *Gilead*; because in her the illnes of her Father ended: but the other opinion that hee was not offered, is more probable; which *Ber in lud.* *Ber in lud.*

40 After these things the children of *Israhel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Israhel's* victorie, or otherwise making way to their future calamitie, and to the most grievous slauey that ever *Israhel* suffered, quarrelled with *Israhel*, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had contested with *Gideon*, *Israhel* hereupon inforced to defend himselfe against their rage, in the encounter slew of them two and fortie thousand, which so weakened the body of the Land, as the *Philistines* had

The persecution of the Ammonites lasted 18 years and ended in the year of the World 2500, in which year *Israhel* began.

Israhel 11. 33.

Ber in lud.

Israhel 11. 33.

had

2925.
2942.

had an ealie conquest of them all not long after: *Iephtha* after he had iudged *Israel* six yeares died: to whom succeeded *Ishai*, who ruled seuen yeares: after him *Eli* was their Iudge, ten yeares: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* finds not *Eli*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approued in his time, this Iudge was omitted.

Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall bee necessarie vpon the occasion of *Iephtha's* account of the times *Iud. 11. 28.* (where he saies that *Israel* had then possit the East side of *Jordan* 300. yeares) to speake somewhat of the times of the *Judges*, and of the differing opinions among the Diuines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute betwene *Iephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of *S. Paul A.C. 13.* the third that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Iephtha* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300. yeares: Saint *Paul* giueth to the *Judges*, as it seemes, from the end of *Iosua*, to the last of *Heli*, 450. yeares. In the first of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Salomons* Temple, there were consumed 480. yeares. To the first *Beroaldus* findeth *Iephtha's* 300. yeares to be but 266. yeares, to wit, 18. of *Iosua*, 40. of *Othniel*, 80. of *Adad* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Dehora*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *A-bimelech*, 23. of *Thela*, and 22. of *Iair*: But *Iephtha* (saith *Beroaldus*) putteth or propoeth a certaine number, for an vncertaine: Sic ut dicat annum agi propè trecentefimum, 20 ex quo nullus sit cum ea de re moueri *Israelis*; So he speaketh (saith he) as meaning, that then it was about or neer the three hundred yeares, since *Israel* possessed those Countries, pro more making question of their right. *Codoman* on the contrarie finds more yeares than *Iephtha* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were spent in *Israel's* captiuitie, at severall times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Iephtha* forbore to repeat the whole summe or any great part, least the *Ammonites* should haue iustly objected, that 71. of those yeares, the *Israelites* were in captiuitie and vassalls to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name 300. yeares it was enough for prescription, hee omitted the rest.

To iustifie this account of 365. yeares, besides the 71. yeares of captiuitie or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266. he addeth also 28. yeares more, and so maketh vp the summe of 365. These 28. yeares hee findeth out thus: 20. yeares hee giues to the *Seniors* betwene *Iosua* and *Othniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth but 18. yeares to *Iosua's* government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Iosephus*; whereas *S. Augustine* and *Eusebius* giue him 27. *Melanchton* 32. The truth is that this addition of 28. yeares is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeares of affliction (to wit, 34. yeares of the 71.) if we adde them to the 266. yeares of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we haue the iust number of 300. yeares. Neither is it strange that *Iephtha* should leaue out more than halfe 40 of these yeares of affliction: seeing as it is already said the *Ammonites* might except against these 71. yeares, and say that during these yeares, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the Author of a third opinion making those 300. yeares remembered by *Iephtha*, to be 306. which odd yeares, saith he, *Iephtha* omiteth. But because the yeares of every Iudge as they reigned, cannot make vp this number of 306. but doe only compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* adde to this number, the whole time which *Moses* spent in the *Desarts* of *Arabia Petrea*; which fortie yeares of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeede 306.

But I see nothing in the text to warrant *Luthers* iudgement herein: for in the dispute betwene *Iephtha* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon* in these words. Because *Israel* took my Land, when they came vp from *Egypt* from *Arnon* unto *Jabac*, &c. now therefore restore those Landes quietly or in peace. So by this place it is plaine that the time is not to bee accounted from *Moses* departure out

Iud. 11. 28.

A.C. 13. 20.

1. King. 6. 11.

Id facit numero certo promittitur, quod.

Iud. 11. 28.

out of *Ægypt*: but from the time that the Land was posselt. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam; Because Israel took my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Iephthas* answers also confirmeth in these wordes. *When Israel dwelt in Hesbon, and in her Townes, and in Arzer and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300. yeares: why did yee not then recover them in that space?* so as this place spaketh it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. yeares: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that *Israel* had to posselt it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for wee doe not vfe to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and posseltions.

Iunius neuertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and saies that this time of 300. yeares hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Iephthas* narration: when he makes a briefe repetition of *Moses* whole journey: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges* in our translation in these wordes. *But when Israel came up from Ægypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his 40. yeares (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeares: and not only the time in which *Israel* posselt *Gilead*, according to the Text and *Iephthas* owne wordes: of which I leave the iudgement to others; to whom also I leave to iudge, whether we may not beginne the 480. yeares, from the deliuerance out of *Ægypt* to the Temple, euen from the first departure out of *Ægypt*, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of *S. Pauls* and *Iephthas* account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have beene signified. For first, touching *Iephthas* 300. yeares of posseltion of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembered that for a good while before the *Israelites* posselted it, *Sehon* and *Og* had disposselted *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of posseltion, which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Iephthas* might say that they had posselted those Countreies 300. yeares, reckoning 266. yeares of their owne posseltion, and the rest of the posseltion of the two Kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of *S. Paul* *Act. 13.* that from the end of *Iosias* to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. yeares. And this place *Luther* vnderstandeth also besides the letter, (as I finde his opinion cited by *Franſius Krentſenius*, and *Beza*, for I haue not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last yeare of *Heli*, but 357. yeares: and this hee doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Ægypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first *King. 6.* is said to be 480. yeares.

Now for as much as *S. Paul* (as it seemes) finds 450. yeares from the death of *Iosias*, to the last of *Heli*, and leaues but 30. yeares for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who gouerned 40. for *David* who ruled 40. and for *Solomon* who wrote the Crowne three whole yeares are the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was error in the Scribe, who wrote out this peece of Scripture of *S. Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward he gave vnto them Iudges about 450. yeares, vnto the time of Samuel. The Prophet*: the wordes then afterward, being clearly referred to the death or after the death of *Iosias*, as shall be hereafter proued. But where *S. Luke* rechartereth the wordes of *S. Paul* write 350. yeares (saith *Luther*) the Scribe in the transcription being deceiued by the affinity of those two Greeke wordes, whereof the one signifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracolis* for *Trisacolis* 400. yeares, for 300. yeares, and 450. for 350. This hee seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great Annotations adhereth. A contrarie iudgement to this hath *Colommen*: where *Luther* and *Beza* beginne at *Moses* death, he takes his account from the death of *Iosias*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. yeares: to wit, of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Sampsons* yeares) 119. and of yeares of seruitude and affliction vnder strangers 111. The reason why he doth not reckon

Sampsons

Read the 14 of
Iosias, and the
2. Ind. 7.
Fossil. Chron. fol.
4. Inq. in his
Annotations
vpon the 13.
of the Act. v. 20

Act. 13. 20.

1ud. 13.
1ud. 15. 11.

Sampsons 20. years, is because he thinks that they were part of the 40. years, in which the *Philistims* are said to have oppressed *Israel*. For it is plain that during all *Sampsons* time they were Lords over *Israel*. So then of the *Judges*, besides the 144. years of servitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have said) 379. years, which two summes put together make 430. years, and whereas *S. Paul* numbeth 450. years, he finds 20. years to make vp *S. Pauls* number, to have bene spent after the death of *Iofua* by the *Seniors*, before the captivitie of *Chusban*, or the election of *Othniel*; which 20. years added to 430. make 450. according to *S. Paul*. To approve this time of the *Elders*, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Iofua*, and the second of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel served the Lord all the daies of 10578*, and all the daies of the *Elders* that over-lived 10578, so as to these times of the *Elders*, *Codoman* giueth 20. years, which make as before 450. according to *S. Paul*. Neither would it breede any great difficultie in this opinion, if here also the 20. years of the *Seniors*, betwene *Iofua* and *Othniel*, should be denied. For they which denie these years and make *Othniels* 40. to beginne presently vpon the death of *Iofua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning they have 20. years lesse than *Codoman*, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the years of affliction apart from the years of the *Judges*) in the number of *Sampsons* years, and of the 40. years of the *Philistims* oppressing the *Israelites*, they have 20. years more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40. years of oppression all of them a-part from 20 *Sampsons* 20. but *Codoman* as is said makes *Sampsons* 20. to be the one halfe of the 40. of the *Philistims* oppressions; so that if the 20. years of the *Seniors*, be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seemes to enforce) that the *Philistims* in an *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* iudged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40. years besides the 20. while *Sampson* was their *Iudge*, and so the reckoning will come to 450. years betwene the end of *Iofua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of any *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors*, betwene *Iofua* and *Othniel*. For if the times of their affliction be summed, they make 111. years, to which if we adde the years of the *Judges*, which are 330. we haue the iust summe of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seeme to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceiue that this time of 350. years, is to beginne immediately, or soone after the death of *Moses*: certainly the place of *S. Paul* doth evidently teach the contrarie, though it bee receiued for true that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be *S. Pauls* words: *And about the time of 40. years, God suffered their manner in the wilderness: And he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and diuide d their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gaue vnto them Iudges about 450. years, vnto the time of Samuel the Prophet.* So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of *Moses* and of his years spent in the wilderness, then in the nineteenth verse he commeth to the acts of *Iofua*, which were that he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and diuided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth verse it followeth: *Then afterward hee gaue them Iudges about 450. years, &c.* and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of *S. Pauls* meaning, so farre as my weak vnderstanding can pierce it. The only inconuenience of any waight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place, in the *Acts* is that it seemes irreconcilable with the account 1. *Reg. 6. 11*. For if indeede there were spent 450. years betwene the end of *Iofua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly here must needs be much more than 480. years betwene the beginning of the *Israelites* iourneying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Salomon*. To this difficultie *Codoman* answereth, that these 480. years 1. *Reg. 6. 11*. must be giuine to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their iourneying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25. years after the beginning of *Othniels* government; from whence if we call the years of the *Judges*, with the years of servitude (which summes according to his account, of which we haue already spoken, make

16. 14. 11.

make 397. yeares) and so to these yeares adde the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *David*, and the 3. of *Salomon*, we shall have the iust summe of 480. yeares. Neither is it hard (saith he) that the *annus egressionis* 1. Reg. 6. 1. should be vnderstood *egressionis non incipientis sed finitis*, the yeare of their coming out of *Aegypt* (for so it is in the originall) or the yeare after they came out of *Aegypt*, may well be vnderstood for the yeare after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so wee finde that things which were done 40. yeares after they had set foot out of *Aegypt*, are said to haue bene done in their going out of *Aegypt*, as *Psal.* 114. *When Israel came out of Aegypt, Jordan was druen back,* and *Deut.* 4. 45. *These are the testimonies which Moses spake when they came out of Aegypt.* And thus farre it seemes we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the word *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quam exiissent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Iunius Deut.* 4. 45. doe well reade *quam exiissent*, for in *exitu*, as it seemes that herein be doth well, why may not we also, to auoide contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *postquam exiissent*?

The next point to be cleared is how their iourney should bee said not to haue had end vntill the 25. yeare after the victorie of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not vntill this time: at which time the *Danites* at length scated themselves, as it is declared *Iud.* 18. For doubtlesse to this time the expedition may most conueniently be referred. And thus without any great inconuenience to him appearing doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Iephtha*, and *S. Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings* c. 6. Now whereas it is said that the expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Israel*: to this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessarie that we should suppose that *Othoniel* liued all those 40. yeares of rest, of which *Iud.* 3. 11 so that by the 25. yeare after his victorie, either he might haue bene dead, or at least as *Gideon* did, he might haue refused all foueraigntie, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25. yeare after *Othoniels* victorie) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other *Chronologers* grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it selfe round enough and coherent, might perhaps be receiued as good: especially considering that the speeches of *S. Paul*, haue not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they sound, and are set downe. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authoritie, we may iustly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman* that the conquest of *Lays*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth yeare of *Othoniel*? Or what other probabilic hath he than his owne coniecture, to shew that *Othoniel* did so renounce the office of a Iudge after 40. five and twentie yeares, that it might then be truly said there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his owne eyes.

Now concerning the rehearfall of the law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might indeede be properly said to haue bene, when *Israel* came out of *Aegypt*; like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when he came out of the holy Land, for so all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke he can finde no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a iourney by an accident, or saith by conuerting the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Aegypt*. Indeed most vnproper it were to giue date vnto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely to say that King *Edward* at his arriuall out of *Palestina*, did winne *Scotland*, or died at *Carlisle*. How may we then beleeue that enterprize performed for many yeares after the diuision of the Land (which followed the conquest at the iournies end) should be said to haue bene at the time of the departure out of *Aegypt*: Or who will not thinke it most strange that the most notable

account

account of time, serving as the only guide for certaine ages in sacred *Chronologie*, should not take name and beginning, from that illustrious delivrance out of *Egypt*, rehearsed often by God himselfe among the principall of his benefits to *Israel*, wherein of the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the year and moneth wherein it expired) and the forme of the year vpon that occasion changed; but should haue reference to the surprizing of a Towne by 600. men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and stole from thence Idolls to be their guides, as not going to worke in Gods name? For this accident wherupon *Codoman* buildeth hath either no time given to it, or a time farre different from that which he supposeth, and is indeede rather by him placed in such a yeare, because it best stood with his interpretation so to haue it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it selfe.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirme that the Apostle *S. Paul* did not herein labour to set downe the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but only to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, deliuered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges*, and *Prophets*, vnto the time of *Saul*: did raise vp our Lord *Iesus Christ* out of the seede of *David* the King, in whose succession the Crowne was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should haue no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to haue bene the true *Messias*) the Apostle was so farre from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the Historie being so well knowne and beleued of the *Iewes* to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. yeares consumed in the wilderness, whereof no man doubted, saying that God suffered their manners in the wilderness about 40. yeares. In like manner he proceeded saying that from the diuision of the Land vnto the daies of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whose time they required to haue a King, there passed about 450. yeares. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and eleuen yeares of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeares of the *Judges*: for this had bene an impertinent digression from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is a worke not so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the summe of 480. yeares is so expressly and purposely set downe.

Now that the wordes of *S. Paul* (if there be no fault in the Copie through error of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of *Chronologie*, but must be taken as hauing reference to the memorie and apprehension of the vulgar, it is euident by his ascribing in the same place 40. yeares to the raigne of *Saul*; where as it is manifest that those yeares were diuided betwene *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea that farr the greater part of them were spent vnder the government of the Prophet, how soeuer they are here included in the raigne of the King. As for those that with so much cunning for sake the generall opinion when it fauoureth not such expolition as they bring out of a good minde to helpe where the neede is not ouer-great, I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The wordes of *S. Paul* were sufficiently iustified by *Berosus*, as hauing reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those daies, that the 111. yeares of seruitude were to be reckoned a part from the 339. yeares ascribed to the *Judges*; which accompt the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith *quasi quadringenti & quingenta annis; ut si uere foue hundred and fiftie yeares*. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needes haue it to be so indeede; and therefore disioynes the members to make the accompt euen. In so doing he dalseth himselfe against a notable Text, wherupon all Authors haue builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth cast vp the yeares from the departure out of *Egypt*, vnto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it selfe.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) hauing already given faith

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faith to his owne interpretation of *S. Paul*, he thinketh it more needfull to find some new expolition for that which is of it selfe most plaine; than to examine his owne coniecture vpon a place that is full of controuersie. Thus by expounding, after a strange methode, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he looketh himselfe in those waies wherein before him, neuer man walked. Surely if one should vrge him to giue reason of these new opinions, he must needs answer, That *Othomed* could not gouerne about 25. yeares, because then was the taking of *Laisb*, at which time there was no King in *Israel*; That the *Danites* must needs haue taken *Laisb* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the coming of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, without excluding the yeares of seruitude: And that the yeares of seruitude must needs be included, for that otherwise he himselfe should haue spent his time vainely, in seeking to pleasure *S. Paul* with an expolition. Whether this ground be strong enough to vphold a paradoxe, I leave it to the decision of any iudicious Reader.

And now to proceede in our storie. To the time of *Septa* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the propitiations which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycena*, made for her recoverie. Others referre this rape of *Helen* to the fourth yeare of *Hezen*: from which time, if the Warre of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not beginne till the third of *Alon* or *Elen*, yet the *Greekes* had sixe yeares to prepare themselves: the rule holding not true in this Warre, *longa preparatio bellis celerem affert victoriam*. That a long preparation begets a speedie victorie: for the *Greekes* consumed ten yeares in the attempt: and *Troy* as it seemes was entred, sackt and burnt in the third yeare of *Habdon*.

Three yeares after *Troy* taken, which was in the sixth yeare of *Habdon*, *Antea* arrived in *Italia*. *Habdon* in the eighth yeare of his rule died, after he had bene the Father of 40. sonnes and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40. yeares of *Israels* oppression by the *Philistims* (of which *Jud. 13. v. 1.*) tooke beginning from the ninth yeare of *Sair*, and ended with the last of *Habdon*: I seee no great reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrell against *Septa*, for not calling them to Warre ouer *Iordan*, if the *Philistims* had held them in seruitude in their owne Territories: and if *Ephraim* could haue brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppressed; and had it bene true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather haue fought against the *Philistims* with so powerfull an Armie for their owne deliuerance, than against their owne brethren the *Israelites*? But *Ammon* being ouerthrowne, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemie. And therefore these 40. yeares must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Sampson* and afterward:

or else they must bee referred to the *interregnum* betweene the death of *Habdon*, and the deliuerance of *Israel* by *Sampson*, such as it was.

was.

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CHAP.



CHAP. XIII.

Of the Warre of Troy. 56

p. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they haue observed Historically truth.



HE Warre at Troy with other Stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by most *Chonologers* is found in the time of *Habdon*, Iudge of *Israel*, whom in the last place I haue mentioned) I rather choole here to intreate of in one intire narration, beginning with the lineall descent of their Princes, than to breake the Storie into peeces by rehearsing a-part in diuers yeares the diuerlitie of occurrents.

The Historie of the ancient Kings of Troy is vncertaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Tencer* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if he (as *Reinecius* thinkes) tooke from *Berosus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it from him, then it rests vpon the authoritie of *Virgil*, who saith thus.

Æscid. 3.

*Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto:
Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostra.
Centum Vrbes habitant magnas, vherrimarregna:
Maximus inde Pater (si vite audita recorde)
TEVCERYS Rhæteas primum est aduectus ad oras
Optantiq; locum regno. Nondum solum & arces
Pergææ steterant: habitabant valibus imis.
Hinc Mater Cultrix Cybele, Corybantiq; æra,
Idæumq; nemus.*

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie:
Where IOVE was borne, thence is our progenie.
There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land
An hundredth great and goodly Cities stand.
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
TEVCER the eldest of our grand-fires came
To the Rhætian shores: and raigned there
Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere
The Towers of Troy: their dwelling place they sought
In lowest vales. Hence CYBELS rites were brought:
Hence Corybantian Cymbales did remoue:
And hence the name of our Idæan groue.

Thus

Thus it seemes by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authoritie, that *Tener* first gave name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the same booke he speakes thus.

*Est locus Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque vberis gleba.
OEnotrij coluere viri, nunc famaminores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.
Ha nobis propria sedes: hinc DARDANVS ortus:
Iasusq; Pater, genus à quò Principe nostrum.*

Hesperia the *Gracians* call the place:
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race.
OEnotrians held it, now the later progenie
Gives it their Captaines name, and calls it *Italic*,
This seat belongs to vs, hence *DARDANVS*,
Hence came the Author of our stock, *Iasus*.

Allo *Æneid.*
1. 7.

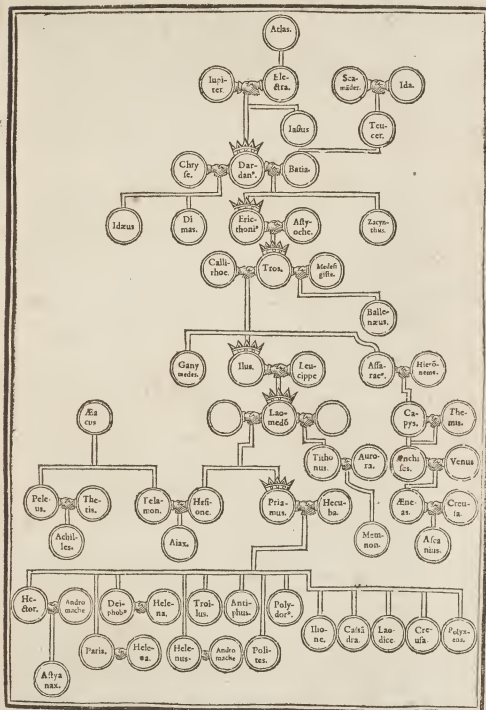
*Atq; equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Auruncos ita ferre senes, his ortus ut agris
DARDANVS Idaas Phrygia penetrant ad vrbes,
Threiciamq; Samum, qua nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illam Coryti Tyrrhenâ ab sede profectum
Aurea nunc solo stellantis regia caeli
Accipit, &c.*

Some old *Auruncans*, I remember well
(Though time haue made the fame obscure) would tell
Of *DARDANVS*, how borne in *Italic*:
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leauing *Tuscanne* (where he earst had place)
With *Corytus* did faile to *Samothrace*,
But now intronized he sits on high,
In golden Palace of the starrie skie.

But contrarie to this, and to so many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reinocius* thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Teneri*, and *Thrace*, are deriued from *Tiras* or *Tiras* the sonne of *Iaphet*: and that the *Dardaniens*, *Asians*, and *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Troians*, were *Germane* Nations, descended from *Askenaz*, the sonne of *Gomer*: of whom the Countrey, Lake, and Riuers of *Ascanus* in *Asia* tooke name. That *Askenaz* gaue name to those places and people it is not vnlkely: neither is it vnlkely that the *Aseny*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times passe into *Europe*. that the name of *Tener* came of *Tiras*, the coniecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Tener*, whereas *Italianus* makes him an *Athenian*, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*, whose authoritie is the more to be regarded, because he had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did following it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other whiles he did flatter) whether *Tener* were of *Crete* or no. *Reinocius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus* and others, that thinke him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Sonne of *Seamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Countrey, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece *Bata* was the second wife of *Dardanus*, founder of *Troy*. *Reinocius* further

thinks that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia* and gaue his Daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that theſe were Parents to *Chryſe*, firſt wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwiſe, and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the ſonne of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the Daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Ectruia*, to whom ſhee bare *Iafus*. *Annus* out of his *Beroſus* finds the name of *Cambobſcon*, to whom he giues the addition of *Coritus*, as a Title of dignitie, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Iafus*; and further telling vs very particularly of the faction betwene theſe Bretheren, which grew to ſuch hate, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obſcuritie of the hiſtorie giues leaue to *Annus* of ſaying what he liſt. I that loue not to vſe ſuch libertie, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Sonne of *Jupiter*, it muſt haue bene of ſome elder *Jupiter* than the Father of thoſe that liued about the Warre of *Troy*. So is it likewiſe probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which alſo is the opinion of *Boece*. For (as hath often bene ſaid) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almoſt euery name of the Gods; but it was the cuſtome to aſcribe to ſome one the acts of theſe, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my ſelfe with making any narrow ſearch into theſe fabulous antiquities, but ſet downe the Pedigree according to the generall fame; allowing to *Tencer* ſuch Parents as *Diodorus* giues, becauſe others giue him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

Atlas



Concerning the beginning and continuance of the Trojan Kingdome, with the length of euery Kings raigne, I haue chosen good Authors to bee my guides, that in a Historie, whercon depends the most ancient computation of times among the *Greekes*, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and generall passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that Citie

Diod. l. 14.

whilst it stood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. yeares more ancient than the beginning of the 94th. *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372. did passe betwene the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the first yeare of the 94th. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeares, that is, 408. yeares went betwene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authoritie of

Diod. in pref.

Diodorus be good prooffe, who elsewhere tells vs, that the returne of the *Heralde*, which was 80. yeares after the fall of *Troy*, was 328. yeares before the first *Olympiad*.

Dionys. Halic. Antiq. l. 2.

Hereunto agrees the authoritie of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seuenth *Olympiad*, that is foure and twentie yeares after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later than the fall of *Troy*.

Solin. Polihist. l. 2.

Solinus in expresse wordes makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphitus*, 408. yeares later than the destruction of *Troy*. The summe is easily collected by necessarie inference out of diuers other places in the same booke. Hereunto doth *Eusebius* reckoning excludiuidly agree: and *Eratosthenes* (as hee is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes vp out of many particulars, the same totall summe, wanting but one yeare, as reckoning likewise excludiuidly.

Euseb. de temp. Euang. l. 10. c. 1. C. de Alex. firm. lib. 1.

The other collections of diuers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, doe neither cohere any way nor depend vpon any collateral Historie, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the yeare before the *Olympiads* foure hundred and eight: we must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end out of *Eusebius*, who leades vs from *Dardanus* on-wards through the raignes of foure Kings, by the space of two hundred and fife and twentie yeares, and after *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed vnder *Laomedon*, wee are faine to doe, as others haue done before vs, and take it vpon trust from *Amnius* his Authors; beleeuing *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings raignes and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may giue vs leaue to thinke that *Amnius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we neede not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no Historie or account of time depends vpon the raigne of the former Kings, but only vpon the ruine of the Citie vnder *Priamus*, it may suffice that wee are carefull to place that memorabile accident in the due yeare.

True it is that some obiections appering waightie, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those yeares, wherein the *Greekes* knew no good forme of a yeare; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorabile, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprize that was vnder-taken by generall consent of all *Greece* was the last Warre of *Troy*, which hath bene famous euen to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there assembled: the great battailes fought with variable successe: the long indurance of the siege; the destruction of that great Citie; and the many Colonies planted in sundry Countries, as well by the remainder of the *Troians*, as by the victorious *Greekes* after their vnfortunate returne. All which things with innumerable circumstances of especiall note, haue bene deliuered vnto posteritie, by the excellent wits

of

of many writers, especially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whose verses haue giuen immortalitye to the action, which might else perhaps haue bene buried in obliuion, among other worthy deedes done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith;

Vixere sortes ante AGAMEMNONA
Multi, sed omnes illachrimabiles
Vrgentur, ignotique longâ
Noctē: carent quia vate sacro.

Many by valour haue deseru'd renowne
 Ere AGAMEMNON: yet lye all oppress'd
 Vnder long night, vnwept for and vnknowne:
 For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilst these writers haue with strange fables, or (to speake the best of them) with *Allegories* farre strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble vndertakers: they haue both drawne into suspicion that great vertue which they sought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the Historie, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that wee seeke for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them of Poets, in whose works are both profit & delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted ouermuch; but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall finde matter in *Poems*, not vnworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authours, written of this great warre. All writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the sonne of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking armes: but how he was hereunto emboldened it is doubtful.

II.
 Of the Rape of HELEN: and strength of both sides for the warre.



Erodorus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre, saying, That whereas the *Phœnicians* had rauish'd *Io*, and carried her into *Aegypt*, the *Greekes* to bee reuenged on the *Barbarians*, did first rauish *Europa* whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Mædes*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfisd for the rape of *Io*. By these deedes of the *Greekes*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldened to doe the like, not fearing such reuenge as infus'd. But all this narration seemes frivolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to doe with the iniurie of the *Phœnicians*? or how could the *Greekes*, as in reuenge of *Io*, plead any quarrell against him, that neuer had heard the name of *Phœnicians*? *Thucydides* a writer of vnquestionable sinceritie maketh it plaine, that the name of *Barbarians* was not vsed at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the warre of *Troy*; and that the *Greekes* themselves were not then called all by one name *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to think, that they should haue sought reuenge vpon all Nations as barbarous, for the iniurie receiued by one: or that all people else should haue esteem'd of the *Greekes*, as of a people oppos'd to all the world; and that euen then when as the *Greekes* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redeliuery of *Hefione*, King *Priamus* his daughter, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and giuen to *Telamon*. This may haue bene true.

For

for *Telamon* (as it seemes) was a cruell man, seeing his owne sonne *Teneer* durst not come in his sight, after the warre of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, onely because his brother *Alix* (which *Teneer* could not remedie) had slaine himselfe. Yet, were it so that *Helen* was ill intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would seeke to take her from her husband, with whom she had liued about thirtie yeeres, and to whom she had borne children which were to succcede in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that *Paris* had no regard, either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Helen*: but was meereley incited by *Venus*, that is by his lust, to do that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely *Greekes* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greekes*, as *Herodotus* discourses, but all people were accustomed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and hauing stollen them, either to sell them away in some farre Country, or keepe them to their owne vse. So did *Theseus* and *Pirithous* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) rauish *Helan*. And these practises, as it appears in *Thucydides* were so common, that none durst inhabite neere vnto the sea, for feare of pyracie, which was accounted a trade of life no lesse lawfull than merchandize: wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, considering the beautie of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her wooers who were most of the principall men in *Greece*, to binde themselves by solemne oath, that if she were taken from her husband, they should with all their might helpe to recouer her. This done, hee gaue free choyce of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus* brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the *Greekes* vnto *Troy* in reuenge of *Helen*'s rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made vnto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon* besides his great Dominions in *Peloponnesus*, was Lord of many Ilands: he was also rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he imbarqued for *Troy* in his owne ships, which were more than any other of the *Greece* Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or ledde by the reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprize, take armes against the *Troians*. The *Greekes* Fleet was (by *Homer*'s account) 1200. sayle or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build shippes with decks, onely they vsed (as *Thucydides* saith) small shippes, meete for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fiftie men, the greatest 120. euery man (except the Captaines) being both a Marriner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* armie consisted of 100000. men or thereabout. This was the greatest armie that euer was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatnesse of this armie, doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which tenne whole yeeres did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Troians* which inhabited the Citie not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homer*'s *Iliades*; but their followers and aydes were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Misias*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the lesse, tooke part with the *Troians*. The *Amazones* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Assyria* (though some thinke out of *Ethiopia*) came to their defence.

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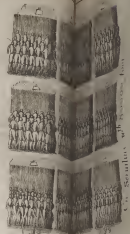
472.
The greater
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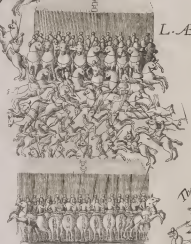
The lesser
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The Roman Camp
beyond the river



L. Aemilius Paulus



Asdrubal

The Balloons



Spanner's gate

Asdrubal's river

The Camp of
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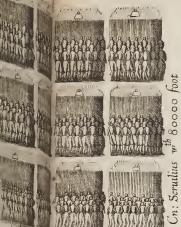


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p. III.

of the Gracians journey, and Embassage to Troy, and of Helenas
being detained in Egypt; and of the Sacrificing
of Iphigenia



Therefore the Greekes unwilling to come to tryall of armes, if things might be compounded by treatie, sent Menelaus and Pisces Embassadors to Troy, who demanded Helen and the goods were taken with her out of Menelaus his house. What answer the Troians made hereunto it is vncertain. Herodotus from the report of the Egyptian Priests makes it very probable that Helen was taken from Paris before his returne to Troy. The summe of his discourse is this.

Paris in his returne with Helena, being driuen by foule weather vnto the coast of Egypt, was accused for the rape of Helen by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. Proteus then King of Egypt, finding the accusation true by examination, detained Helen, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismisning Paris without further punishment, because hee was a stranger. When therefore the Greekes demanding Helen had answer, that she was in Egypt: they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of Troy. But when after the Citie taken, they perceived indeed he had not bene there, they returned home, sending Menelaus to aske his wife of Proteus. Homer and the whole Nation of Poets (except Euripides) vary from this Historie, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more gracefull to their Poems, for the retaining of a faire Ladie, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his Odyssey, Homer speaks of Menelaus his being in Egypt, before he returned home to Sparta; which voyage it were not casily beleecued, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driuen thither by contrary windes, much more may we thinke that Paris was likely to haue bene driuen thither by foule weather. For Paris immediatly vpon the rape committed; was enforced to fly, taking such windes as hee could get, and rather enduring any storme, than to commit him selfe to any Hauen in the Greeke Iles; whereas Menelaus might haue put into any port in Greece, and there haue remained with good entertainment, vntill such time as the winde had come about, and serued for his Navigation.

One great argument Herodotus brings to confirme the saying of the Egyptian Priests, which is, that if Helen had bene at Troy, it had bene vtter madnelle for Priamus to see so many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for Hector was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that Lucian spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said that Helen, at the warre of Troy, was almost as old as Queene Hebeus, considering that she had bene rauished by Theseus the companion of Hercules, who tooke Troy when Priamus was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to Castor and Pollux (the and Pollux being said by some to haue bene twinned) who sailed with the Argonautes, hauing Telamon the father of Ajax in their companie before the time that Hecione was taken; on whom Telamon begat Ajax, that was a principall commander in the Trojan warre. But whether it were so, that the Troians could not, or would not restore Helen, so it was that the Embassadors returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not some that aduised to haue them slaine. The Greekes hereupon incensed, made all haste rowards Troy: at which time Calchus (whom some say to haue bene a runnagate Trojan, though no such thing be found in Homer) filled the Captaines and all the Hoste with many troublesome answers and diuinations. For he would haue Agamemmons daughter sacrificed to appease

Diana,

Diana, whose anger he said withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the *Goddesse* was contented with a hinde, it is not needfull here to be disputed of. Sure it is that the malice of the deuill which awaits for all opportunities, is neuer more importunate than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the *Greekes*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible till some fatal impediments were remoued: and that till tenne yeeres were past, the towne should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding the *Greekes* proceeded in their enterprise; vnder the commaund of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greekes*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phemius*; *Ajax* and *Tener* the sonnes of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, 10 and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor*, and his sonnes *Antilochus*, and *Thrasymedes*; *Vijster*, *Megilbew* the sonne of *Petreus*, captaine of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the sonne of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wife and learned *Palamedes*; *Agesilaus*, and *Ialmerius*, the sonnes of *Marz*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* also the sonne of *Peon*, who had the arrowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said that the Citie could not be taken; *Ajax* the sonne of *Oileus*; *Penelus*, *Thoas*, *Eumelus*, *Tisandrus*, *Eurypilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the sonne of *Hercules*; *Podalyrus*, and *Acachon*, the sonnes of *Esculapius*; *Epeus* who is said to haue made the wooden horse, by which the towne was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatned death to him that landed first.

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§. IIII.

Of the *Attes* of the *Gracians* at the siege.

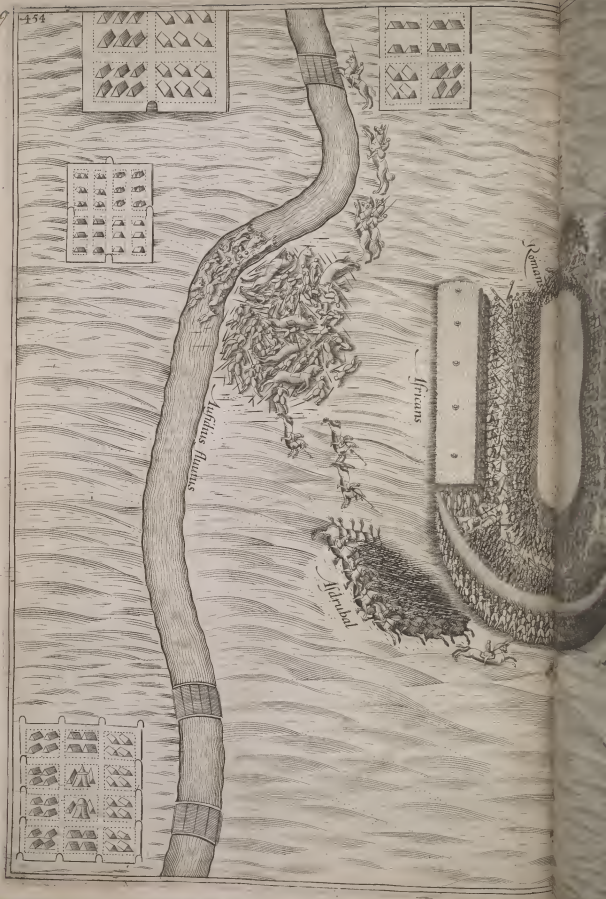
THese and many other of lesse note, arriving at *Troy*, found such sharp entertainment, as might easily perswade them to thinke that the war would bee more than one yeeres worke. For in the first encounter they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, and many other, without any great harme done to the *Troians*: saue onely that by their numbers 30 of men, they wonne ground enough to incampe themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the *Greekes* found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallnesse of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an armie. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Chersonesse*: others to robbe vpon the sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the warre protracted nine whole yeeres, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the towne receiue little losse by them, hauing equall numbers to maintaine the field against such *Greekes* as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat, if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ouid* saith, that from the first yeare till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and *Heratides* commends as very credible the report of *Herodotus*; That the *Greekes* did not ly: before *Troy* the first nine yeeres: but onely did beate vp and downe the seas, exercising their men, and enriching themselves, and so by waiteing the enemies Country, did blocke vp the towne, vnto which they returned not vntill the fatal time drew nere, when it should be subuerted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which *Priamus* made, when the *Greeke* Princes came into the field, the tenth yeare, for he knew none of them, and therefore sitting vpon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) he learned their names of *Helien*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all haue beene supposed that hee should bee ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne so many yeeres together. Betwene these relations of *Thucydides* and *Heratides*, the difference is not much. the one saying that a few of the *Greekes* remained in the Campe before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purueyance by land and sea: the other that the whole

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whole armie did spend the time in waiting the sea-coastes. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authours: for they make report of many townes and Islands wasted, and the people carried into Captiuitie; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the armie could not well, nor would haue spared, if any seruice of importance had beene to bee performed before the Citie. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by generall consent, that in the beginning of that summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe; and a great pestilence arose among the *Greekes*: which *Homer* saith that *Apollo* sent in reuenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let goe, for any ranfome: but

10 *Heraclides* interpreting the place, saith that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne: who raised pestilent fogges, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish peece of ground. And it might well bee that the campe was ouer-pestered with those, who had beene abroad, and now were lodged all close together: hauing also grounded their hippes within the fortifications.

About the same time arose much contention betweene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie, whereof *Agamemnon*, as General, hauing first chosen for his part a captiue woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himselfe an other, then *Aiex*, *Phyffes*, and so the rest of the Chieftaines in order: When the Soothsayer

- *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman should be restored to her father, *Apollo's*

20 *Priest*, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage and say, that hee alone would loose his part of the spoile, but would either take that which had beene giuen to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Aiex*, or to *Phyffes*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to reuenge her losse, otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Companies. But the *Greekes* encouraged by their Captaines, presented themselves before the Citie without him and his troupes.

The *Troians* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour Countries hauing sent them ayde: partly drawne to that warre by their Commanders, who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the warre beganne

30 (as appeares by his words in *Homer*) or for loue of himselfe and his sonnes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daughters; partly also (as we may well guess) incited by the wrongs recieued of the *Greekes*, when they wasted the Countries adioyning vnto *Troy*. So that when *Heitor* issued out of the towne, hee was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the *Troian* armie, were *Heitor*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helinus* and the other sonnes of *Priamus*: *Aeneas*, *Anicor*, and his sonnes, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaukus*, *Asius*, and the sonnes of *Panthus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slaine the first night of his arriuall, *Menmon*, Queene *Penthesilea*, and others who came to

40 wards the end of the warre. Betweene these and the *Greekes* were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tombe of King *Ilus* vpon the plaine, and an other at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein *Heitor* brake through the fortifications of the *Greekes*, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Aiex*, the sonne of *Telamon* with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining vnwounded, made head against *Heitor*, when the state of the *Greekes* was almost desperate.

An other battell (for so antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who hauing obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles* troopes relieuing the wearie *Greekes* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Phyffes*, and the rest of

50 the Princes, though sore wounded, yet were driuen to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Troians* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his body, with much contention recouered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torne from him by *Heitor*. It was the manner of those warres, hauing slaine a man, to stripp him and

and hale away his bodie, not restoring it without ranfome, if he were one of mark. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foote, slightly armed, and commonly followed the fuccie of their capitaines; who rode not vpon horses, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horses, which were guided by some true followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were directed by the Capitaines, who by the swiftnesse of their horses presenting themselves where neede required, threw first their lauelins, and then alighting fought on foote, with swords and battell-axes, retiring into the ranks of the footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began againe with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost, or broken. Their armes defensie were helmets, breast-plates, bootes of brasie or other mettall, & shields commonly of leather, plated ouer. The offensiuie were swords and battell-axes at hand; and stones, arrows or darts when they fought at any distance. The vse of their Chariots (besides the swiftnesse) was to keepe them from wearinesse, whereto the leaders were much subiect, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest warre heauied: also that from them they might throw their lauelins downewards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I finde not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driuen to returne to their Tents for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; euery man (speaking of the chiefs) carried his owne compleat, of which if any peece were lost or broken, he was driuen to repaire it with the like it he had any fitting, taken from some Capitaine whom hee had slaine, and stripped: or else to borrow of them that had by such meanes gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had lost his armour which *Hector* (as is said before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was faine to awaite the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: wherof he became very desirous, that he might reuenge the death of *Patroclus* his deere friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himselfe vnto *Achilles*, not onely restoring his concubine *Briseis*, but giuing him very great gifts, and exculing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell *Achilles* did so behaue himselfe, that he did not onely put the *Troians* to the worlt, but also slew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be beleued) hee chased three times about the walles of *Troy*. But great questio n may be made of *Homers* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would stay alone without the Citie (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Troians* were fled into it: nor that he could leape ouer the riuers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he must haue done in that flight: nor that the *Troians* perceiving *Hector* in such an extremitie, would haue forborne to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace *Achilles*, who hauing (by what meanes soeuer) slaine the noble *Hector*, did not onely carry away his dead bodie, as the custome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leatherne thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragged him shamefully about the field, selling the dead bodie to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranfome. But his crueltie and couetousnesse were not long vnreueged; for he was shortly after slaine with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* sayes in the *Scæan* gate, or as others in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to haue married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too farre in loue, hauing slaine so many of her brethern, and his body was ranfomed (as *Lycophron* saith) at the selfe same rate that *Hector* was by him sold for. Nor long after this, *Penthesilea* Queene of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*; who after some proofe giuen of her valour, was slaine by *Pyrhus* the sonne of *Achilles*.

p. V.

Of the taking of Troy, the wadden Horſe, the Booke of Dares
and Dictys, the Colonies of the reliques
of Troy.



10 Inally after the death of many worthy perſons, on each ſide, the Ci-
tie was taken by night, as all writers agree; but whether by the trea-
ſon of *Aeneas* and *Antenor*, or by a wadden Horſe, as the Poets, and
common ſame (which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is vn-
certaine. Some write that vpon one of the gates of *Troy*, called *Scaen*,
was the image of a horſe, and that the *Greekes* entring by that gate, gaue occasion
to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificiall horſe. It may well bee that
with ſome wadden engine, which they called an Horſe, they either did batter the
walls, as the *Romans* in after-times vſed to doe with the Ramme: or ſcaled the walls
vpon the ſudden, and ſo tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow
bodie of a wadden horſe, it had beene a deſperate aduventure, and ſeruing to no pur-
poſe. For either the *Troians* might haue perceiued the deceit, and ſlaue all thoſe
Princes of *Greece*, that were incloſed in it (which alſo by ſuch a maine this re-
port they are ſaid to haue thought vpon) or they might haue left it a few dayes
without the Citie (for it was unlikely, that they ſhould the very firſt day both con-
clude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their walles vpon the
ſuddaine to doe it) by which meanes they who were ſhut into it, muſt haue periſhed
for hunger, if they had not by ſuſtaining ſuch vnreaſonably diſcovered the in-
uention. Whereas further it is ſaid, that this horſe was built to high and great, that
it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that there-
fore the *Troians* were ſaine to pull downe a part of their wall, to make way for it,
through which breach the *Greekes* did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifeſt that
the incloſing of ſo many principall men was altogether needleſſe, conſidering that
30 without their helpe there was way ſufficient for the armie, ſo that the ſurpriſing of
any gate by them was now to no purpoſe.

John Baptiſta Graſius in his *Hiſtorie of Aſia*, diſcourſing of this war, ſaith that the
Greekes did both batter the wall with a wadden engine, and were alſo let into the
Citie by *Antenor*, at the *Scaen* gate: the townſmen ſleeping and drinking without
fear or care, becauſe the ſcete of the *Grecians* had hoſted ſaile, and was gone the
day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Troians* into ſecuritie. That
the Citie was betrayed the bookes of *Dares* and *Dictys* muſt proue, which whether
we now haue the ſame that were by them written, it may be ſuſpected; for ſurely
they who haue made mention of theſe writers in auncient times, would not as they
did, haue followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictorie in moſt
40 points to theſe two authors, without once taking notice of the oppoſition, which
they hauing ſerued in that warre made againſt the Common report: had it not been
that either thoſe bookes were euen in thoſe times thought, friuolous; or elſe con-
tained no ſuch repugnancie to the other authours as now is found in them.

Alſo concerning the number of men ſlaine in this warre which *Dares* and *Dictys*
ſay to haue beene aboute 600000, on the *Troian* ſide, and more than 800000, of
the *Greekes*, it is a report merely fabulous; for ſo much as the whole ſcete of the
Greekes was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as
hee could, to bee ſomewhat leſſe than 1200. ſaile, and the armie therein transpor-
ted ouer the *Greece* ſeas, not much aboute 100000 men according to the rate formerly
50 mentioned. But it is the common faſhion of men to extol the deedes of their An-
cients: for which cauſe both *Homer* magnified the Captains of the *Greekes*, that ſer-
ued in the war, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending & extolling
the *Troians* and their Citie, from which the *Romanes* deſcended. Yea the *Athenians*

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long

long after in the warre which *Xerxes* the *Perſian* King made againſt all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Amyſeus* the ſonne of *Peteus* had ſhewed, in marſhalling the *Græcian* army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had beene a matter of much conſequence, they were ſo proud, that they reſuſed to yeeld vnto *Gelon* King of almoſt all *Sicily*, the *Admirallie* of their Seas, notwithstanding that hee promiſed to bring 200. good fighting ſhips, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie poſſeſſed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in theſe parts of the world, which haue ſtriven to bring their deſcent from ſome of the Princes, that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in ſuch their Pedigree notwithstanding. But thoſe Nations which indeed, or in moſt probabilitye came of the *Troians*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romanes*, brought into that Countrey by *Anicus*: the *Venetians* firſt ſeated in *Padaua*, and the Countrey adioyning by *Antenor*: the *Chalcians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the ſonne of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellenicus* addeth that the poſteritie of *Neſtor* did reſemble ſuch of the *Troians* as were left, and raigned ouer them about *Troy*.

d. VI.

Of the diſtreſſes and diſperſions of the Greekes returning from *Troy*.

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C Concerning the *Greekes*, they taſted as much miſerie as they had brought vpon the *Troians*. For *Thucydides* notes that by reaſon of their long abode at the ſiege, they found many alterations when they returned: ſo that many were driuen by their borderers from their ancient ſeats: many were expelled their Countreys by faction: ſome were ſlaine anone after their arriual: others were debarred from the Soueraigntie among their people, by ſuch as had ſtayed at home. The cauſe of all which may ſeeme to haue beene the diſperſion of the armie, which weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell iniuries, being diuided into ſo many peeces vnder ſeueral Commaunders, not very well agreeing. For (beſides other quarrels ariſing vpon the diuiſion of the bootie, and the like occaſions) at the time when they ſhould haue ſet ſaile, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being deſirous to depart immediatly, the other to ſtay and performe ſome ſacrifices to *Minerua*. Hereupon they ſet to hot wordes, halfe the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the reſt of them ſailing to the Ile of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themſelves, but ſome returned back to *Agamemnon*, others were diſperſed, each holding his owne courſe. But the whole Fleet was ſore vexed with tempeſts: for *Pallas* (as *Homere* ſaith) would not bee perſwaded in haſte.

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They who returned ſafe were *Neſtor* and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Oreſtes* afterward ſlew: alſo *Idomeneus*, and *Philoctetes*, who neuertheleſſe, as *Virgil* ſets, were driuen ſoone after to ſeek new ſeats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italye*. *Agamemnon* likewiſe returned home, but was forthwith ſlaine by his wife and by the adulterer *Egyſthius*, who for a while after vſurped his Kingdome. *Meneleus* wandering long vpon the Seas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather ſeeme) to fetch her. *Ulyſſes*, after ten yeeres, hauing loſt all his company, got home in poore eſtate, with much adoe recouering the maſterſhippe of his owne houſe. All the reſt either periſhed by the way, or were driuen into exile, and ſaine to ſeek out new habitations.

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Aiax the ſonne of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*, *Diomedes* to King *Dauuus*, who was Lord of the *Iapyges* in *Apulia*; ſome of the *Locrians* were driuen into *Aſſricke*, others into *Italye*, all the Eaſt part whereof was called *Magna Græcia*, by reaſon of ſo many townes which the *Greekes* were driuen to erect vpon

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to erect vpon that coast. Finally it appears in *Homay* that the *Grecian* Ladies, whose husbands had bene at the warre of *Troy*, were wont to call it; The place where the *Greekes* suffered miserie, and the vnluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy* and those that warred there: the ouerthrow of which Citie, as hath bene said, happened in the time of *Habden* Iudge of *Israel*, whom *Samson* after a variance of *Interregnum* for certaine yeeres succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of SAMSON, ELI, and SAMUEL.

§. I.

OF SAMSON. 83



THE birth and actes of *Samson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that *Storie*. First that the *Angell* of *God* forbade the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Samson*, to drinke wine or strong drinke, or to cate any vnclean meate, after she was conceived with childe, because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrinke the child in the mothers wombe. Though this were euen the counsell of *God* himselfe, and deliuered by his *Angell*, yet it seemeth that many women of this age haue not read, or at least will not beleue this precept: the most part forbearing nor drincks, nor meates, how strong or vncleane soeuer, filling themselves with all sorts of wines, and with artificiall drincks faire more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly it is to be noted, that the *Angell* of *God* refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would haue offered him, commanding him to present it vnto the Lord: and therefore those that professe diuination by the helpe of *Angels*, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are *Deuils* who accept thereof, and not good *Angels*, who receiue no worship that is proper to *God*.

Thirdly, this *Samson* was twice betrayed by his wines, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull teares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas euerxit, Whom no force could overcome, Voluptuousnesse ouerturned.*

Fourthly we may note, that he did not in all deliuer *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistims*; though in some sort he reuenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slaine 300. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Come in harvest time, and giuen them a great ouerthrow instantly vpon it: yet so much did *Israel* feare the *Philistims*, as they assembled 3000. men out of *India*, to besiege *Samson* in the rocke or mountaine of *Etan*, vniing these wordes. *Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers ouer vs? &c.* After which they bound him, and deliuered him vnto the *Philistims*, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but he gaue them another ouerthrow and slew 1000. with the iawbone of an *Ass*.

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, hee was content to end his owne life, to be auenged of his enemies, when he pulled downe the pillars

Patience wounded
pillars of the house at the feast wherto they sent for *Samson*, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of *Seneca*; *Patientia sapientia vertitur in furorē*; *Patience often wounded is converted into furie*: neither is it at any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

§. II.

Of *Eli* and of the *Arke* taken, and of *DAGONS* fall, and the sending backe of the *Arke*.

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He Storie of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Samson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whole finnes were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Leui Ben Gerson* to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the sonnes of *Eli*, hath a contrarie opinion. In this time therefore it pleased *God* to call the *Israelites* vnder the swords of the *Philistims*; of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000. and in the second battell 3000. footmen; among whom the sonnes of *Eli* being slaine, their father (hearing the lamentable successe) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke. Hee was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stocke of *Itamar* the sonne of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successfullly in the race of *Eleazar* the eldest brother of *Itamar*; for *Aaron* was the first, *Eleazar* the second, *Phinees* the sonne of *Eleazar* the third, *Abijah* the sonne of *Phinees* the fourth, his sonne *Bocai* the fifth, *Oza* the sonne of *Bocai* the sixth, and then *Eli*, as *Iosephus* and *Lysanous* out of diuers Hebrew authours haue concurred. In the race of *Itamar* the Priesthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon* who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadock* and *Achimeas* and their successors. The *Arke* of *God* which *Israel* brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the *Philistims*. For as *David* witnesseth. *God* greatly abhorred *Israel*, so that hee forsooke the habitation of *Shilo*: euen the *Tabernacle* where he dwelt among men, and deliuered his power into captiuitie &c.

Now as it pleased *God* at this time, that the *Arke* whereby himselfe was represented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did he permit the *Chaldeans* to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the *Romanes* to overthrow the second Temple; and the *Turkes* to overthrow the *Christian Churches* in *Asia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Israelites* put more confidence in the sacrament, or representation which was the *Arke*, then in *God* himselfe, they would haue obserued his Lawes, and serued him onely: which whensoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captiuitie they had no *Arke* at all, nor in the times of the *Machabees*: and yet for their pietie it pleased *God* to makethat familie as victorious, as any that garded themselves by the signe instead of the substance. And that the *Arke* was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensigne; *David* witnessed when he fled from *Abisalon*. For when the Priests would haue carried the *Arke* with him; he forbade it, and caused it to be returned into the Citie, vjing these words. *If I shall finde fauour in the eyes of the Lord, hee will bring mee againe: if not, let him doe to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

The *Troians* beleued that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Minerva* was kept in *Troy*, the Citie should neuer be ouerturned: so did the *Christians* in the last fatal battell against *Saladine* carrie into the field, as they were made beleue, the very *Crosse* whereon *Christ* died, and yet they lost the battell, their bodies and the wood. But *Christome* vpon *Saint Matthew* (if that bee his worke) giueth a good iudgement, speaking of those that were a part of *Saint Iohns* Gospel about their neckes, for an amulet or preferuatiue. *Si tibi ea non profunt in auribus,*

auribus quomodo proderunt Collo? If these words doe not profit men in their eares (to wit, the hearing of the Gospell preached) how should it profit them by hanging it about their neckes? For it was neither the wood of the Arke, nor the wood of the Crosse, but the reverence of the Father that gaue the one for a memorie of his Couenant : and the Faith in his Sonne, which shed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and vs, either in this life or after it.

The *Philistims* returning with the greatest victorie and glorie which euer they obtained, carried the *Arke of God* with them to *Asotus*, and set it vp in the house of *Dagon* their *Idoll*: but that night the *Idoll* fell out of his place, from aboue to the ground, and lay vnder the *Arke*. The morning following they tooke it vp, and set it vp, and set it againe in his place. And it fell the second time, and the head brake from the bodie, and the hands from the armes, shewing that it had nor power, nor vnderstanding in the presence of *God*; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason, and knowledge, and the hands (by which wee execute strength) were sundred from the armes. For *God* and the *Deuill* inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this *Idoll* could not indure the representation of the true *God*, it is not to be maruailed, that at such time as it pleased him to couer his onely begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the *Oracles* wherein the *Diuell* derided and betrayed mortall men lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light which had neuer beginning of brightnesse, brake through the clouds of a virgins bodie, shining vpon the earth which had beene long obscured by *Idolatry*, all those foule and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great *God Pan*, as hee stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his braines for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not onely this olde *Deuill* did then die as hee supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Iupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became speechlesse.

Now while the *Philistims* triumphed after this victorie, *God* strook them with the grievous disease of the *Hemorrhoides* of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written that the *Lord* destroyed them. It was therefore by generall consent ordered that the *Arke* should be remoued from *Asotus* to *Gath* or *Geth* another of the five great Cities of the *Philistims*; to proue, as it seemeth whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of *God* immediately: but when it was brought to *Gath* and receiued by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortall. For the hand of the *Lord* was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and hee smote the men of the Citie both small and great, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* lent the *Arke* to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third Citie of the *Philistims*: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out that themselves and their people should be slaine thereby; For there was a destruction and death throughout all the Citie. In the end, by the aduise of their Priests, the Prince of the *Philistims* did not onely resolve to return the *Arke*, but to offer gifts vnto the *God of Israel*, remembreing the plagues which had fallen on the *Aegyptians*, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of *God* from their inheritance, and from his seruice by strong hand. Wherefore considering the power of the *God of Israel* to bee almightie, and that their owne *Idols* were subiect therunto, they agreed to offer a sinne offering, vying these words; *So yet shall giue glorie to the God of Israel that hee may take his hand from you, and from your Gods and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Polebrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharao* confesse the liuing *God*, when he was plagued in *Aegypt*: and *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Darius*, when they had seene his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counsell therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden *Hemorrhoides*, and the golden Mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to bee chosen, such as had not bene yoked, and a new Cart or carriage to bee framed: but they

durst not drive or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make triall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had stricken them. For if the *Arke* of God were carried towards *Bethlehem* and into the territorie of *Israel*: then they should resolve that from God only came their late destruction. For the *Philistines* knewe that the milch kine which drew the *Arke*, could not be forced from their calues, but that they would have followed them where soeuer; much lesse when they were left to themselves would they trauell a contrary way. For in the darke night in the world if calues be removed from their dammes, the kine will follow them through woods, and desertes by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine trauielled directly towards *Bethlehem*; and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Iosua* of the same Citie, they stood still there, which when the Princes of the *Philistines* perceived, they returned to *Eckron*: After which, God spared not his owne people the *Bethlemites*, in that they presumed to looke into the *Arke*. And because they knew God and his commandements and had bene taught accordingly: he strooke them more grieuouly than he did the *Heathen*, for there perished of them fiftie thousand and seuentie. From hence the *Arke* was carried to *Kiriath-iearim* and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twentie yeere in the charge of *Elezar* his sonne, vntill *Dauid* brought it to *Ierusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the meane while the *Arke* was in *Netob*, *Netophah*, and *Galgala*, it was the *Tabernacle*, which was at this time seuered from the *Arke*: so or at least, it was for the present occasion brought to these places, and anone returned to *Kiriath-iearim*.

§. III.

OF SAMUEL and of his Government.

THese Tragedies ouerpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while hee was yet a child, became now Judge and Governour of *Israel*. He was descended of the familie of *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Leui* had three sounes; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Mersari*: *Cheath* had *Amram*, and *Izazur*: of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Izazur*, *Chore*: and of the familie of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Eleana* a *Leuite*, was called an *Ephraitean*, not that the *Leuites* had any proper inheritance, but because he was of *Mount Ephraim*, like as *Iesse*, *Dauid*'s father was called an *Ephraitean*, because borne at *Ephrata*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by prayers and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the fewill women, to be called barren in respect of the blessing of God both to *Abraham* that his seed should multiply, as the *Starres* of Heauen, and the fands of the *Sea*, as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase* and multiply, &c. and in *Deuteronomie* the seauenth; *There shall bee neither male nor female barren among you*.

Samuel was no sooner borne, but that his mother according to her former vowe dedicated him to God, and his seruice, to which she deliuered him euen from the duggs. For as the first borne of all that were called *Naazarites*, might be redeemed till they were five yeeres old for five sheekles, and betwene five yeeres and twentie for twentie sheekles: so was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the *Leuites* should be called to seruice about the *Tabernacle*, till they were five and twentie yeeres old.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Actes* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom vsually this name of a Prophet was giuen, and yet did *Moses* account himselfe such a one, as in the 18. of *Deuter*. The Lord thy God will raise vp unto thee a Prophet like vnto mee, &c. But hee is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as, *Before time in Israel, when a man went to seeke an answer of God, thus hee spake; Come, and let vs goe to the Seer*: for

2 Sam c 6. &
1 Chron 2. 12.
a See in this
booke ch 11.
§ 1. in the
margin.

b 1. Chron. 6. 23.

c VVhich regi-
on was called
Ephrata, as ap-
peareth *Iud. 18*
5. whence for
distinction we
reade *Ruth. 1. 2*.

Ephrata is
Bethleem in
Iuda, *Gen. 35*
19. from the
region of *E-*
phraim, which
is in *Mount E-*
phraim, whence
Ps. 132. 6.
Ephrata is put
for *Sily*, which
was in the
tribe of *E-*
phraim.

Verf. 15.
1 Sam 9.

for he that is now called a *Prophet*, was in old time called a *Seer*. And although it pleased God to appeare by his *Angels* to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*: yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether with-drawn his grace from *Israel*: but as the *Chaldaean Paraphrast* hath it, those revelations before *Samuels* time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein *Samuel* iudged were *Mispha* or *Mispha*, seated on a hill in *Beniamin* neare *Juda*: also *Gilgal*, and *Beihel*, of which we haue spoken elsewhere.

Sam 13.
See in this
bookes, 1.1. §. 1

The *Philistims* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation for Warre at *Mispha* in the beginning of *Samuels* gouernment, gathered their Armie and marched towards the Citie: at whose approach the *Israelites* stricken with feare, and with the memorie of their former slaughters and seruitude, besought *Samuel* to pray to God for them: who was * then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistims* were in view. But God being moued with *Samuels* prayers (as he was by those of *Moses*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at their first entrance into *Arabia*.) It pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beate downe the Armie of the *Philistims*, according to the prophecie of *Hanna*, *Samuels* Mother. The *Lords aduersaries shall be destroyed, and out of heauen shall be thunder vpon them, &c.* *Iosephus* affirms that a part of the *Philistims* were swallowed with an earth-quake: and that *Samuel* himselfe led the *Israelites* in the prosecution of their victorie. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memorie of this happy success obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Iosephus* called *Lapidem fortium*: *Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunitie and advantage of the victorie, the *Israelites* recovered diuers Cities of their owne formerly lost, and held long in possession of the *Philistims*, who for a long time after did not offer any inuasion or reuenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts: the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be assaulted from diuers parts at once; hauing the *Philistims* towards the West and Sea-coast, the *Canaanites* toward the North and East, and the *Idumites* on the South. The estate being thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gaue audience and iudgment in diuers places by turnes, as hath beene elsewhere said.

* Plutarch reports of Them the sixth King of Rome, that when as hee was sacrificing it was told him that the enemies approaching, denoting, answered, sign autem sacrificio. 1. Sam. 3. 10.

CHAP. XVI. Of SAUL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the gouernment into a Kingdome. 444. 178



When age now beganne to ouer-take *Samuel*, and that hee was not able to vnder-geoe the burthen of so careful a gouernment, he put off from himselfe the waight of the affaires on his Sonnes, *Ioel* and *Abijah*, who iudged the people at *Beerseba*, a Citie, the very vtmost towards the South of *Iudaea*. And as the place was inconuenient and farr away, so were themselves no lesse removed from the iustice and vertue of their Father. For the thirst of couetousnesse the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taill in nothing but gaine; to recouer which they did

round about

set the Law at a price, and sold Iustice and iudgment to the best Chapmen. Which when

when the Elders of *Israel* observed, and saw that *Samuel* as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errors of his owne, they praised him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be iudged as other Nations were; who might also leade them to the Warre and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable successe which followed the rule of *Eli* his sonnes, when those of *Samuel* by their first blossomes promised to yeeld fruit no lesse bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much reuerenced, but by the choise of a King.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsaile from God: which surely he did not for the establisshing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not haue approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displicating him, hee vsed his best arguments to dehoit them: which when he perceived to bee ouer-feeble, hee deliuered vnto them from Gods reuelation, the inconueniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which he fore-shewed was not intollerable, but such as hath beene borne, and is so still by free consent of the Subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will vse their sonnes in his owne seruice to make them his Horse-men, Chariotiers, and Foot-men; which is not only not grievous, but by the vassalls of all Kings according to their birth and condition desired: it being very agreeable to Subjects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres; and to till the ground no lesse proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought vp: so are likewise the offices of women-seruants to dress meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatened: *He will take up your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and giue them to his seruants; with other oppressions; this hath giuen, and giues daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their owne discretion, to affirme that Samuel describeth here vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God.* But others vpon further examination contrist this Text farre otherwise, as teaching vs what Subjects ought with patience to beare at their *Soueraignes* hand. The former opinion is grounded first vpon that place of *Deuteronomie*, where God fore-sheweth this change of government from Iudges to Kings, and after he had forbidden many things vnto the Kings, as many wiues, couetousnesse, and the like: he commandeth that the Kings which were to raigene ouer *Israel*, should writhe the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all daies of his life: that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the wordes of this Law, and these ordinances for to doe them: that he may prolong his daies in his Kingdome, he and his Sonner.* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrarie to the lawes of God: in the same booke written. For it is said, *That which is iust and right shalt thou follow, that thou maiest liue.* Now if it bee not permitted to carrie away grapes more than thou canst cate out of an other mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much lesse lawfull to take the vineyard it selfe from the owner, and giue it to an other. Neither are the wordes of the Text (say they) such as doe warrant the Kings of *Israel*, or make it proper vnto them, to take at will any thing from their vassalls. For it is not said that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your Sonnes: and againe, this shall be the manner of the King that shall raigene ouer you. God thereby fore-shewing what power secured from pietie, (because it is accountable to God only) will doe in the future. And hereof we finde the first example in *Achub*, who tooke from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrarie to the trust which God had put in him, of gouerning well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be iudged with righteous iudgement.* Wherefore though the King had offered vnto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better valew, or the worth in money.

Dent. 17.

Dent. 6.

Dent. 33. v. 24.
Lev.

116
7. Naboth's vineyard
as 59. 9. 16. 16.
30 217

30 916. 928

money which he refused: yet because he was falsely accused and vniustly condemned (though by colour of law) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law, euen as *Dauid* testifieth of himselfe. *Posuisti me in caput gentium*: For this is S. Augustine's very true. *Simulatus innocentia, non est innocentia: simulatus equitas non est equitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio*. Fained innocence, and fained equitie are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled in which there is both iniquitie and dissimulation. Such in effect is their disposition who thinke this place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrarie side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well knowne to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true law of free Monarchies*; which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much lesse here to insert. Only thus much I will say, that if practise doe shew the greatnesse of authoritie, euen the best Kings of *Inda* and *Israel* were not so tied by any lawes, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their owne Princes, and of their owne bretheren to be slaine without any trial of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *Dauid* confessed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Salomon* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed vnto him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receiue this change of government, it was not only fore-told by *Moses* in *Deuteronomic*, but prophesied of by *Iacob* in this Scripture. *The scepter shall not depart from Iuda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing. For it was not only assured that his issues should in number equall the Starres in heauen, but that Kings should proceede of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the Patterne of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Vniuersall: and the excellencie thereof in respect of all other governments, hath bene by many iudicious men handled and proued, I shall not neede to ouer-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the *Judges* every man hath obserued what ciuill Warre *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughters they committed vpon each other: in what miserable seruitude they lined for many yeares: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recouer some parts thereof formerly lost. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the best vallies of the Countrey. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* ouer *Jordan*: the *Philistims* the Sea-coasts: and the *Iebusites* *Ierusalem* it selfe, till *Dauid's* time: all which that King did not only conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subiected all the Neighbour Nations, and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassalls. But whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moued by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to liue vnder a Monarch, or whether by this means they fought to be cleared from the sonnes of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the perswasions and threats which *Samuel* vied, insinuing vpon this point that they would haue a King, both to iudge them and defend them: wherevnto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, hee sent every man to his owne Citie and abiding.

§. II.
Of the election of *Saul*.



After that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Agazub*, he forbare the election of a King, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who fore-told him the day before, that he would present vnto him a man of the Land of *Beniamin*, whom hee commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So

Samuel

Samuel went vnto *Ramath Saphim*, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul* also hauing wandred diuers daies to seeke his Fathers Asse, at length by the aduise of his seruants traualled towards *Ramath*, to finde out a *Seer* or *Prophet*, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beaſts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who fought an Asse, and not a Kingdome: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheepe of *Iethro*; and after to make choise of *Dauid* the yongest of eight sonnes, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beaſts, and changed his sheep-hooke into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Juda* and *Israel*. So *Iohn* and *Iacob* were taken from casting their nets, to become Filthers of men, and honoured with the titles of *Apostles*, a dignitie that died not in the graue, as all worldly Honours doe: but permanent and euermlasting in Gods endlesse Kingdome.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected and staid his annuall at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul*, finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a *Prophet* and Iudge of *Israel*, much lesse knowing the Honour which attended him: asked *Samuel* in what part of the Citie the *Seer* dwelt, *Samuel* answered that himselfe was the man he sought, and praised *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, above all that were inuited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the Kingdome, and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following appointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward; that two men should encounter him by *Rahels* Sepulcher, who should tell him that his Asse were found; and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of loosing his beaſts, to doubt the losse of his sonne: that he should then meete three other men in the plaine of *Tabor*; then a companie of *Prophets*: and that he should be partaker of Gods spirit and prophetic with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the *Prophets* here spoken of, men induged with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most reuerenced number, who by diuine reuelation fore-told things to come, reprehended without feare the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses*, *Iosua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Abias*, *Elias*, *Elisaeus*, *Isay*, *Ieremie*, and the rest; for these *Prophets* saith S. CHRYSTOSTOME, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, praeterita, praesentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom S. Paul speaketh of 1. Cor. 1. 14. who intiched with spirituall gifts expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

At *Mispeh Samuel* assembled the people that hee might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his owne Vncle therewith, when he asked him what had past betwene him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reueale it, till he were confirmed by generall consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Mispeh*, the generall opinion is, that hee was chosen by lot. *Chimbi* thinkes by the answere of *Urim* and *Thumim*: that is, by the answere of the Priest, wearing that myſterie vpon his brest when he asked counsaile of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much vsed among the *Jewes*, but by many others, if not by all Nations. The Land of promise was diuided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goates, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliuerance, for whose garments the *Jewes* also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Pausanias*, and others haue remembered diuers sorts of lots, vsed

Chryſoſt. ſal. 43.

The *Urim* and *Thumim* in the ornaments of the High Priest were inserted within the pectorall, which therefore was duplicative, they were placed in the pectorall ouer a girdle the lare of the High Priest. It is plain that they were not the precious stones, nor any thing made by the Artificers. See *Rand. c. 34.*
Ex. di. diu.
Paus. in 265.

vsed by the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and other Nations: as in the diuision of grounds of honours; and in things to be vnder-taken: the two first kindes were called diuision; the third diuination; and into one of these three all may be reduced: all which kindes howsoeuer they may seeme chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*. *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort fell the Kingdome of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* with-drew himselfe in modestie, as both *Iosephus* confests it; and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himselfe to the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* enlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen King of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and praised for him; yet some there were that enuied his glorie (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to auoid sedition, tooke no notice.

p. III.

Of the establishing of *SAUL* by his first victories.

NO sooner was *Saul* placed in the Kingdome, but that hee received knowledge that *Nahab* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Iabes Gilead*: which Nation since the great ouer-throw giuen them by *Iephtha*, neuer durst attempt any thing vpon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did alwaies attend vpon the aduantage of time, to recouer those Territories which first the *Amorites*, and then *Israel* dispossessed them of: which they made the ground of their inuasion in *Iephtha*'s time; yet they neuer perswaded themselves of more aduantage than at this present. For first they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly they were remembered that the *Philistines* had not long before slaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and besides had vsed great care and pollicie that they should haue no Smithes to make them swordes or speares: neither was it long before that of the *Bethshebemsites* and places adioyning, there perished by the hand of God more then 50000. and therefore in these respects, euen occasion it selfe inuited them to enlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers: *Iabes Gilead* being one of the nearest. Besides it may further be coniectured that the *Ammonites* were emboldened against *Iabes Gilead*, in respect of their weakenesse, since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not ioyning with them against the *Beniamites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their yong women, and gaue them to the *Beniamites*: and therefore they were not likely to haue bene increased to any great numbers: And if they had reconuered themselves of this great calamitie, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himselfe with the opinion, that *Israel* hauing for long time beene disarmed by the *Philistines*, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would giue them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eies, by which they should be vrierly disabled for the Warre, as elsewhere hath bene spoken: *Saul*, both to vallew himselfe in his first years raigne, and because perchance he was descended of one of those 400. Maides taken from the *Gileadites*, and giuen to the *Beniamites*, gaue order to assemble the forces of *Israel* hewing a yoke of Oxen into peeces, and sending them by messengers ouer all the coasts, protesting thus. *That whosoever came not forth after SAUL and after SAMUEL, so should his Oxen be serued*: threatening the people by

by their goodes, and not by their liues at the first. Seven daies had *Saul* to assemble an Armie, by reason that the *Gileadites* had obtained the respite of these seven daies to give *Nahas* the *Ammonites* an answer: who, could they haue obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to haue seuered themselves from *Israel*, and to become Vassalls and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while *Saul* assembled the forces, which repaired vnto him at *Bezer*, neare *Jordan*, that he might readily passe the Ruer; which done he might in one day with a speedy march arrive at *Iabes*, vnder the Hills of *Gilead*.

1 Sam. 11. 8.

The Armie by *Saul* led consisting of three hundred and thirtie thousand: he returned an answer to those of *Iabes*, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noone. For as it seemeth *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch hee surprized the Armie of *Nahas* the *Ammonites*. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he diuided his force in three parts, putting them to the sword, vntill the heate of the day, and the wearinesse of *Sauls* troupes, inforst them to giue ouer the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more carelesse and secure, in that those of *Iabes* promised the next morning to render themselves and their Citie to their mercie. After this happy successe the people were so farre in loue with their new King, that they would haue slaine all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not him selfe forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent louers of the prosperous, and base vassalls of the time that flourisheth: and as despightfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe.

1 Sam. 11.

After the Armie removed, *Samuel* summoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters asseigne, appointed King: and here *Samuel* vied an exhortation to all the assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearsal of his owne Iustice, during the beginning of his gouernment to that day. After *Saul* had now reigned one year before hee was established in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he strengthened himselfe with a good guard of 3000. chosen men, of which he assigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his sonne at *Gibeah*, the Citie of his natuities: the rest hee kept about his owne person in *Micmas*; and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

1 Sam. 12.

§. IIIL.

OF SAULS disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the *Philistims* and *Amalekites*, which caused his final reiection.

IONATHAN with his small Armie or Regiment, that attended him, taking a time of aduantage, surprized a Garrison of *Philistims*: the same, as some thinke, which *Saul* past by, when he came from *Rama* where he was first annointed by *Samuel*, which they thinke to haue bene *Cariatb-zeirim*: because a place where the *Philistims* had a Garrison 1 Sam. 10. is called the Hill of God, which they vnderstand of *Cariatb-zeirim*: but *Iunius* vnderstands this Garrison to haue bene at *Gebah* in *Beniamin* neare *Gibha* where *Jonathan* abode with his thousand followers. How soeuer by this it appeareth that the *Philistims* held some strong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territorie of *Israel*: and now being greatly intraged by this surprize they assembled 30000. armed Chariots, and 6000. Horse, where-with they invaded *Ides*, and incamped at *Machmas*, or *Michmas*, a Citie of *Beniamin*, in the direct way from *Samarita* to *Hierusalem*, and in the midst of the Land betwene the Sea and *Jordan*. With this suddaine inuasion the *Israelites* were stricken in so great a feare, as some of them hid themselves in the caues of the mountaines, other fled ouer *Jordan* into

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1 Sam. 13. 5.

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into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himselfe with some 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, staid at *Galgal* in *Beniamin*, not farre from the passage of *Iosua* when hee led *Israel* ouer *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the coming of *Samuel* scauen daies: but when the last day was in part spent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place 1. Sam. 13. 9.) to exorcise the office which appertained not vnto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vnto God, contrarie to the Ecclesiasticall lawes of the Hebrewes, and Gods Commandements: others expound the word, *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*, and so make the sinne of *Saul* not to haue beene any intrusion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commandement, in not staying according to the appointment 1. Sam. 10. 8. Secondly a diffidence or mistrust in Gods helpe, and too great relying vpon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not beare patiently; and lastly a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the helpe which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoeuer was his sinne, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by *Samuel* reprehended most sharply, in termes visiting his estate, had not extraordinary warrant beene given to *Samuel* so to doe, from God himselfe, at which time also *Samuel* leared not to let him know, that the Kingdome should be conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from *Saul* and his posteritie.

After this *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul* when he had taken view of his armie found it to consist of 600. men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or speare, but *Saul* and his sonne *Ionathan* only. For the *Philistims* had not left them any *Smyth* in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides they that came to *Saul* came hastily, and left such weapons & armour as they had, behind them in the garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* should bee able the yeere before, or in some part of this very yeere, to succour *Iabes Gilead* with 300. and thirtie thousand men, if there had not now bene any yron weapon to defend themselves withall, saue onely in the hand of *Saul* and *Ionathan* his sonne. But howsoeuer, all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the *Philistims*, and all those craftsmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left vnto the *Israelites* onely files to sharpen and amend such stiffe as serued for the plough, and for nought else: yet that they had some kinde of armes it is manifest, or els they durst not haue attempted vpon the *Philistims* as they did. And it is not said in the Text that there was not any sword in all *Israel*, but onely that there was any found amongst those 600. souldiers which staid with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it seemeth that when *Samuel* had publicly reprehended *Saul*, that his owne guards forooke him, hauing but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie souldiers, and of all the rest that repaired vnto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived.

With this small troupe he held himselfe, to his owne Citie of *Gibeah*, as a place of more strength and better assured vnto him, then *Galgal* was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to passe that the *Philistims* should thus disarm the most part of the *Israelites*, howsoeuer in the time of *Samuel* much had bin done against them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by sword or speare, but by thunder from heauen: and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Israel*, no meruail if they could not in a short peace vnder *Samuel* bee replanted againe. For this tyranny of the *Philistims* is to be vnderstood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder *Samuel*: and yet vnder him it is to bee thought that by their craftes they proceeded in the policie, not suffering their artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so euen to the times of *Saul* kept them from hauing any store of armour. The same policie did *Nabuchodonosor* vsr after his Conquest in *Inda*: *Dyonisius* in *Sicilie*; and many other Princes elsewhere in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repaire in *Gilead*, for ouer *Jordan* the *Philistims*

*sim*s had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquitie vsed, and their present necessitie ministred vnto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and slings. For the *Boniamites* exceeded in casting stones in slings; and that these were the naturall weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of *Chronicles* the twelfth Chapter, it is written of those that came to succour *David* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, That they were well armed with bowes, and could vse the right and the left hand with stones, & with a sling it was, that *David* himselfe slew the gyant *Goliath*.

While the State of *Israel* stood in these hard termes, the *Philistims* hauing parted their armie into three troupes, that they might spoile and destroy many parts at once; *Jonathan* strengthened by God, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled a mountaine, whereon a companie of *Philistims* were lodged: the rest of their armie (as may bee gathered by the successe) being incamped in the plaine adioynning. And though hee were discouraged before he came to the hill toppe, and in a kinde of derision called vp by his enemies: yet hee so behaued himselfe, as with the assistance of God hee slew twentie of the first *Philistims* that hee incountred. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, feare, and iegalouie, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: wherupon those *Hebreues* which became of their partie, because they feared to be spoiled by them, tooke the aduantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly *Saul* himselfe taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that shrouded themselves in mount *Ephraim*, set vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happie and glorious victorie ouer them. Heere was that prophetic in *Deuteronomie* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, That one of those which feared God, should kill about and, and two of them ten thousand.

This done, the small armie of *Israel* made retreat from the pursuit. And though *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take spoile till the euening, yet his son *Jonathan* being infected with extreme labour and emptinesse, tasted a droppe of hony in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would haue put him to death, had not the people deliuered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, seemes to haue reduced vnto the *Philistims* remembrance their former ouerthrowe likewise miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the meane while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, vnderooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; namely the *Mosabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, against all which he preuailed. Hee then assembled all the forces hee could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiuing the commandment of God by *Samuel*, hee invaded *Amalek*, wasting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petraea* and the desert, belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Hauilah* towards *Tigris* vnto *Shur*, which bordereth *Aegypt*; in which warre hee tooke *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all other attempted *Israel*, when they left *Aegypt* in *Moses* time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of *Agag*, but reserved the best of the bestes and spoile of the Countie, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the liuing God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know, that God would cast him from his roiall estate to which he was raised, when he was of base condition, and as the Text hath it, *little in his owne eyes*. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there bin no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how seuerely it pleased God to inioyne the *Israelites* to reuenge themselves vpon that Nation, he was in all vnexcusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites* should put out the remembrance of *Amalek* from vnder heaven. For the crueltie which the predecessors of this *Agag* vsed against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were ouerwearied, faint, sicke, and aged people, was now to be reuenged on him, & his Nation about 400. yeres after ward; and

and now hee was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himselfe having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of Samuel witnesseth: *As thy sword hath made other women childlesse; so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women;* at which time Samuel himselfe (after he had bin by many bootlesse intrearies perswaded to lay a while with Saul) did cut Agag in peeces before the Lord in Gilgal, and soone after he departed to Ramath, and came no more to see Saul, until the day of his death.

§. V.

Of the occurrents betwene the rejection of SAUL and his death.

NOW while Samuel mourned for Saul, God commanded him to choose a King for Israel; among the sonnes of Issai: which Samuel (doubting the violent hand of Saul) feared in a sort to performe, till it pleased God to direct him, how he might auoide both the suspicion, and the danger. And if Samuel knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom he sought to auoide the inconvenience or dangers of this life, then doe those men mistake the nature of his diuine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath giuen them, doe no other wise auoide the perills and dangers thereof, than as men flippish in the opinion of fate, or destinie, neglecting either to begge counsaile at Gods hand, by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or foresight, where-with God hath enriched the mind of man, for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disclaime here to instruct Samuel, to auoide the future of Saul, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sonnes of Issai, Samuel by God directed, made choise of Dauid, the youngest, having refused Eliab, the first borne: who though he were a man of a comely person and great strength, yet vnto such outward appearance the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, *God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* Hee also refusing the other fixe brethren, made choise of one whom his Father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock, for of him the Lord said to SAMUEL, *arise and anoint him, for this is he:* which done, Samuel departed and went to Ramath. Neither was it long after this that Saul began to seeke the life of Dauid: in which bloudy mind he continued till he died, ouercome in battaile by the Philistines.

The Philistines having well considered (as it seemes) the increase of Saul his power through many victories by him obtained, whilest they had sitten still and forborne to giue impediment vnto his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new triall of their fortune, as iustly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to Israel might be repaid with aduantage, if euer opportunitie should serue their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against Moab, Ammon, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all Warlike prouisions, the Philistines had reason to thinke themselves equal, if not superiours to Israel. The success of their former wars had for the most part been agreeable to their owne wilhes; as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarme, whereby their Armie possessed with a needlesse feare had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their forces and taken the field, encamping so neare to the Armie which King Saul drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the triall of a battaile, each part kept their ground of aduantage for a while, not ioyning in grosse, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to passe the valley that lay between their Camps. Iust causes of feare they had on both sides; especially the Philistines, whose late attempts had beene confounded by the angrie hand of God. Vpon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any

stroke from heaven were to be feared. *Goliath* of *Gath* a strong giant; fearing neither God nor man, undertooke to defie the whole hoste of *Israel*, prouoking them with despightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand, offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold it selfe as ouercome in groffe, and become vassall to the other. This gave occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publicke notice of the people. For no man durst expose himselfe to encounter the great strength of *Goliath*, vntill *David* (sent by his father on errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes offensive or defensive than a sling, wherewith hee ouerthrew the haughtie gyant, and after with his owne sword strooke off his head. Hereupon the *Philistines*, who should haue yielded themselves as subiects to the Conquerour, according to the couenant on their owne side propounded, fled without slay; and were pursued and slaughtered euen to their owne gates. By this victorie the *Philistines* were not lo broken, that either any of their townes were lost, or their people discouraged from intelling the Territories of *Israel*. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victorie, fell into the grievous indignation of his master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well deserveng. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul* and came vpon *David*, he then became a cruel Tyrant, faithlesse and irreligious. Because the high Priest *Abimelech* *David* in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with the sword of his own conquest taken from *Goliath*; *Saul* not only by his wicked Edomite *Doeg* murdered this *Abimelech*, and 85. Priests of *Ahol*, but also he destroyed the Citie, and smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both childe and suckling, both Ox and Ass, and sheepe. And he that had compassion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preferred the best of his Cattell, contrary to the Commaundement and ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any merie in store, for the innocent, for the Lords seruants the Priests of *Israel*. Yea he would haue slaine his owne sonne *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *Dauids* innocencie, as also once before for tasting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers vireafonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men, and impieie towards God. The former he shewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promised him: and againe in taking her away from him, to whom he had given her; also in that when as *David* had twice spared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his errors, yet he fought still to destroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impieie towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsell of the witch of *Endor*, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsell from God he had benee alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Deuill this successe followed, that both himselfe, and his three sons, with his neere and faithfulllest seruants, were all slaughtered by the *Philistines*; his bodie with the bodies of his sonnes (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung over the wals of *Bethsan*: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the gratefull *Gileadites* of *Iabes* stole their carcases thence and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had gouerned *Israel*, together with *Samuel* 40. yeres, and by himselfe after *Samuel* 20. yeres, according to *Cedronus*, *Theophilus*, & *Iosephus*. But yet it seemeth to me that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of *David*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gaue a faire entrance to all those victories which *David* afterward obtained, for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring Nations; crusht the *Syrrians*, and their adherents; broken the strength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the *Philistines*.

1. Sam. 16. v. 13.

1. Sam. 22. 18.

1. Sam. 24. 23.

Alt. 13. 31.
Cedron 22. 49.
Theophil. 13. 23.
Ioseph. 28.

§. VI.

Of such as lined with SAMUEL and SAUL; of HELLEN and HERCVLES, and of their issues: upon occasion of the DORES, with the HERACLIDAE, entring PELOPONNESVS about this time.



IN the second year of Samuel, according to Eusebius, was David borne: after Codoman later, and in the ninth year: after Bunting in the tenth. For David, saith he, was thirtie yeares old when he beganne to raigne: whence it followeth, that he was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeares, which are giuen to Samuel and Saul. About the eleventh of Samuel, Aeneas Silvius the sonne of Posthumus beganne his raigne over the Latines in Alba, who governed that State 31. yeares. There are who place before him Latinus Silvius, as brother to Posthumus, calling him the fifth from Aeneas, and fourth King of Alba, wherof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleventh of Samuel, Derilus late in the Throne of Assyria, being the one and thirtieth King; hee ruled that Empire 40. yeares. In this age of Samuel the DORES obtained Peloponnesus, and at once with the Heraclidae, who then led and commanded the Nation, posselt a great part thereof 328. yeares before the first Olympiad, according to Diodorus and Eratosthenes. For all Greece was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, viz. the Ionians, Dorians, and Achaens: at length it was called Hellen, and the people Hellenes, of Hellen, the sonne of Denecalon, Lord of the Countrie of Phthiotis in Thessalie. But before the time of this Hellen, yea and long after, Greece had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called Hellenes, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many Colonies, and sundrie great victories obtained, the issues of Hellen had reduced much of the Countrie under their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet every severall Nation after some one of the posteritie of Hellen, who had reigned over it. And because this is the furthest antiquitie of Greece, it will not bee amisse to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

30 Iapetus (as the Poets fable) was the sonne of Heaven and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents, had in the Greeke tongue such signification; or perhaps for his knowledge in Astronomie and Philosophie.

Iapetus begat Prometheus, and Epimetheus: of whom all men have read that have read Poets. Prometheus begat Denecalon: and Epimetheus, Pyrrha. Denecalon and his wife Pyrrha reigned in Thessalie, which then was called Pyrrha (as Cretenis Rhianus affirmeth) of Pyrrha the Queen. In Denecalons time was that great flood, of which we have spoken elsewhere. Denecalon begat Hellen: whose sonnes were Xuthus, Dorus, and Aeolus: of Dorus and Aeolus, the DORES and Aeolians had name. The Aeolians inhabited Boeotia. The DORES having first inhabited sundrie parts of Thessalie, did afterward seat themselves about Parnassus: and finally became Lords of the Countries about Lacedaemon: Xuthus the eldest sonne of Hellen, being banished by his bretheren, for having diverted from them to his owne use some part of their Fathers goods, came to Athens: where marrying the Daughter of King Erectheus, hee begat on her two sonnes, Achaus and Ion. Of these two Achaus, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into Peloponnesus: and seating himselfe in Laconia, gaue name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and leuying an Armie recovered the Kingdome of his grand-father in Thessalie.

40 Ion being Generall for the Athenians, when Eumolpus the Thracian invaded Attica, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby such love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing every one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied he planted Colonies in Sycionia, then called Aegialos, or Aegialia: In which Countrie Solinus then reigning, thought it safer to give his daughter Helice in marriage to Ion, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So

Ion married *Helice*, and built a Towne called by his wifes name in *Agialia*, where he and his posteritie reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gaue to that Land the denomination. But in after-times the *Dores* assisting the Nephewes of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and ouer-comming the *Achaens* possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achaes* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achaes* driuen to secke a new seate, came vnto the *Ionens*, desiring to inhabite *Agialia* with them, and alleading in vaine, that *Ion* and *Achaus* had bene brethren. When this request could not bee obtained, they fought by force to expell the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tisamenus*, the sonne of *Orestes*, in that Warre.

Thus were the *Ionens* driuen out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they failed into *Asia*, and peopled the Westerne coast thereof, on which they built twelue Cities, inhabited by them, euen to this day, at the least without any vniuersall or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Ionens* into *Asia* hath bene mentioned of all which haue written of that Age, and is commonly placed 1400. yeares after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. yeares after the descent of the *Heraclids* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heraclids* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeares. Of their Father *Hercules* many strange thinges are deliuered vnto vs by the Poets, of which some are like to haue bene true, others perhaps must be allegorically vnderstood. But the most approued Writers thinke that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greekes* ascribed to the sonne of *Alcmena*, who is said to haue performed these twelue great labours.

1 First, he slew the *Nemean Lyon*: Secondly, he slew the Serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, wherof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the ouer-taking a very swift Hart: The fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which haunted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadia*: The fift was the cleansing of *Augias* his Oxe-stall in one day, which hee performed by turning the Riuer *Alpheus* into it: 6 The sixt was the chasing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalia*: The seuenth was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: The eighth was the taking of the Mares which 9 *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of 10 the *Queen* of the *Amazons*: The three last were, to fetch *Gerians* Beeces from *Gades*; 11 the golden Apples of the *Hesperides*, and *Cerberus* from hell. The Mythological interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both ouer-long to be here set downe, and 12 no lesse perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Hercules* vnderstand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancie, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the Sunne, and his traualles to be the twelue signes of the *Zodiacus*. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well affirmed, that the expolition cannot haue more vnlikelihood, than the fables: That hee tooke *Elis*, *Phylus*, *Oechalia*, and other Townes, being assisted by such as either admired his vertues, or were beholding vnto him. Also that he slew many *Thieues*, and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poetical vanitie. His traualles through most parts of the world are, or may seeme, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But sure it is that many Cities in *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his inuicuous to the common good) deliuered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no Cite of *Greece* (*Athenes* excepted) requited the vertue and deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his children, persecuted by the King *Eurytheus*. This *Eurytheus* was sonne of *Siheneus*, and grand-child of *Perseus*; he reigned in *Myene*, the mightiest Cite then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard tasks vpon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madnesse hee had committed vpon his owne Children; but as others say, because hee was his Subiect and Seruant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurytheus* for imploying the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is generally agreed

agreed by the best writers, that *Hercules* was also of the stocke of *Perseus*, and holden in great ieaousie by *Eurytheus* because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous seruices, wherein hee was employed, so that hee grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many wiues and Concubines about three score children. These children *Eurytheus* would haue got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled vnto *Ceyx* King of *Trachinis*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurytheus*) to *Aibens*. The *Athenians* not onely gaue them entertainment, but lent them ayde, wherewith they encountered *Eurytheus*. *Iolau* the brothers sonne of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his trauels, was captaine of the *Heracida*. It is said of him, that being dead, he obtained leaue of *Pluto* to liue againe till hee might reuenge the iniuries done by *Eurytheus*; whom when he had slaine in battell, he died againe. It seemes to mee, that whereas he had led *Calomero* into *Sicilie*, and aboad there a long time forgotten: hee came againe into *Greece* to assist his colins, and afterwards returned backe. When the *Peloponnesians* vnderstood that *Eurytheus* was slaine, they tooke *Aireus* the sonne of *Pelops* to their King: for hee was rich, mightie, and fauoured of the people: Against him the *Heracida* marched vnder *Hyllus* the sonne of *Hercules*. But to avoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echeneus* King of the *Tegeata* a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Aireus*, with condition that if *Hyllus* were victor, hee should peaceably enioy what hee challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heracida* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in 100. yeeres. In that combat *Hyllus* was slaine, and the *Heracida* compelled to forbear their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned vnder *Aristodemus* (as the best authoritie shewes, though some haue said, that they came vnder the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom they planted in that country, as is before shewed, hauing expelled the *Achei*, ouer whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurytheus* foure generations.

§. VII.

Of HOMER and HESIOD, and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.



About this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* liued, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirme. He was by race of the *Maones*, descended (as *Funetius* imagineth) of *Berois* his *Anameon*, who gaue name to that people. But this *Funetius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to haue bene long after these times, rashly framing his *Aera* according to *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*, & makes leuen more of this name to haue flourished in diuers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, sprang the diueritie of opinions, both of the time and of the natie Cite of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Funetius* findes *Homer* about the time of *Maussse* King of *Iuda*, and *Aunus* of *Rome*. Hee was called *Melisseus* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blind men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verbe *homer*, for this *Homer* in his latter time was blinde. * *Clementis Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* liued. So also *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius* in his Oracion *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950. yeeres before the *Consulshippe* of *Marcus Vinatius*: which *Mercator* casteth vp in the worlds yeere 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. yeeres: and about 250. yeeres before the building of *Rome*, making him to haue flourished about the time of *Iehosaphat* King of *Iuda*. But *Clementis Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* aboue named, mention authours that make him much auuncient. The difference of which authours in this point is not vnworthie the readers consideration, that by this one instance hee may guesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the

errors

Furth. Chron. fol. 11. col. D.

* This author sees out with *Berois* and others, first as *Naifi*, and after with *Eryx* *Anamius* his Comment at *Antwerp* is inserte fide.

Wausler f. 127. places *Homer* in the 3250. generation in the time of *Semuel*.

Stronstad l. 9. b. 24. c. 11. d. 174. a. 21.

errors in the computations of auncient time: seeing in such diversitie of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For *Crates* the Grammarian (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gaue being to *Homer* about 80. yeeres after *Troy* taken, neere the time that the *Heracida* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and * *Eratosthenes* after *Troy* 100. yeeres. *Theopompus* 500. yeeres after the arme of *Greece* sailed into *Phrygia* for the warre of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporarie with *Gyges*, who began to reigne in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. yeeres after *Rome* was built) and *Sofistis* saith, that hee was 90. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*: which hee seeks to proue by the times of *Charillus* and his sonne *Nicander*; *Philcorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140. in the time of the seating of the Colonies in *Ionis*. *Apolodorus* affirms that hee liued while *Agessilus* gouerned *Lacedamon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young yeeres, about 100. yeeres after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, neere 240. yeeres after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* findes *Homer* flourishing 622. yeeres before *Xerxes* enterprife against the *Gracians*: which *Bernadus* accounteth at 168. yeeres after the *Troian* warre. *Eusebius* seemes to make him to haue bene about the time of *Iudas* King of *Iuda* 124. yeeres before *Rome* built: though *Elphre* in his *Chronologie* he notes, that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other ages. In his *Euangelicall* preparation where out of *Tatians Affyrins* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* liued, hee reckoneth many other *Greece* writers more auncient than *Homer*, 20 as *Linus*, *Philonon*, *Epimenides*, *Pheuius*, *Aristaus*, *Orpheus*, *Masaeus*, *Thamyris*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Anlus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirme, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrarie, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the Historian make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaues it vncertaine which of these learned fablers was first borne: but he findes that they liued together some certaine yeeres, wherein he confirms himselfe by an *Epigram*, written vpon a *Treuit*, and left by *Hiclion* in *Helicon*.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both liued 160. yeeres before *Rome* built: while 30 the *Siluij* reigned in *Alba*, about 140. yeer's after the fall of *Troy*. *Euthimenes* findes them both 200. yeeres after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acusius* the sonne of *Pelias*, King of *Thebais*. For my selfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet liued; neither would I offend the reader with these opinions, but onely to shewe the vncertainie and disagement of Historians, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For the curiositie of this mans age is no lesse ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his *Iliades* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mysterie. In derision whereof *Lucian* faining himselfe to haue bene in *hell*, and to haue spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he beganne his booke with that word: who answered, That he began in that sort, 40 because it came in his head so to doe.

It seemeth that *Senyes*, or after *Macrobius* *Senemires*, ruled *Aegypt* at this time: for *Tanquerholis* was his successour who preceded *Vaphres*, father in law to *Salomon*.

About the end of *Sauls* government, or in the beginning of *Dauids* time according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italie*. And besides the ouerthrow of that famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. yeeres before *Dauids* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reason of those Northerne Nations: but there sprung vp somewhat neerely together, sixe Kingdomes into greatnesse not before erected. In *Italie*, that of the *Latines* in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedamon*, 50 *Corinth*, and the *Achai*. In *Arabia*, *Syria* *Soba*, and *Danaseus*, the *Alads* made themselves Princes, of which there were tenne Kings; which beganne and ended with the King of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Isradites* hauing now altered their forme of Gouernment, began to flourish vnder Kings, of which

* Arboch Ote.
Alex. and Tati-
an. Affyrins
portus opin-
on verum Pto-
63.
Roi in diffe-
pium.
Phil. in eum.
in Arabiis.

Mer. in vita Ro.

Rob. Attic. 12.
c. 11.

Varro de ling.
lib. 1.

Nep. in Chron.
Cass. 1. ann. 1.
a 1 his number
Mactator cor-
rectis, & reads
240. locit.
Eutym. in chr.
and Clem. Alex.
Strom. 5.

Eg. & Cass. in
Coron.

which *David*, in a few yeeres, became master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had subiected the *Judaans*, corrupted their religion, and held them vnder in a most abiect, and gricuous slaerie; to wit, the *Edemaans*, *Mashter*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Ituraans*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistims*, *Iebusites*, *Geshurites*, *Machabites*, all which acknowledged *David* for their Soueraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of DAVID.

§. I.

Of DAVIDS estate in the time of SAUL.

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HE hazards which *David* ranne into while he was yet onely designed King, and lining as a priuate man, expected the Empire, were very many. The first perionall act of fame, was his killing of *Goliath* in the viewe of both armies, whereby hee became knowne to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the sonne of *Saul*, that hee loued him as his owne soule: In so much as when *Saul* sought to perswade his sonne, that *David* would assuredly be the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause,

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Jonathan could neuer be perswaded, neuer fors, nor cuer wearied in the care of *David*'s life, and well doing. It was not long after this signall act of *David*'s, but that *Saul* became exceeding ialous of him, though hee were become as his household seruant, and his Esquire, or armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an euill spirit, was aduised to procure some cunning *Mulician* to play before him vpon the harpe; whereby it was thought that he might finde ease, which came to passe accordingly. He entertained *David* for this purpose, and began to fauour him, giuing him a place of Command among the men of warre. But the ialous tyrant soone waxed wearie of his good affections, and sought to kill *David*, being thereunto moued onely through enuie of his vertue. This passion first brake forth in the midst of his raging fit, at which time hee threw a spear at *David* that was then playing on his harpe to doe him ease.

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Conforime remembreth one *Asclepius* a *Physitan*, who practised the curing of the Frenzie, by the like *Musick*: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kinde of harmonie, *Seneca* in his third booke of anger witnesseth. But the madness of *Saul* came from the cause of causes, and was thereby incurable, howeouer it sometimes left him, and yeelded vnto that musike, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the *Mulician* than to the King.

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Saul hauing failed in such open attempts, gaue vnto *David* the Commandement of 1000. soldours, to confront the *Philistims* withall. For hee durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his reuenge. Now the better to couer his hatred towards him, hee promised him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but hauing married her to *Abriel*, hee gaue to *David* his younger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskinnes of the *Philistims*: hoping rather (in respect

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Gen. 12. 6-14

fed them to attempt nothing at the present, least by so doing they should enforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessarie reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one party should consume the other, by which means, both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

§. II.

Of the beginning of DAVIDS reigne, and the warre made by ABNER for ISBOSETH.



After the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commaunded for *Saul* in the war, fought to advance *Isboeth* (or *Ishbosh* according to *Iosephus*) though hee had no right to the Kingdom of *Israel*: for *Mephoboth* the first sonne of *Ionathian* lived. Against this *Abner*, and *Isboeth*, *David* made a delensue warre, till *Abner* past *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Iudas*: at which time hee sent *Isab* with such forces as hee had, to resist *Abner*: *Isboeth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The armies encountered each other nere *Gibeon*, where it seemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that Combat betwene the *Lacedaemonians* and the *Argives*, remembered by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were onely left, vnslain. The like triall by a farre lesse number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* for the *Romanes* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliath* the *Philistin* made, whom *David* slew: a custome very auncient. *Edward* the third offered the like triall in his owne person to the French King, and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There weretwelve chosen of each part, in this warre of *David* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Beniamin*, and as many of *Juda*: whose force and valour was so equall, as there suruiued not any one to challenge the victorie. But the quarrell staid not here: for the armie of *Juda* prest *Abner* in grosse, and brake him. Three hundred and fixtie men of *Abners* companions were slaine, and but twentie of *Juda*; wherof *Asabel* the brother of *Isab* was one: who when hee would needes pursue *Abner*, and by *Abners* persuasions could not be moued to quit him, he was forced to turne vpon him, wounding him to death, with the stroke of his speare. For though *Asabel* were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild *Roe*, and as *Iosephus* reporteth, contented not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to haue gotten great fame, if he could haue maistered *Abner* (who as *Asabel* perswaded him selfe, had by being ouerthrowne and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true; That the race is not to the swift.

That this ciuill warre lasted two yeeres, wee finde it written in the second of *Samuel* the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter reisth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbines* conceiue that *Isboeth* had then reigned two yeeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the partie of *Isboeth* after this, and till such time as there grew ielousie betwene him and *Isboeth* for *Sauls* concubine: neither did the death of *Isboeth* instantly follow; but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appeare.

d. III.

of the death of ABNER slaine by IOAB, and of ISBOETH
by RECHAB and BAANAH.



ABNER, reconciled to David, was anone by IOAB murdered; for IOAB could not endure a companion in Davids favour, and in the commandement of his forces, by which hee was growne so powerfull, as David forbare to call him to account; for thus much he confesseth of himselfe. *I am this day weake, and these men the sonnes of ZERUIAH bee too hard for mee.* In this sort David complained after ABNERS death; and to make it cleare 10 that hee hated this fact of IOAB, hee followed him with this publicke imprecation; *Let the blood fall on the head of IOAB, and on all his fathers house: and let them be sub- ject to ulcers, to the leprosie, to lameness, to the sword, and to povertrie, &c.* For could any thing haue withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by IOAB might greatly haue endangered Davids estate, ABNER being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischaunce therefore David openly bewailed, so that all Israel perceived him to bee innocent of that fact. The place which ABNER held, being Generall of the men of warre, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were faine to giue them great respect; as hath bene already shewed more at large. This office IOAB held in the armie of Iuda, & thought 20 himselfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to David in kindred, and had bene partaker of all his aduersitie; wherefore hee did not thinke it meete, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so ialous of his dignitie and place, that hee afterward slew AMASA his owne kinsman, and the Kings, vpon the same quarrell, taking it in high disdain to see him ioyned with himselfe as captaine of the hoste of Iuda; much lesse could hee brooke a superiour, and such a one as had slaine his brother, and bene beaten himselfe in battell. But howsoever IOAB did hate or despise ABNER, David esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in Israel, excusing the oversight by which hee might seeme 30 to haue perished, by affirming that hee died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, *But as a man falleth before wicked men, so (said hee) diddest thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyeth vnawares, or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all vnder the Sunne are subiect to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever ISBOETH meant to haue dealt with ABNER, yet when he heard of his death, hee despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all Israel were possit with great feare: inso- much as two of ISBOETHS owne Captaines, RECHAB and BAANAH, murdered ISBOETH, and presenting his head to David, receiued the same reward that the AMALIKEITE lately did, for pretending to haue slaine SAUL. ISBOETH being dead, all the Elders of Israel 40 repaired to David at Hebron, where he was the third and last time annointed by general consent.

d. IIII.

of the flourishing time of DAVIDS Kingdome, the taking of Ierusalem,
with two overthrowes giuen to the Philistines, and the
conduction of the ARKE to the Citie of

D A V I D.



When David was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprise 50 was vpon the Jebusites, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their walles with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which David soone after entered: all their other forces notwithstanding. For hauing mastered the fort of

Zion

2 Sam. 3. 27.

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2 Sam. 3. 39.

viii. 39.

2 Sam. 3.
Vers. 34.

2 Sam. 4.

2 Sam. 5.

Zion (which was afterward the Citie of *David*) hee became Lord of *Jerusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Iebusites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moses* and *Josias*, and after them almost 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place otherwise. Except then take away the blinde and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. For some thinke that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Iebusites*; others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Isaac* and *Isaac*: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the *Angels*, and that therefore till those (that is till that Covenant) be broken *David* ought not to molest them. But for my selfe I take it with *Iosephus*, that they armed their wals with certaine impotent people at first, in scorn of *David*s attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeeres against all the Children of *Israel*, *Iosua*, the *Indegs*, and *Saul*: did not doubt but to defend it also against *David*.

When he had now posselt himselfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatory Embassadors & presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained diuers other concubines & married moe wives, by whom he had ten sons in *Jerusalem*, and by his former wives he had six in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. yeeres.

The *Philistines* hearing that *David* was now anointed king as wel of *Juda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before hee was fully warme in his seat. And being encountred by *David* at two severall times in the Valley of *Rephaim*, or of *2 Sam. 5*
20 the *Giant*, they were at both times overthrown. After which hee called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then *David* assembled 30000. choice *Israelites* to conduct the *Arke* of *God* from the house of *Achisadab* in *Gibea*, to the Citie of *David*, which businesse was interrupted by the death of *Isabab* the sonne of *Achisadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Arke*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harme, when it was shaken. But after three yeeres it was with great solemnitie brought into the Citie with sacrifices, musike, dances, and all signes of ioyfulness, in which *David* himselfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Arke*, and afterward told him in scorn. That hee was uncovered as a
30 fool in the eyes of the maidens his servants; namely that hee forgot his regall dignitie both in apparrell and behaviour; and mixed himselfe among the base multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and streetes: not that she disliked *David*s behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of *David*s sin. But rather the abundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred vp, beholding the glorie of her husband to whom shee was deliuered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruines shee conceiued that the sonne of *Isai* had built this his greatnesse, together with the many new wives and concubines embraced since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her breake out in those despitfull tearmes, for which she remained barren to her death.

40 This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or house of *God*: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest, homicides; hauing threatned, not in vaine, that hee would require the blood of man, at the hand of man and beast. The warres which *David* had made were iust, and the blood therein shed was of the enemies of *God*, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appeares how greatly those Princes deuiue themselves, who thinke by bloodshed and terrour of their warres, to make themselves in greatnes like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercie and goodness, or
50 seeke the blessednesse promised by our Saviour vnto the peacemakers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accepta Temple of *David*s founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon hee receiued both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happie promise of the euerslasting throne, that should be established in his seede.

§. V.

The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

2 Sam. 8. v. 1.

Soon after this David overthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerlesse, and vnable to make any inuasion vpon *Israel* in haste. For it is written, *accept frantum Amgaru i manu Philisthorum*, which place our *Englisb* *Gencua* conuerts in these words. And *DAVID* took the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the *Philistims*. The latine of *Iunius* giueth another and a better sense, for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong Citie of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Gencua* hath it in the marginal note. This Citie of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Casaria*, set on the frontier of *Palestina* at the entrance into *Iudea* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thercinto their retrain in all their inuasions, which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontie town of equall strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hil whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood the *Hebreues* call *Amma*, whereof and of the word *Gat* is made *Amgar*, of which *Plinie* in his first booke, and thirteenth Chap. This expolition is made plaine and confirmed in the first of *Chro*. the 18.

Iunius in 8. c. of the second of Sam.

1 Sam. 13.

There was no nation bordering the *Iewes* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul*, (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leaue one *Smith* in all their Cities & villages of that kind, but infort them to come downe into their territorie, for all iron worke whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *Dauid* were seldom free from paying tribute to the *Philistims*.

2 Sam. 21. v. 17.

After this he gaue them foure other overthrowes: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came betwene. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-beneb*, the head of whose speare weighed 300. shickles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Alisphai* succoured *Dauid* and slew the *Philistim*, whereupon the Councillors and Captaines of *Dauid* (least the light of *Israel* might by his losse be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazard himself in any battaile. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philistims* was at *Gob* a place neere *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistims* by the taking of *Geth*, hee invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his adueritie he sought succour and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no it is not kowen.

The *Rabines* saie that *Moab* slew those kinsfolkes of *Dauid*, which liued vnder his protection in *Sauls* time, but questionlesse *Dauid* wel knew how that Nation had bin alwaies enemies to *Israel*, and tooke all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also remembered that in the 23. of *Deuter*. God commaunded *Israel* not to seeke the peace or prosperitie of the *Moabites*, which *Dauid* well obserued, for he destroyed two parts of all the people, leauing a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his armie by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria* *Zobah*, the region of *Adadazer* the sonne of *Rehob* King therof. The place is set downe in the description of the holy land: to which I referre the Reader.

§. VI.

The warre which *DAVID* made vpon the *Syrians*.

It is written in the Text: *DAVID* smote also *HADADAZER* &c. as hee went to recover his border at the river *Euphrates*. Now whether the words (as he went) to recover his border be referred to *Dauid* or *Hadadazer* it is not agreed vpon. *Iunius* thinks that the article (he) hath relation to *Dauid*, who finding *Tohn* oppressed by *Hadadazer*, overthrew

threw the one and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprise towards *Euphrates*, he was in farre better case to have proceeded after his victorie than before: seeing that (*Adadazer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountains vpon him at his returne.

Again, seeing *David* was either to passe through a part of *Arabia* the desert, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: Hee had now both horse and chariots good store to cary his provisions through those uncultivated places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Hierusalem*, after hee had twice overthrowne the *Syrian* army, not bending his course towards the river *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The king of *Syria* *Damascus*, and of *Damascus*, whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Adadazer* was overthrowne by the *Israelites*, fearing his owne estate, & the losse of his owne Contry which adioyned to *Syria* *Zobah* of *Hadadazer*, sent for an army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadazer*, and too sonne for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 20000. ²⁰ His king of *Damascus*, *Iosephus* (out of *Nicholas* an ancient Historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name & family as all those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow vp in greatness and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *Assyrians*, as is shewed heretofore. *David* hauing now reduced *Damascus* vnder his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in *Ezion*: hauing also sackt the adioyning cities of *Bethab*, and *Berath*, belonging to *Adadazer*, of which Cities *Ptolomy* calleth *Bethab*, *Tanuba*; & *Berath* he nameth *Barathena*, *Toku* or *Thou* whose contry of *Hamath* ioined to *Adadazer* (as in the description of the Holy land the reader may perceiue) sent his son *Ioram* to congratulate this successe of *David*: partly because he had war with *Adadazer*, and partly because he feared *David* now victorious. He also presented *David* with vessels of gold, silver, and brasie, all which together with the golden shields of the *Aramites*, and the best of all the spoiles of other Nations *David* dedicated vnto God at his returne. ²⁵ *Iunius* translated the words (*elypeos aureos*) by *armures*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the bosses only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But because *Roboam* made shields of brasie in place of these of *Adadazer*, at such time as *Shicah* the *Egyptian* sackt the Temple of *Hierusalem*, it may be gathered thereby, that those of *Adadazer* were golden shields. ^{2 Sam. 8.}

This done *David* sent Embassadors to *Hannum* King of the *Ammonites* to congratulate his establishment in his fethers Kingdome: for *David* in the time of his affliction vnder *Saul*, had beene relieved by *Nahab*, the father of *Hannum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill aduised, and over-iculous of his estate, vsed *David*s messengers so barbarously, and contemptuously (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments) as hee thereby drew a warre vpon himselfe, which neither his owne strength, nor all the aydes purchased could put off, or sustaine. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand souldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaillies of *Adadazer* twentie thousand, and of *Maachab* and *Istob* thirteene thousand (for which hee disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yet all these great armies together with the strength ³⁰ of the *Ammonites*, were by *Isab* and his brother *Abihun* easily broken and put to ruine: as if that without any great losse or slaughter at that time. And it is written that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* also retreated into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the wals, the other in their deserts adioyning, till *Isab* was returned to *Hierusalem*. ^{2 Sam. 11.}

Hadadezer hearing that *Joab* had dismissed his armie, assembled his forces againe, and sent for all the companies that he could leuie out of *Mesopotamia*, who vnder the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *Dauid* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of *Israel* and marched towards the *Syrian* armie in *Palmyrena*, not yet entred into *Arabia*; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no lesse distant from *Damascus*, towards the Northeast, than *Hierusalem* was towards the Southwest. Now *Dauid* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest off journey that euer he made, because he was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the mid-way. He also posselt himselfe of *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward

* See c. 18. §. 3.

strongly fortified, and this Citie was but one daies iourney from *Helam*, and the river *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retraites the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *Dauid* & the *Syrians*, they lost 40000 horsemen, and 7000 chariots, together with *Shobach* General of their armie. The *Chronicles* call these 40000 souldiers footmen, and so *Iunius* conuerts it, and so is it very probable. For the armie of *Israel* consisting of footmen, could hardly haue slaughtered 40000 horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbered at 7000, in the first of *Chren.* the 9. in which number, as I conceiue, all the souldiers that serued in them with the conductors are included: so are there died of the *Syrians* in this warre against *Dauid*, before he forc't them to tribute; 100000 footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Joab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often; but the kings of *Israel* they impowerlessed, euen to the last end of that State.

Dauid hauing now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians* from the partie and confederacie of *Ammon*. He sent out *Joab* his Lieutenant of his armies to forradge and destroy their territorie, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and posselt. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *Dauid* set on his owne head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though *Dauid* stayed at *Hierusalem*, following the warre of *Vriah*-his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremitie, and readie to be entred: yet *Joab* in honour of *Dauid* forbore the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arriall. To the people he vsed extreeme rigor (if we may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters) for some of them he tare with harrowes. some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kilns, in which he baked tile and bricke.

§. VII.

OF DAVIDS troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.

427 724



As victorie begetteth securitie, and our present worldly felicitie a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himselfe the giuer of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly hee had to please God in the precise obseruation of his Lawes and Commandements. For hauing now no dangerous apparant enemy (against whom hee was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord) hee beganne to be aduised by his owne humane affections and vaine desires. For hee was not only satisfied to take *Vriah*s wife from him, and to vse her by stealth: but hee imbrodered his adultery with *Vriah*s slaughter, giuing order to his trustie seruant

Joab

- Iosh* to marshall him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, which gave an assault vpon the suburbs of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And, that which could no lesse displease God than the rest, hee was content that many others of his best seruants and souldiers should perishtogether with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to couer his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse; and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-downe sorrowes began againe to spring; and those perils which he had pulled vp by the rootes (as he hoped) gaue him an after-haruest of many cares and discontents. And if it had pleased God to take the witness of *Dauids* owne mouth against him, as *David* himselfe did against the *Amalekite*, which pretended to haue slaine *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne error, in the person of another, to wit of him that tooke the poore mans sheepe that had none else, the bearer being Lord of many. He then vowed it to the liuing Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David*, for his life; which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he deliuered him Gods iustice together with his mercie in the tenour following; *Now therefore the sword shall neuer depart from thy house, &c.* Because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slaine *Uriah* with the sword of the children of *Ammon*. Soone after this *David* lost the child of adulterie which he begot on *Bathscha*. Secondly, his owne sonne *Amnon* being in loue with his halfe sister *Tamar*, by the aduise of his Colingerman the sonne of *Shimeah* *Dauids* brother, posseseth her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a carelesse and despightfull manner. Two yeeres after which foule and incontinuous act, *Abshalem* caused him to be murdered, at the feast of his sheep-shearings: not perchance in reuenge of *Tamars* rauishment alone: but hauing it in his heart to, surpise the Kingdome; in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Ammons*, he thought his affaire greatly aduanced by his destruction. So the one brother hauing rauished his owne sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice, first, made his own brother drunken; and then slaughtered him; which done he fled away, and liued vnder the sauegard of *Talmay* King of *Gessur*, neere *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abshalem* by the inuention of *Iosh*, (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his sonne) was brought againe: first to the Kings fauour, and then to his presence. He began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common iustice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win vnto himselfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatened by the Lord as a punishment of *Dauids* sinne.
- The company which *Abshalem* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Hierusalem* to *Hebron*; pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired vnto him, and many troopes of people from all places, he proclaimed himselfe King, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set vpon on the suddain, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of *Hierusalem*, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surpris; but incamped in the fields, & delarts with some 600. of his gards, and few else. The priests he left in *Hierusalem* with the Arke of God from whom he desired to bee aduertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed *Hui* his trustie friend, and seruant, praying him to make himselfe in all his outward actions and counsels of *Abshaloms* partie and confederacie, thereby the better to discouer vnto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a revolted Counsaileur, whose practises hee greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his maister *Mephisotebels* the sonne of *Ionathan*: And *Shimee* of the house of *Saul* (the fire

of whose hatred *Dauid* prosperitie had smothered, but his aduersitie illighted, holding himselfe vpon the advantage of a mountaine side, cast stones at *Dauid*, and most despitefully cursed him to his face: but *Dauid* attending no private revenges, forbadde *Abisai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the rolle of his revenge, to his sonne *Salomon*. *Abisai* being now possessor of *Hierusalem*, was aduised by *Achitophel* to vse his fathers concubines in some such publicke place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that hee was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perswaded they would then resolutely adhere to *Abisai* and his cause, without feare of being given vp vpon a reconciliation betweene them. This saluage and impious (though craftie counsaile) *Achitophel* indeed vr- 10
ged for his owne respect, as feareing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction, who most of all other inflamed *Abisai* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *Dauid*: *I will raise vp euill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them vnto thy neighbour, and hee shall lye with thy wives in the sight of the Sunne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all *Israel*, and before the Sunne.* Hee also gaue aduise to *Abisai*, that himselfe with an armie of 12000. men might be employed at the instant for the surprizing of *Dauid*, which had willingly bene embraced by *Abisai*, had not *Ausai* *Dauid*s faithfull seruant giuen counter-aduise, and swayed it: perswading *Abisai*, that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel*, 10
to pursue his father: then by such a troope, which *Dauid*s valour, and those of his attendants, might either indaunger or resist. This delay in *Abisai*, and a duantage of time gained by *Dauid*, was indeed, after God, the losse of the one and deliuerie of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly feareing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the successe which followed, disposed of his owne estate, and then forsooke both the partie and the care of *Abisai*, and of his owne life.

Dauid being aduertised of this enterprize against him marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, possessing himselfe of *Mahanaim* in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Isobeseith* himselfe in the warre against *Dauid* after *Saul*s death feared himselfe. To which place there repayed vnto him *Shobi*, the sonne of *Nahab* the *Ammonite*, 30
whom *Dauid* loved, the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it bee greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most generall and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hannun*, whom *Dauid* for his fathers sake established in the Kingdome, after *Hannun*s ouerthrow. In thankfullnesse whereof hee relieued *Dauid* in this his extremitie. There came also to *Dauid*s assistance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, Gardian in former times to *Mephiboseseith*, and among others *Bersilai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *Dauid* and all his companie.

In the meane time both the King and *Abisai* prepared to fight; *Abisai* made *Amasa* Commander of the armie of *Israel*, the same place which *Isab* held with *Dauid*; an office next the King himselfe, like vnto that of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in *France*. *Dauid*, perswaded by his companie, layed in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces he had to *Isab*, *Abisai*, and *Ittai*, giuing them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Abisai*. But *Isab*, besides that hee was very cruel by nature, remembered that *Abisai* had lately disposed of his Government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victorie being obtained, and newes brought him that *Abisai* hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when he could not perswade the messenger to returne and kill him, hee himselfe with his owne seruants dispatch him. It appeared also by the sequell that *Isab* affected *Adonijah* whom hee afterward acknowledged, *Dauid* yet liuing; and feareing the disposition of *Abisai*, he embraced the present aduantage offered. 50

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *Dauid*, he mourned and forrowed, not onely as a man that had lost a sonne, but as one that had outliued all his worldly ioyes, and seene euery delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward

is not profaned a sacred
sanctity from rest.

2. Sam. 16.

2. Sam. 17.

2. Sam. 18.

v. 11.

2. Sam. 17. v. 14.

2. Sam. 17. v. 13.

15

16

2. Sam. 18. 14.

2. Sam. 18.

2. Sam. 18.

2. Sam. 18.

ward after so great a victorie, couered themselves also in the Citie, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Isab* presenting himselfe before *David*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himselfe to the armie. Forfirst he told him that he had discountenanced his faithfull servants, who had that day preferred his life, inferring that nothing could be more daungerous to a King, than not onely to not acknowledge so great a loue and constancie in his people, who being but few in number did yet resolutely expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrarye grieue and lament at their good successe. For, no doubt, they might all haue bought their peace of *Abisalom* at an easie rate. Secondly, hee vrged that it was generally beleued, that he loued his enemies and hated his friends, and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that hee had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull seruants, but would more haue ioyed if they had all perished, and *Abisalom* liued, than in the victorie by their faithfullnesse and approved valour gotten.

Lastly hee vsed this preualent argument, that if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publicly to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatening: *And that will be worse vnto thee than all the euill that sellon thee from youth hitherto.* By these overbold and arrogant speeches (though perchance vttered with a good intent) *Isab* raised *David*, from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the Citie among the people, whom hee assured of his loue and affection, especially *Amasa* who commanded the armie of *Abisalom*, to whom hee promised the office of Lieutenant-shipp; the same which *Abisalom* had giuen him, and which *Isab* now enioyed, For *David* doubted that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, hee might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now vnder his commandement.

This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage hee pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately railed him to his face; but this remission was but extemall, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Meaphibosheth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had formerly falsly accused and betrayed.

He also intreated *Barsillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberrall hostie, to follow him to *Jerusalem*, that he might reward his seruice done him; who excusing himselfe by his age, appointed his sonne *Chimham* to attend the King.

At *Gilgal* on this side *Jordan*, all the tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to haue most interest in *David*, the armie brake and *David* returned to *Jerusalem*. But *Sheba*, the sonne of *Bichria* *Beniamite* of the faction of the house of *Saul*, finding some discontentment among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as if from a stranger in whom they had no interest; and it seemeth that many of the people of the out tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *David* employed his reconciled Captaine *Amasa*, to giue him contentment, and to witness his trust, as also because hee conceived that *Amasa* had interest in those reuolts of *Israel* more than *Isab* had. He received commandement from *David* to assemble the armie within three dayes, which hee foretold: but being onward on his way, *Abishai* *Isab*'s brother was sent after him, with *David*'s guard and best souldiers, whom also *Isab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amasa* neere *Gibeon*, pretending to imbrace him, gaue him a wound, whereof hee fell dead, being no lesse ieaalous of *Amasa* than hee was of *Abner*, whom hee murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done he pursued *Sheba*, and finding him inclosed in *Abel*, assaulted the Citie with that furie, that the Citizens by the perswasions of a wife woman thereinhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Isab* over the walls: which done, hee retraited his armie to *Jerusalem*, and commanded as before all the host of *Israel*.

The next act of *David*, was the deliuerie of *Saul*'s sonnes or kin smen to the *Gibeonites*, whom those Citizens hung vp in reuenge of their fathers crueltie. *David* had knowledge

knowledge from the *Oracle of God*, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reason of *Saul* and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the *Gibonites*: and therefore hee willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because hee had warrant from *God* himselfe, as also if we may iudge humanely, to rid himselfe of *Sauls* line, by whom hee and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endangered; only he spared *Abisheth* the sonne of *Jonathan*, both for the loue hee bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to *God*.

Now where it is written in the Text; *The King tooke the two sonnes of RISHAH whom shee bare vnto SAUL, and the five sonnes of MICHAEL the daughter of SAUL, whom shee bare vnto A DRIEL, and deliuered them to the Gibonites.*

Iunius calls this *Michael* the sister of her that was *Dauids* wife, shee whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*; but *Michael* here named had *Adriel* to her husband: the same which is named *Merab* in the first of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was first promised to *Dauid*, when he slew *Goliath* in the valley of *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michael* sloued *Dauid*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *Dauid* had any humane respect in the deliuerie of her children, it is onely knowne to *God*.

Now whereas the *Geneua* nameth *Michael* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel* the better translation were out of the *Hebrew* word here vsed, hauing an eclipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kined, as in the 19. verse of the same 21. Chapter it is said of *Goliath*, whose speare was weightie as a weauers beame, when as by the same *Eclips* it is must be vnderstood by the brother of *Goliath*: *Goliath* himselfe being formerly slaine.

As by the death of *Sauls* children *God* secured the house of *Dauid*, leauing no head vnto rebellion; so did hee strengthen both the King and Nation against foraine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commanders, the like of whom, for number and qualitie, that people of *Israel* is not knowne to haue had at any time before or after. Thirtie Captaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Over these were sixe Coronels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might well be held as miraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to haue bene giuen vpon meere consideration of their vertue. For *Abishai* the brother of *Isab*, who in the warre against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lieutenant and commanded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was laine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the second order, notwithstanding his neerenesse in blood vnto the King, the flourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approued seruices. All these Coronels and Captaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may seeme to haue bene such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readinesse for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawne out, if need required into the field, very farre exceeded thirtie thousand, yea or thirtie times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in *Sauls* time, & bin hardened with his aduerlities. Others there were very many, and principall men in their seuerall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of *Saul*; but these Captaines and Coronels, (who with *Isab*, that was General of all the Kings forces, make vp the number of 37.) were the especiall men of warre, and reckoned as *Dauids* worthies. The long reigne of *Dauid*, as it is knowne to haue consumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be gesse to haue wasted the most of those whose deaths wee finde nowhere mentioned. For the sonnes of *Zerai*, who had bene too hard for *Dauid*, were worne away, and onely *Isab* left in the beginning of *Salomon*, who wanted his brother *Abishai* to stand by his side in his last extremitie.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *Dauid*, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33. yeeres, or thereabout, when the posteritie of *Saul* was rooted out, so that hee

hee enjoyed about seauen yeeres of entire quiet and securitie, wherein it pleased God to remouell all impediments that might haue troubled the succession of *Salomon* in his fathers throne. In this time also *Dauid* hauing established all things in *Iuda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, hee againe displeased God by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which hee employed *Ioab* with other Captaines of his armie, who after nine moneths and twentie daies trauell, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to beare armes, and they amounted to the number of thirtcene hundred thousand, besides *Leui* and *Beniamin*; whereof in *Iuda* and the Cities thereof liue hundred thousand, and in *Israel* 2. Sam. 24. 1. Chron. 21. 5.

10 eight hundred thousand.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seauen yeeres famine; three moneths warre, wherein hee should be vnprosperous in all attempts, and be chafed by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three dayes: *Dauid* made choyce to bowe himselfe vnder the hand of God onely, and left himselfe subiect to that cruell disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished seauentie thousand. And hereby he hath taught al that liue that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giueth vs this diuine reason. *For his mercies are great.*

2. Sam. 24.

20

§. VIII.

of the last acts of *DAVID*: *ADONIAHS* faction: the ouerthrow
upon *IOAB* and *SHIMEI*.

LASTly, when hee grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet aduised to lie in the armes of a yong and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake estate of bodie, when he was in a manner bedrid, *Adonijah* his eldest sonne (*Amnon* and *Abisalom* being now dead) hauing drawne vnto his
30 partie that inuincible, renowned and feared *Ioab*, with *Abiathar* the Priest, beganne manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now liuing of *Dauids* sonnes, and a man of a goodly personage, *Salomon* yet young, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adulterie, for which her name was omitted by *S. Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) he presumed to carrie the matter without resistance. Hercofen when *Dauid* had knowledge by *Bersabe* the mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promise, that *Salomon* her sonne should reigne after him (*Then* the Prophet
40 affirming the same thing vnto the King, & seconding her report of *Adonijah* his presumption) the King calling vnto him *Zadoc* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benaiah* the Captaine of his guard, gaue charge and commission to annoint *Salomon*, and to set him on the mule whereon himselfe vsed to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Salomon* attended and strongly guarded by the ordinarie and choyce men of warre, the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, shewed himselfe to the people. Those tydings being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the present *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *Dauid* had remaining two especiall cares, whereof hee was
desirous to discharge his thoughts, the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against *Salomon*; the other concerning the
50 building of the Temple, which he sought by all meanes to aduance, and make the businesse publike. To bring these intentions to good effect hee summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel*, the Princes of the seuerall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mightie, and men of power, who repaired
vnto *Ierusalem*. 1. King 1. Chron. 28. 2.

In

In this assembly the King stood vp, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approued the motion. Herein he tooke occasion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Isaac* in his blessing prophetically Bequeathed it) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choice of him among all his fathers sonnes. In like manner he said that God himselfe had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his successor: whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his sonne, to conforme themselves vnto all that God had commaunded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house which *Salomon* was chosen to build. Then produced hee the paterne of the worke according to the forme which God himselfe had appointed; and so laying open his owne preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

2. Chron. 29.9.

10

The Kings propolition was so well approued by the Princes and people, that whereas he himselfe had given three thousand talents of golde, and seauen thousand of siluer, they added vnto it seauen thousand of gold, and ten thousand of siluer, besides brasse, iron and iewels, heartily reioicing in the aduancement of so religious a worke. This businesse being well dispatched, a solemne feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was againe anointed King, and receiued fealtie of all the Princes and people of the land, and of all the Princes his brethren the sonnes of King *Dauid*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his father *Dauid* finding himselfe euen in the hands of death, first exhorted his sonne to exercise the same courage and strength of minde, which himselfe had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happie end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he vttered these mightie words; Take heede to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and keepe his statutes and his commaundements, and his iudgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of *Moses* &c. to the performance of which God fastened the succession, and prosperie of his issues. For this done (saith God himselfe) Thou shalt not want one of thy posteritie to sit vpon the throne of *Israel*.

2. King. 2.3.

29

2. King. 1.36.

Secondly, hee aduised him concerning *Isab*, who out of doubt had serued *Dauid* from the first assault of *Ierusalem* to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, sauing that hee fastened himselfe to *Adonijah* (his maister yet liuing) and thereby vexed him in his keble age. But as God hath neuer left crueltie vnreunged, so was it his will that *Isab* should drinke of the same cuppe, whereof he had enforced other men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himselfe had vniuently stroken others with all, *qui gladio percussit, gladio peribit*: for he had bereaued *Ahner* and *Amasa* of their liues, hauing against the one the pretence onely of his brothers slaughter, whom *Ahner* had slaine in the time of warre, and could not auoid him: against the other but a meere ialousie of his growing great in the fauour of *Dauid*. And though *Isab* assured himselfe that *Ahner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equall him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised vp *Beniahah* the sonne of *Iehoiadab*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in pieces. For *Dauid* giueth this cause to *Salomon* against *Isab*, that he slew the Captaines of the hoste of *Israel*, and it shed blood of battell in peace; and to this apparent and iust cause, it is not improbable but that *Dauid* remembered the ill affection of *Isab* towards *Salomon*, which *Isab* made manifest by the vintimey letting vp of *Adonijah*, *Dauid* yet liuing. Some other offence *Isab* had committed against *Dauid* of which in these words he put his son *Salomon* in minde; Thou knowest also what I O A B the sonne of *Serviah* did to mee, &c. Now whether this were ment by the killing of *Abshalom*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words vsed to him when hee mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abshalom*; or whether it were the publishing of *Dauids* letter vnto him for the killing of *Uriah*: thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is that those great men of warre doe oftentimes behaue themselves exceeding

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ding inolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their matters cannot misse them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath overthrowne many a worthy man otherwise deserving great honour and respect.

Hee also gaue order to Salomon, to ridde him selfe of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at David and curst him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise David spared *Shimei* all the time him selfe liued, yet being dust and in the graue he slew him, by the hand of *Solo mon* his sonne. Hence it seemeth that King Henry the fourth of England had his patterne, when hee gaue order to *Henrie* the eighth to execute *Peol* as soone as him selfe was buried, hauing made promise to the King of *Spaine* when hee deliuered *Peol* vnto him, that while hee liued hee would neuer put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid vpon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Isaiah* yeeld vnto Salomon any such great profite or assurance he hoped for. For he found a young *Alad* of *Linnas*, and *Rezin* of *Damascus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witness, were emboldened to enterprize vpon Salomon, hearing that David slept with his fathers, and that *Isaiah* the Captaine of the host was dead. Now when David had reigned in all fortie yeeres, to wit, in *Hebron* seauen yeeres, and in *Ierusalem* three and thirtie he died.

For his person he was of final stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces he so farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart, he was said by God him selfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The *Psalms* which hee wrote witness his pietie, and his excellent learning: of whome *Hierom* to *Pastorius*. *DAVID SIMONIDES nasser, PINDARVS*. & *ALCAEVS*, *FLACCVS*, quoque *CATVLLVS*, & *SERENVS*, *Christum* *lyrae* *sonus*, & in *dechordis* *Psalterio* *ab inferis* *suscitatus* *resurgentem*. *DAVID* (saith he) *Iou* *SIMONIDES*, *PINDARVS*, *ALCAEVS*, *HORACE*, *CATVLLVS* & *SERENVS*, he playeth *Christi* on his harpe, and on a ten stringed *Psalter* he raiseth him up rising from the dead. And being both a King and a Prophet, hee foretelleth *Christ* more lightlomely and truly than all therelt.

The booke of the *Psalms* saith *Glycas* were diuided, ordered and distinguished by *Ezekias*: but whether all the *Psalms* were written by David it is diuersly disputed. For *Athenas*, *Cyprian*, *Tyranius*, & others conceiue diuers authors, and wering the titles of the seuerall *Psalms*, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the rest hereafter named, and that only 73. *Psalms* were composed by David him selfe, namely those which are intituled *ipsius David*. For the 50. and 72. with the ten that followe are bestowed on *Asaph* the sonne of *Burachin*, eleven other on the sonnes of *Korah*, and eleven are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 89. and the 10. following, and so they are intituled in the old *Hebrew* copies, though the vulgar and *Septuagint* (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed nine authours of these *Psalms* which David wrote

not. *Sicut* *Senensis* nameth as followeth, *Salomon*, *Moses*, whom *Aben Ezra* contrariet to *Hierome*, maketh one of *Dauids* fingers) *Asaph*, *Elihan*, *Ezaiachi*, *Eman*, *Ezaiara*, *Idithun*, and the three sonnes of *Chore*. But *S. Chrysostome* makes David the sole authour of all the *Psalms*, and so doth *S. Angustine*, reasoning in this manner. Although (saith he) some there are that ascribe those *Psalms* onely vnto David, which are ouerwritten *ipsius David*, and the rest intituled *pro David* to others, this opinion (saith hee) *Vox Evangelica saluatoris ipsius resutatur*, ubi ait quod ipse *DAVID* in spiritu *Christum* dixit esse suum *Dominum* quoniam *Psalms* 109. sic inquit. *Dixit Dominus Domino meo, se. a dextris meis &c.* The voice of the Gospell refutes this opinion, where it saith, that David him selfe in the spirit called *Christ* his Lord, because the 109 *Psalme* begins thus. *The Lord said vnto my Lord sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Lastly, his testimonies are vsed both by *Christ* and the Apostles, and he was as a patterne to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

His Storie and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan* and *Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron.* 29. ver. 19. For the seuerall parts of the bookes

1 & 2. 8. 9. 4. 9.

1. King. 2.

1. King. 11.

9 + 0. 192.

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and after *Dauids* time. For wee reade of *Pharas* that hee spake to *Ioseph* to appoint some of his brethren or of their seruants, to be Rulers over his cattell. We reade of *Pharis*, that he loued husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dressers of Vines: likewise we reade it in all *Greece* Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did especially consist in their Herds and flocks, whereof it were needlesse to cite *Auges* and *Admetus* or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *Dauid* it is not vnlikely, but that those captiues which were not imploied in husbandrie, were many of them vsed by him in all sorts of gainfull professions, as the ancient *Romans* in like manner vsed their slaues:

- 10 To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions which doubtlesse were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tebu* and others) wee may adde the great spoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered: also the head money which was gathered *per legem captationis*; By the law of capitation or head money, euery man rich or poore paying halfe a sicke of the Sanctuarie, which is about as much as fiftene pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summe in that Kingdome: wherein one thousand thousand five hundred and seuentie thousand fighting men were numbred by *Iosh*. Now although this Law of capitation be thought by some very learned not to haue bene perpetuall (which opinion of theirs neuerthelessse they confesse is against the *Hebrew* expositions) yet *Dauid* vpon this occasion is not vnlikely to haue put it in practice. And by these meanes might he be able to leaue those huge treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seeme that of this great masse of gold and siluer left by *Dauid*, the least part was his owne in private, and so will it appeare the lesse wonderfull that he left so much. Of his owne liberalitie we finde, that he gaue to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand talents of siluer; a great summe: but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuarie it selfe were exceeding great, as needes they must haue been, hauing received continual encrease, without any losse or diminution euer since the time of *Moses* and *Iosuah*. There-
 30 uennues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defraied the daily expences, and maintayned the Priest and *Leuites*) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the Spoiles gotten in warre. For all the bootie was diuided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the People which remayned at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the Countrey receiued benefit of the victorie, yet so, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiuing more for euery single share.

- Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people receiued, and one in siue hundred, of that which was giuen to the Souldiers; namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootie. So in the spoile of *Midian*, thirtie two thousand women being taken, the armie had sixteen thousand of them for slaues, and the Congregation had other sixteen thousand; but out of the sixteen thousand giuen to the Armie, were exempted two and thirtie for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twentie. By this meanes, the lesler that the Armie was which had exposed it selfe to danger, the greater profit had euery Souldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaying at home were faine to vndergoe more than ordinarie trauaile in domestick affaires, did receiue by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increased, either by
 50 some especiall commandement, as when all the gold, and siluer, and other mettalls found in *Iericho*, were consecrated vnto God, or by thankfulnessse of the Rulers and People, as when after the victorie obtayned against the *Midianites* without the losse of one man, all Iewells, Bracelets, Eare-rings, and the like, were offered vp, as voluntarie presents.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and troden downe by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies neuer gat possession of the *Tabernacle* that was in *Shile*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the *Sanctuarie* must haue beene exceeding great; as containing aboute one hundredth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtayned against the bordering Nations. For that this treasure was not defrauded of the due portion, it is euident; seeing that before the time of *Dauid* and his Lieutenant *Ioshab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had vsed to dedicate of the spoiles obtayned in warre, to maintayne the house of the Lord: the like wherof may be well presumed of the former Iudges and Captaines in other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conquest of *Dauid* brought into the Land farre greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Iosua* perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of silver, may seeme rather to haue beene made vp, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid vp in many former Ages, than to haue beene the meere fruits of his owne industrie.

1. Chron. 1. 26.
2. 27. & 28.

A Talent of
gold is 770.
rich crownes.
1. King. 10. 14.

1. King. 4. 9. 10. 10
6. 10. 10. 23.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he receiued of yearly reuenues with his tributes fixe hundred sixtie fixe Talents of gold, besides the Customes of Spices. He had also fixe rich Returnes from the East *Indes*, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voiage every three yeares, and he beganne that trade in the two and twentieth yeare of his raigne, and ruled fortie yeares. Besides this, all *Indes* and *Israel* were now maledered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobab*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmyra*, of *Ituraa*; all of *Idumaea*, *Moad*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Heuites*, *Iebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguihed, though subiected.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdome of *Israel* reduced by *Dauid*, who after fortie yeares raigne, and seuentie yeares of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the Citie of *Dauid*. It is written by *Iosephus* that there was hid in *Dauid's* Tombe a meruailous quantitie of treasures, in so much as *thyrcanus* (who first of the *Ethiopianes*, or race of the *Alacebees*, called himselfe King) one thousand and three hundred yeares after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himselfe of *Antiochus* then besieging *Ierusalem*, and afterward *Herod* opening an other Cell, had also an exceeding masse of gold and silver therein. And it was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they enriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did burie so much treasure in his fathers graue, it would hardly be beleeued, in regard of the great exactions with which he was faine to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left vnto him: were it not withall considered that his want of monie grew from such magnificent imploiments. Particularly of the Sepulcher of *Dauid* the Scriptures haue no mention, but only the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the Monuments of those Kings, as (by Relation of the Duke of *Vluka*) they remayned within these thirtie yeares, and are like to remaine still, are able to make any report credible, of the cost bestowed vpon them.

Peregrinat. Eie.
ra (L. D. N. Ch.
Rally, Epist. 2.

493 (1) 3000 before

1. Chron. 29. 28.

1. Chron. 29. 28.

Dauid tomb.

X.

of the *Philistims*, whom *DAVID* absolutely mastered: and of
 others, *Sanary* other contemporaries with
DAVID.



*P*f the *Philistims*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David's* time somewhat here may be spoken.

10 They descended of *Casim*, who, according to *Ishidor* and *Iosephus*, 15d. 9. 19. was one of the sonnes of *Ismael*, and was surnamed *Philisim*, as *Euseb* 16d. 1. ant. 17. was surnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob* *Israel*. There were of them five Cities of petic principalities; namely, *Asotus* or *Ascalon*, *Gaza*, or *Azaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Casim* was the first founder of this nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*. 1. Sam. 6.

The first King of these *Philistims*, which the Scriptures have named, was that *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abraham's* wife. Gen. 20.

The second *Abimelech* lived at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumaea*, which *Abimelech* fancied *Isaac* his wife: as his father had done *Sara*. Gen. 26.

20 After *Abimelech* the second, the *Philistims* Kings are not remembered in the Scriptures, till *David's* time; perhaps the government was turned into *Aristocraticall*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistims*, howsoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the same to whom *David* fled, and who againe gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul's* time. 1. Sam. 27. 1. Sam. 31. 11. 1. King. 4.

After him we read of another *Achis* who lived with *Salmón*, to whom *Semei* traunged to fetch backe his fugitive servant, what time the seeking of his servant was the losse of his life. *Ieremie* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palestin* or *Philisim*. *Amos*, nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of the warres of the *Philistims* are remembered in the Catalogue of the *Judges*, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not neede to collect the particulars in this place.

30 There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silaj* King of *Alba* called *Latinus Silvius*, who is said to have ruled that part of *Italy* fiftie yeeres. And about his fourteenth yeere *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeded the first Prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontides*, without regall name governed *Athen* during their life.

The reasons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, was not drawne from any inconvenience found in the rule of Soueraigntie, but in honour of *Codrus* onely. For when the *Grecians* of *Doris*, a region betwene *Phoeis* and the mountaine *Oeta*, fought counsaile from the Oracle, for their successe in the warres against the *Athenians*, it was answered that then vndoubtedly they should preuaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtaine any victorie against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King living. *Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrewe himselfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common souldier, entred the Campe of the *Dorians*, and killing the first hee encountered, was himselfe forthwith cut in peeces.

40 Empaler the 21. King of *Assyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire about the 13. yeere of *David*, and held it 38. yeeres.

Neere the same time began *Iston* the second King of the *Heracleida*, the sonne of *Eurythenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the second of the *Heracleida* in *Lacedemon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his succellours were called *Agida*, for many yeeres after. He restored the *Laconians* to their former libertie: hee outcame the Citizens of

Helosin *Laconis*, whq had refused to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery; whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helotes*.

In like sort from the *Sclauis* came the word *Slaves*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized upon the countrey of *Illyria* and made it their owne by Conquest, their victorie pleased them so highly, that therupon they called themselves by a new name, *Slaves*, which is in their language *glorious*. But in after-times (that warmer Climate hauing thawed their northerne hardines, and not ripened their wits) when they were troden down, and made seruants to their neighbours, the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage began to call all their bond-men *Slaves*, vsing the word as a name of reproche: in which sense it is now current through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later, about the 23. yeere of *Dauid*, and saie that *Acheffratus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whome *Eusebius* calls *Iabotes*, and sets him in the thirteenth yeere of *Salomon*.

Euseb. in Chron.

In the tenth yeere of *Acheffratus*, *Androclus* the third Sonne of *Codrus* assisted by the *Ionies*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who after the adioyning of the Ile of *Samos* to his territorie was slaine by the *Carians* whose countrey he vsurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the gates of *Ephesus* called *Magnetes*, his armed *Statue* being set ouer him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next prouince to *Ephesus* on the Sea-coast of *Asia* the lesse) he enlarged his Dominions vpon the *Eoles*, which ioyneth to *Ionis*; and that his posteritie gouerned the Cities of *Ephesus* and *Erythra* by the name of *Basilides* in *Strabo* his owne time. Of the expedition of the *Ionies* how they came hither out of *Peloponnesus*, I haue * spoken already vpon occasion of the returre of the *Heraclides* into *Peloponnesus*, wherein with the *Dorees*, they expelled the *Achaes*, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the *Ionies* succeeded that of the *Heraclides* 100. yeeres.

The East gate of *Ephesus* to-ward *Magnesia* vpon the riuer *Alouander*.

Apoll. 1. §. 4. c. 6.
* See Ch. in this 17. c. 9. §. 1. post. medium.

Plin. l. 2. c. 58.
c. 1. §. 37.

The Citie of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: first, for the temple of *Diana* therein built: which had in length 425. foote, and 220. in bredth, sustained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foote high: whereof 27. were most curiously grauen, and all the rest of choice marble polisht, the worke being first set out by *Ciresophon* of *Gnosfos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which *Timotheus* was Bishop; to whom, and to the *Ephesians*, *Saint Paul* wrote his Epistles so intituled: The other Citie possit by *Androclus* in *Eolis* was also vniuersally spoken of by reason of *Sibylla*, surnamed *Erythrae*: who liued seuen hundred and fourtie yeeres before Christ borne. *Saint Augustine* auoweth that a *Romane Proconsul* shewed him in an ancient Greeke coppie certaine verses of this Prophetesse: which began (as *Saint Augustine* changed them into Latine) in these wordes. *Iesus Christus Dei filius saluator. Iesus Christi sonne of God the Saviour.*

About the time that *Isa* besieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* beganne to gouerne in *Egypt*, the same that was father in Law to *Salomon*, whose Epistles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembered by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *Dauid*, was the citie of *Magnetia* in *Asia* the lesse founded, the same which is seated vpon the riuer *Alouander*, where *Scipio* gaue the great ouerthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territorie are the best horses of the lesse *Asia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minya gens cognita remis.

Seru. in AEnid.
3 *Strabo*, l. 5.

About the same time *Cuma* in *Compania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, according to *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* ioyneth the *Cumaeans* of *Eolis*, saying that to the one of these people the gouernment was giuen, with condition that the other should giue name to the Citie. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous scholar of *Isocrates*.

Euseb.

Eusebius and *Cassiodorus* finde the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. yeere of *David*, but much mistaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metimius* the sonne of *Badezor* brother to *Iezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Israel*; and betwene the death of *David*, and the first of *Achab*, there were waited about 95. yeeres.

In this time also *Acastus* lived, the second of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteene in descent before the State changed into a Magistracie of tenne yeeres. Some writers make it probable that the *Aethians* ledde by *Giram*, the grandnephew of *Orestes*, possessed the Citie and Island of *Lesbos* about this time. In 10 the 32. yeere of *David*, *Hiram* beganne to reigne in *Tyre*, according to *Iosephus*, who saith that in his twelfth yeere *Salomon* beganne the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar error in *Iosephus*, to misreckon times, which in this point hee doth so strangely, as if hee knew not how at all to cast any account. For it is manifest that *Hiram* sent messengers, and Cedars to *David*, soone after his taking of *Jerusalem*, which was in the very beginning of *Dauids* reigne ouer *Israel*, when as yet hee had reigned onely seauen yeeres in *Hebron*, ouer the house of *Iuda*. Wherefore it must needs be that *Hiram* had reigned about 30. yeeres before *Salomon* 5. vnlesse more credit should be giuen to those *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Iosephus*, than to the plain words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* 10 which liued both with *David* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

Euseb. in. Chron.
Herod. in vit.
Hom. & Strab.
1. 14.
Antiq. 3. & cont.
ap. h.

Sam. 5.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of SALOMON.

30

§ I.

Of the establishing of SALOMON: of his birthright, and of the cause of ADONIAHS death, and of SALOMONS wisdom.



40

SALOMON, who was brought vp vnder the Prophet *Nathan*, beganne to reigne ouer *Iuda* and *Israel*, in the yeere of the world 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: hee was also called *Iedidias*, or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan* because the Lord loued him.

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Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomons* anointing, dispatched Embassadors toward him, congratulating his establishment: a custome betwene Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like sort salute *Hannan* King of the *Ammonites*, after his ob-

2 Sam. 10.

taining the Kingdome.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in blood, though his reigne were peaceable. For soone after *Dauids* death, hee caused his brother *Adonijah* to bee slaine by *Benaiah* 50 the sonne of *Iehoiada*, taking occasion from *Adonijah* his desiring by *Bersheba*, that the young maid *Abisag* (which lay in *Dauids* bosome in his latter daies, to keepe him warme) might be giuen to him. What soeuer he pretended it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and fought the kingdome contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is saide that a word is

1 Kings 1.

V u 3

enough

enough to the wife, and he that sees but the claw, may know whether it bee a lyon or no: so it may seeme that to the quick-lighted wildome of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had bene concubines to a King, might not after bee touched but by a King: whence *Achitophel* wilhed *Abisai* to take his fathers concubines as a part of the royaltie. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not giue them to any other, but shut them vp, and they remained widowed vntil their death. And this it seems was the depth of *Isobeths* quarrel against *Abner*, for hauing his fathers concubine. And some signification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*; *I haue giuen thee thy misters house, and thy misters wines*. And in the words of *Saul*, vpbraiding *Jonathan* that hee had chosen *David* to the shame of the nakednesse of his mother. Hereunto perhaps was some reference in this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marrie with her that was alwaies present with *David* in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conueying of the Kingdome to *Salomon*. There might be diuers farther occasions, as either that hee would learne such things by her as might be for the aduantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to forge some strange tale about *Dauids* last Testament, or any thing else that might preiudice the title of *Salomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the customes of the *Seues*: yet the Kings of the *Seues* were so absolute, as they did therein, and in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had, though not of kings, which taught them to vse this paternall authoritie in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne. namely of *Jacobs* disheriting *Reuben*, and giuing the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Ioseph*: of whom hee made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appears by the words of *Bersabe* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For as for popular election, that it was necessary to confirme, or that the refusal of the people had authoritie to frustrate the elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it nowhere appears in the stories of the *Seues*. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Gilead*: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that hee was King long before no man can doubt. In like manner eliwere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to bee expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said. *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse*.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon* at the same time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he ridde himselfe also of *Joab*, and three yeeres after of *Shimei*, as *David* had aduised him: he displaced also the Priest *Abiathar*, who tooke part with *Adonijah* against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and because hee had borne the *Arke* of God before his father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdome, hee tooke the daughter of *Ephraim* King of *Egypt* to wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eusebius* calls him. Hee offered a thousand sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bad him aske what he would at his hands: *SALOMON chooseth wisdome, which pleased God*. And God said vnto him, *Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy selfe, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, bebold, I haue done according to thy words: by which wee may informe our selues what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coueting after long life, in respect of our selues cannot but proceede of selfe-loue, which is the roote of all impietie: the desire of priuate riches is an affliction of couetousnesse which God abhorreth; to affect reuenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand and to distrust his Iustice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from*

Deut. 17. 15.
Filium tuum ag-
nosce, et dabo ei
portum mercedis
tue: non propter
est uti primum
narratum. 1. Reg.
1. v. 17. et 20.
et v. 19. et 24.
2. Reg. 1. v. 30
et 37.
1. Sam. 11. 34.
Deut. 18. 30.

1. Reg. 2.

from the Law of God. But because *Salomon* desired wisdom onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to give him withall that which he desired not. And I have also given thee (saith God) that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour. This gift of wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures the Scripture testifieth, though no doubt the chief excellencie of *Salomon's* wisdom, was in the knowledge of governing his kingdom: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the Scripture telleth how soon he judged the controuersie between the two harlots.

1. King 4. 31.
1. King 3. 9

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§. II.

Of SALOMONS buildings and glorie.



Then entred into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom hee had much of his materials, for the Kings palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had receiued a double charge, one from his father *Dauis*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *Dauis* that he called *SALOMON* his sonne, and charged him to build a house for the Lord God of *Israel*: so doth *Tobias* give the force of a diuine precept to these words. Behold, a sonne is borne vnto thee, &c. Hee shall build an house for my name.

1. Chr 22. 6.

Tob 9. 6. ad

1. Chr 22.

Hee beganne the worke of the Temple, in the beginning of the 4. yeere of his reigne, at which time also hee prepared his flecte at *Elongaber* to trade for gold in the East *Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to supplie the charge of so great a worke. For that the Temple was in building, while his flectes were passing to and fro it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the *Admagum* trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was given by God himselfe) many learned men haue written, as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barthol.*, *Azorius*, *Ysidorus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I referre the reader.

1. King 6. 1.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which serued that building, *Salomon* employed thirtie thousand Carpenters, tenne thousand euery moneth by course: he also vsed eightie thousand Malons in the mountaine, and seauentie thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceived, he selected out of the *Presbiter*, besides three thousand three hundred maisters of his worke, so as he paid and employed in all one hundred eightie three thousand and three hundred men, in which number the *Zidonians* which were more skilful in hewing timber than the *Isradites*, may (as I think) be included. For *Hiram* caused his seruants to bring downe the Cedars and Firres from *Libanon* to the sea, and thence sent them in rafts to *Ioppe* or the next port to *Iherusalem*. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plaide that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the ouerseers, were strangers, and as it seemeth the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Nophis* King of *Aegypt*. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Salomon* gaue *Hiram* twentie thousand measures of wheate, and twentie measures of pure oyle yeerely. Enshew out of *Exphemus* in the ninth booke of his preparation the last Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of *Salomon's* Letter to *Saron* (which was the same as *Hiram* or *Hiram*) King of *Tyre* in these words.

1. King 5.

1. King 5. 9. 30.

1. King 5. 11.

REX SALOMON SVRONI, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœnicia regi. Amicus paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno DAVID patrìs mei regnum accepisse, cumq; mihi pater præcepit tem plum Deo, qui terram creauit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atq; saluos ad edificandum Templum Dei mitteres velis.

King

KING SALOMON to KING SYRON, of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friends, sendeth greeting. You may understand that I have received of the great God of my father DAVID, the Kingdome: and when my father commaunded mee to build a Temple to God which crested heauen and earth, hee commaunded also that I should write to you. I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would bee pleased to send mee artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

To which the King Syron made this answer.

SYRON, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœnicia rex, SALOMONI regi salutem. Let it liter is gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis sabros ministrosq; ad condendam Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te milia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudæa, vtrum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur vt necessarii non egeant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

SYRON of Tyre Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King SALOMON greeting: when I read your letters, I gave God thanks, who hath inslaied you in your fathers Kingdome. And because you write, that carpenters and workemen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I haue sent vnto you, fourscore thonsand men, and a Maister builder a Tyrian, borne of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all necessities be provided for them, and when the Temple of God is built that they come home to vs.

10. Ant. 1. 3. c. 1.

The Copies of these letters were extant in Iosephus time as himselfe affirmeth, and to be seene, faith he, *Tam in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus*, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals. But he deliuereth them somewhat in different tearmes, as the reader may finde in his antiquities. But were this intercourse betwene Salomon and Hiram either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise deliuered in the Scriptures, than either Eupolemus or Iosephus set it downe, but, so that in substance there is little difference betwene the one and the other.

2. Kin. 5. from the 1. v. to the 9.

The like letter in effect Salomon is said to haue written to Vaphres King of Egypt 30 and was answered as from Hiram.

But whereas some Commentators vpon Salomon finde that Hiram King of Tyre, and Vaphres King of Egypt, gaue Salomon the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite Eupolemon in Eusebius, I doe not finde any such addition of *magnus* in Eusebius in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in Iosephus in the eight booke and second chapter of the *Iewes antiquities*: it being a vaine title vsed by some of the Assyrian and Persian Kings, and vsed likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, in so much as in latter times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightinesse.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, Salomon fortified Ierusalem with a treble wal, & repaired Hazor which had bene the ancient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before Iosaphats time: so did he Gaza of the Philistines: he built Bethoron, Gerar and the *Millo* or ruinition of Ierusalem. For Pharaoh (as it seemeth in fauour of Salomon) came vp into the edge of Ephraim, and tooke Gerar which the Canaanites yet held & put them to the sword and burnt their Citie. The place and territorie he gaue Salomons wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that because Salomon was then buied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the warre, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of those neighbours, which Pharaoh performed. But he thereby taught the Egyptians to visite those partes againe before they were sent for; and in his sonne Rehoboams time Shebäck this mans successor did sacke Ierusalem it selfe.

10. Ant. 1. 3. c. 1.

Salomon also built Megiddo in Manasse, on this side Iordan, and Balah in Dan: also Thadmor, which may be either Ptolomies Thamorou in the desert of Iuda (or as Iosephus

phus

phus thinks *Palmyra* in the desert of *Syria*, which *Palmyra* because it stood on the utmost border of *Salomons* dominion to the northeast of *Libanus*, and was of *Dauids* conquest when hee wanne *Damascus*; it may seeme that *Salomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best arte, that that age had. *Iosephus* calls this place *Thadamor*, by which name (saith hee) given by *Salomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Hierom* in his booke of *Hebrew* places calls it *Thermeth*. In aftertimes, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperor it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In respect of this great charge of building *Salomon* raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twentie talents of gold received from *Hiram* servants, *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twentie townes in or neere the upper *Galilee*, but because they stood in an vnfruitfull and marish ground *Hiram* refused them, and thereof was the territorie called *Chabull*.

These townes, as it is supposed, lay in *Galilee* of the Gentiles, *Non quo gentes inhabitarent: sed quis sub ditione regis gentilis erat*, Not that it was possess'd by Gentiles (saith *Nauclerius*) but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile. Howsoever it were, it is true that *Salomon* in his 21. yeere fortified those places, which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a journey into *Syria* *Zabab* and established his tributes; the first and last warre (ifin that expedition hee were driven to fight) that hee made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his Dominions passing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmyra*, and so to the Deserts of *Idumea*, from whence hee visited *Eziongeber* and *Eloth*, the vttermost place of the South of all his territories, bordering to the red sea: which Cities I haue described in the Storie of *Moses*.

§. III.

Of *Salomons* sending to *Ophir*, and of some seeming contradictions about *Salomons* riches, and of *Pinedaes* concept of two strange passages about *Africke*.



Ere *Salomon* prepared his flecte of shippes for *India* with whom *Hiram* ioyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of *Arabia*, which at this time belonged to *Edom* and was conquered by *Dauid*, did the Fleete passe on to the East *India*, which was not farre off, namely to *Ophir*, one of the Islands of the *Moluccas*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witnesseth the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in *Pern*, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East at *Manilla*, and recover a great quantitie from thence, and with lesse labour than they doe in any one part of *Pern*, or new *Spaine*.

The returne which was made by these shippes amounted to foure hundred and twentie talents, but in the second of *Chronicler* the eight, it is written foure hundred and fiftie talents: whereof thirtie talents went in expence for the charge of the flect, and wages of men, and foure hundred and twentie talents, which makes fise and twentie hundred and twentie thousand Crownes came cleere. And thus mult those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1. *Reg.* 10. 14. which speaketh of six hundred sixtie and six talents of gold, that summe, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomons* which were yeerely, and which came to him besides these profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Pern* in *America* (as diuers haue thought) but a countrey in the East *Indies*; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedie returne to *Pern* from the East *Indies* then in 3. yeeres; and that *Thar si* in Scripture is diuer times taken for the Ocean; hath bene already declared in the first booke.

EB. §. 9. 10. * 9.
Lith. d. rebui
Salmann c. 8.
© 15.

Onely it remaineth that I should speake somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a *Spaniard* of *Betia* would faine haue *Gades* or *Calis-malia* in old times called *Tartessus*, which is the South-west corner of that Prouince, to be the *Tharist* from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seemes, but for loue of his owne countrie, and because of some affinitie of found between *Tharist* and *Tartessus*. For whereas it may seeme strange that it should be three yeere ere they, that tooke shippe in the red sea, should returne from the East *Indies* to *Ierusalem*, this hath bene in part answered already. And further the intelligent may conceiue of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the mettall, and in their other trafficke, and in their land-carriages between *Ierusalem* and the red sea, and perhaps also elſewhere: so that wee haue no neede to make *Salomons* men to goe many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Affrick*, that so they might bee long at comming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrion* which went with them, could not haue bene ignorant of) was along the *Mediterran* sea, and so (besides many wonderfull inconueniences and terrible nauigation in rounding *Africa*) they should haue escaped the troublesome land-carriage betweene *Ierusalem* and the red sea through drie, desert, and the euill Countiees; and within 30. mile of *Ierusalem* at *toppe*, or some other haue in *Salomons* owne Countie, haue laden and vnladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis* in largenesse greater than all *Africa* and *Asia* being swallowed vp in the *Atlantic Ocean* bin Jered *Salomons* ships from passing through the straits of *Gibraltar*: for this becauleadgeth *Plato* in *Timæo*. But that this calamitie happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the Straights of *Gades* were filled with mudde and made vnpassable, that there could bee no comming to *Gades* by the *Mediterran* sea: or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channell, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Island is supposed to haue stooode: or that *Salomons* ships being in the red sea, should neglect the golden mines of the East *Indies* (which were infinitely better and neerer to the red sea, than any in *Spain*) to seeke gold at *Cathay* by the way of compassing *Affrica*, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the *Spaniard* himselfe that hath also the rich *Peru* in the West, fortifieth in the East *Indies* and inhabites some part thereof, as in *Mamila*, finding in those parts no lesse quantitie of gold (the small territorie which he there possesseth considered) than in *Peru*.

Derobit Sall.
A.C. 13. 11.
As it appears
he tooke ship
at Iapho or
Ioppa. C. 1. 10. 3.

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elſewhere he dreames of: supposing whereas *Ionas* sailing to *Tharist* the Cite of *Cilicia* was cast out in the *Mediterran* sea, and taken vp there by a Whale, that this whale in three dayes swimming about twelue thousand English miles, along the *Mediterran* seas, and so through the freights of *Gades*, and along all the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast vp *Ionas* vpon the shore of the red sea, that so hee might haue perhaps some fixe miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Zinnir*. This conceipt hee grounds onely vpon the ambiguitie of the word *Soph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the red sea (as if wee should call it *mare algosum*, the sea full of weeds) for the red sea. But in *Ionas* 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would haue it, who in this place against his owne rule (which elſewhere he giueth vs) supposeth strange miracles without any neede. For this long voyage of the whale finished in three daies, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of *Ionas* in the bellie of the whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessitie of this miracle, we send it backe vnto him, keeping his owne rule which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. And againe, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda*. nec pro arbitrio noua fingenda, *Miracles* are not to be multiplied without necessitie, nor delivered without cause, nor faued at pleasure. Therefore to leave this man in his dreames, which (were hee not otherwise very learned and iudicious) might bee

Ing. F.

miracle 65.

bee

bee thought vnworthie the mentioning. But to proceede with our Storie of Salomon.

The Queene of *Sabae* comming from farre to *Salomon*, (as it seemes from *Arabia felix*, & not as some thinke from *Ethiopia* and her rich presents, and *Salomon* reciprocal magnificence, and his resoluing of her difficult questions, those are set downe at large in the text. But herein *Iosephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queene of *Saba Nicules*, the succellour (saith hee out of *Herodotus*) of thole thirtie and eight *Egyptian Kings* which succeded *Mineus* the founder of *Memphis*; adding that after this *Egyptian*, and the father in Law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elswhere proued that the Queene was of *Arabie*, not of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, so were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in Law of *Salomon*. Yea, about three hundred yeeres after *Salomon*, *Pharao Necho* slew *Iosias* King of *Juda*.

It is also written of *Salomon* that hee kept in garrisons fourteene thousand chariots and twelue thousand horsemen, that he spent in Court every day thirtie measures of fine flower, threefoore measures of wheat, one hundred sheepe, besides stags and fallow deare, bugles and foule; foure thousand stals of horkes he had for his chariots and other vses, and for the twelue thousand horsemen of his guard. For, so therten thousand stals in the first of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for so many horkes, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but foure thousand stals or reemes, and in every tene ten horkes, as *Iunius* and the *Geneva* vnderstand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezraite*, than *Heman*, *Chaleah*, or than *Darda*, to which *Iunius* addeth a fitt, to wit, *Ezra* sk. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezraite* by Nation. *Iosephus* writes them *Athan*, *Aman*, *Chaleus* and *Donan* the sonnes of *Heman*. Hee spake three thousand Proverbs, and his songes were one thousand and fise, whereof either the most part perished in the Captiuitie of *Babylon*, or else because many actes of *Salomon* were written and kept among the publique Records of Ciuill causes and not Ecclesiasticall, therefore they were not thought necessarie to be inserted into Gods booke.

§. IIII.

of the fall of SALOMON, and how long he liued.

OWAS hee had plentie of all other things, so had he no scarcitie of women. For besides his seauen hundred wiues hee kept three hundred Concubines, (and forgetting that God had commaunded that none of his people should accompanie the daughters of *Idolators*) hee tooke wiues out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heb*; and when hee fell a doting, his wiues turned his heart after other Gods, as *Astarte* of the *Zidonians*, *Molech* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moab*.

Thele things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Ieroboam* his owne seruant, and one of the masters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his sonne *Roboam*, ten of the twelue parts of all the territorie hee had. *Deus cum in peccatores animaduertit, aliorum peccatis vitior, quae ipse non fecit*. God in punishing sinners, vseth the sinnes of others, which hee himselfe wrought not.

In the reigne of *Salomon* (as in tymes of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Fourtie yeeres hee reigned; how many he liued it is not written, and must therefore bee found onely by coniecture. The most likeli way to gueesse at the truth in this case, is by considering the action,

Domini 707. 71. 220. 243. 277. 356. 309. + 171. 418. 411. 452. 3. 1. 9. 504. 514. 520. 535. 616. 724. 687. 480. 519. 526. 78. 6. 24. 9. 011. 637. 1662. 36. 7. 589. 707. 718. 6. 222. 324. 475. 58. 724. 78. 6. 747. 5. 749. 122. 0. 567. 77. 139. 6. 708. 69. 6. 0. 40. 6. 810. 67. 4. 41. 6. 48. 671. 6. 133. 6. 749. 122. 0. 567. 77. 139. 6. 708. 294. 344. 370. 421. 7. 8. 430. 3. 8. 670. 6. 441. 12. 478. 3. 9. 1829. 760. 2. 332. 1013. 1008.

of *David* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby wee may best make estimation of the yeeres which they consumed, and consequently learne the true, or most likely yeere of his natiuitie. Seauen yeeres *David* reigned in *Iehon*: in his eight yeere hee tooke *Ierusalem*, and warred with the *Philistims*, who also troubled him the yere following. The bringing home of the Arke seemes to haue beene in the tenth yere of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leysure, liuing in rest. After this he had warres with the *Philistims*, *Moabites*, *Aramites* and *Edomites*, which must needs haue held him fife yeeres, considered that the *Aramites* of *Damasco* raised warre against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadeser*; and that in euery of these warres, he had the entire victorie. Neither is it likely that these seruices occupied any longer time, because in those daies and places there were no wintering camps in vse, but at conuenient seasons of the yeere, Kings went forth to warre, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing, as maintaining their armies, partly vpon the spoyle of the enemies countrie, partly vpon the priuate prouision which euery souldier made for himselfe. The 17. yeere of *David* in which hee tooke *Mephoboth* the son of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to haue passed away in quiet; and the yeere following to haue begunne the warre with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of summer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for *Iacob* after the victorie, returned immediately to *Ierusalem*) the causes and preparations for that war hauing taken vp all the summer. *Dauids* personall expedition against the *Aramites* wherein hee brought all the tributaries of *Hadadeser* vnder his owne allegiance, appeares manifestly to haue beene the next yeeres worke, wherein he did cut off all meanes of succour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab* and *Idumaea*, being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it must haue beene the 20. yeere of *Dauids* reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth *Ioshabab* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the warre of *Ammon*: wherein also fell out the matter of *Frabs* wife. So one halfe of *Dauids* reigne was very prosperous: in the other halfe he felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heauie iudgement laid vpon him by God, for his foule and bloudie offence.

Now very manifest it is that in the yeere after the death of that childe, which was begotten in adulterie, *Salomon* was borne, who must needs therefore haue beene nineteene yeeres old or thereabout, when hee beganne to reigne at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the 21. yeere of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all fortie.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two yeeres passed ere *Abalom* slew his brother *Amnon*; three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeeres more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seemes to haue beene one yeeres worke. So the rebellion it selfe with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa* and the rest, may well seeme to haue beene in the 30. yeere of *Dauids* reigne.

Whether the three yeeres of famine should be reckoned apart from the last yeeres of warre with the *Philistims* or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to coniecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the tenne remaining yeeres of *David* there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for three yeeres of famine, for four yeeres of warre, and for numbering the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his owne last infirmities, and disposing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it seemes that the warre with the *Philistims*, was but one yeeres worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* neere vnto *Gerar* and the last at *Gath*. This warre the *Philistims* vnderooke, as it seemeth, vpon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *Dauids* old age, for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwards hindered

dered by his men from exposing himselfe vnto danger any more. So *Dauid* had fixe or seuen yeares of rest, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of Warre died (being of his owne age) thereby the stirring spirit of *Adonijah* finding little succour in the broken partie of *Iosh* the sonne of *Zeruias*.

At this time it might both truly be said by *Dauid* to *Salomon*. *Thou art a wise man*, 1 Kings. 3. 12. 9. and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a yong child*; for nineteene yeares of age might well agree with either of these two speeches.

Neuertheless there are some that gather out of *Salomons* professing himselfe a child, that he was but eleuen yeares old when he beganne to raigne. Of these *Rabbi* 10 *Salomon* seemes the first Authour, whom other of great learning and iudgement haue herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps vpon that which is said of *Absholons* rebellion, that it was after fortie yeares, which they vnderstand as yeares of *Dauids* raigne. But whereas *Rehoboam* the sonne of *Salomon* was 41. yeares old when hee beganne to raigne, it would follow hereby that his Father had begotten him, being himselfe but a child of nine or ten yeares old; the difference betweene their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who raigned fortie yeares) were but eleuen yeares old when his raigne began. To auoid this inconuenience, *Iosephus* allows 80. yeares of raigne to *Salomon*; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeede haue in fauour of this opinion construed the 2. Sam. 15. 7. 20 wordes of *Iosephus*, as if they included all the yeares of *Salomons* life. But by such reckoning hee should haue bene 40. yeares old at his Fathers death; and consequently should haue bene borne long before his Father had wonne *Ierusalem*; which is a manifest vnturth. Wherefore the 40. yeares remembered in *Absholons* rebellion, may either seeme to haue reference to the space betweene *Dauids* first annoyntment, and the trouble which God brought vpon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to *Iosephus*, *Theodore*, and the *Latine* translation) foure yeares; which passed betweene the tecture of *Absholon* to *Ierusalem*, and his breaking out.

Þ. V.

Of *Salomons* writings.

Here remaine of *Salomons* workes, the *Prouerbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Salomon*. In the first he teacheth good life and correcteth manners: in the second the vanitie of humane nature, in the third he singeth as it were the *Epithalamion* of *Christ* and his Church. For the Booke intituled the wisdome of *Salomon*, which some giue vnto *Salomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the Authour thereof. Hee come and many others of the best learned make vs thinke it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. Stylus libri sapientia (saith *HIEROME*) qui *SALOMONIS* inscribitur, Græcam redolet eloquentiam; sum. The stile of the booke of wisdome, which is ascribed to *SALOMON*, fauoureth of the Græcian eloquence; and of the same opinion was *S. Augustine*, and yet he confesseth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citi of God, that the Author of that Booke hath a direct fore-telling of the Passion of *Christ* in these wordes. Circumuenimus iustum quoniam insuauis est nobis, &c. Let vs circumuent the righteous for he is vnpleasing to vs, he is contrarie to our doings, he checketh vs for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to haue the knowledge of God, and he calleth himselfe the sonne of the Lord, &c. and so doth the course of all the following wordes point directly at 30 *Christ*. The Bookes of *Ecclesiastes*, *Prouerbs*, and *Cantica Cantorum*, *Rabbi Moses Kimchi* ascribeth to *Isay* the Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graued the same on the sides of the porch of the Temple, which they say *Ezechias* pulled downe, because the people neglecting helpe from God by praier, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Of *Salomons* bookes of Inuocations and Inchantments to cure diseases, and expell euill spirits, *Iosephus* hath written at large, though as I conceiue, rather out of his owne inuention, or from some vncertaine report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliacarus*, who by the roote in *Salomons* ring dispossest diuers persons of euill spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly so strange an example of humane frailty hath neuer been read of as this King: who hauing receiued wisdom from God himselfe, in honour of whom, and for his only seruice, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: hee that was made King of *Israel* and *Judaea*, not by the law of Nature, but by the loue of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giuer of all goodnesse, of which he was more liberrall to this King, than to any that euer the world had. Of whom *Siracides* writeth in this manner. *SALOMON* reigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house in his name, and prepare the Sanctuary for euer; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with vnderstanding, as with a flood! Thy minde covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grace and dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Ile, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c. but thus he concludeth. Thou didst bow thy loynes to Women, and wast over-seene by thy beauty, thou didst flaine thine honour, and hast defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath vpon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly. cap. 27.

p. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of SALOMON.

Eare the beginning of *Salomons* raigne, *Agelau* the third of the *Heracidae* in *Corinth*, *Labotes* in *Lacedemon*; and soone after *Syluius Alba* the fourth of the *Syluij*, swaied those Kingdomes: *Laosthenes* then gouerning *Assyria*: *Agastus* and *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the sixe and twentieth of *Salomons* raigne *Hiram* of *Tyre* died, to whom *Balistrus* succeeded, and reigned seuentene yeares, after *Mercators* accompt, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sonnes. *Iosephus* giues him fewer yeares. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Autolichus* findes *Bozorim* the next after *Hiram*, if there bee not some Kings omitted betwene the death of *Hiram*, and the raigne of *Bozorim*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sefac* or *Shisak* (as our English Geneua termes him) beganne to gouerne in *Egypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sofachis*, *Iosephus*, *Sufac*, *Cedrenus*, *Sufesinus*, *Eusebius* in the columnne of the *Egyptian* Kings *Smendes*, and in that of the *Hebrewes* *Sufac*, *Iosephus* in the eight of his Antiquities reprooueth it as an error in *Herodotus*, that hee ascribeth the acts of *Sufac* to *Sefosiris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might haue done by comparison, accompting *Sefac* another *Sefosiris*, for the great things hee did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sefosiris* I haue spoken already in the storie of the *Egyptian* Princes: only in this hee was reproued that hee caused foure of his captiue Kings to draw his Caroch, when hee was disposed to bee scene, and to ride in triumph: one of which foure, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sefosiris* was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually backe vpon the two fore-most wheeles next him; which *Sefosiris* perceiuing, asked him what hee found worthy the admiration in that motion? to whom the captiue King answered, that in those he beheld the instabilitie of all worldly things; for that both the lowest

lowest part of the wheel was suddainly carried about, and became the highest, and the vponmost part was as suddainly turned downe-ward and vnder all: which when *sefostris* had iudiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like seruitude in the future. Of this *sefostris*, and that he could not be taken for *sefac*, I haue spoken at large in that part of the *Ægyptian* Kings preceding.

CHAP. XIX.

Of SALOMONS Successors vntill the end of
IEHOSAPHAT.

§. I.

Of REHOBOAM his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes;
and IEROBOAMS Idolatrie.



REHOBOAM the Son of Salomon by *Nahaman Ammonitisse*, now fortie years olde, succeeded his Father Salomon, and was annointed at *Siechem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended a while the returne of *Ieroboam* as yet in *Ægypt*, since he fled thither fearing Salomon. After his arrival the people presented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father, *Sie enim firmitus et fore Imperium; si amari mallet quam metui; So should his Empire (saith Iosephus) be more assured if hee desired rather to bee beloued than feared.*

whereof he tooke three daies to deliberate before his answer, of whom therefore it could not be said as of *Dauid*, that he was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe hee knew not how to resolve, so had hee not the iudgement to discern of counsell, which is the very test of wisdom in Princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those graue and aduised men, that serued his Father, who perswaded him by all meanes to satisfy the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and fauourites, not only to continue on the backs of his subjects those burdens which greatly crusht them; but (vaunting fallily of greatness exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in sharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heavier, and more vnsupportable loades on them. But as it appeared by the successe, those yonger aduisors greatly mistooke the nature of flatterie, which without the temper of clemencie is no other than crueltie it selfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to be vsed for the helpe, and not for the harme of subiects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people? and what cordes or fetters haue euer lasted long, but those which haue bene twisted and forged by loue only? His witlesse parasites could well iudge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little aduance *Ieroboams* designs. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achias* of his future aduancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples loue into furie) confirmed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner armed, than elected King of *Israel*: the people crying out what portion haue wee in *Dauid*? wee haue no

2 Sam. 5. 1.

Ezra 1. 10. 60

1 Kings 12. 31.

85

548

702

1 Kings 13.

U. 4.

U. 5.

U. 6.

inheritance in the Sonne of *Israhel*. Now though themselves, even all the Tribes of *Israhel*, had consented to *Dauid's* anointing at *Hebron* the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgot both the bonds of nature, and their due to God; and, as all alienated resolute hearts doe, they serued themselves for the present with impudent excuses. And now over-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hateful to all his Subjects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beate to death with stones. Whereupon the King alighted, got him from *Shechem* with all speed, and recovered *Jerusalem*, where preparing to invade *Israhel*, with an hundred and foure-score thousand chosen men, *Shechem* in the person of God commanding to the contrarie, all was staid for the present. In the meane time *Ieroboam* the new King fortified *Shechem* on this side, and *Penuel* on the other side of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Vnion and exercise of one Religion would also ioyne the peoples hearts againe to the House of *Dauid*; and having in all likelihood also promised the *Egyptians* to follow their Idolatrie: he set vp two Calues of gold for the Children of *Israhel* to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these hee represented thofe Gods, which deliuered them out of *Egypt*: and refusing the seruice of the *Leuites*, hee made Priests fit for such Gods. It mult needs be that by banishing the *Leuites* which serued *Dauid* and *Salomon* through all *Israhel*, *Ieroboam* greatly enriched himselfe: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were given them by *Moses* and *Iesse*, for as it is written. *The Leuites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Iuda, &c.* This irreverent pollicie of *Ieroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatrie that neuer could be rooted out, untill *Israhel* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophetic and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first beganne; but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could make them yield. *Ieroboam* could not bee moued now by the authoritie of *Alia*, who from the Lord had first promised vnto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as hee stretched it ouer the Altar, which also claue a-funder, according to the signe, which the man of God had given by the commandement of God, who againe recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in pollicie to proceede as he had begunne. This impious inuention of *Ieroboam*, who forsooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a moderne Historiā compared with the pollicies of late Ages, obseruing well the practise of his Nation, being an Italian borne. *Sic qui hodie* (saith he) *politus vocantur, & propria commoda, presentisq; utilitates sibi tanquam vltimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promouenda, conseruanda, ampliana nihil non faciendum putant. Si iniuria proximo irroganda, si infamia honestatisq; leges, subuertenda, si religio ipsa persundanda, si deniq; omnia iura diuina, & humana violanda, nihil inuentum, nihil per suu nescq; relinquendum censent, cuncta ruunt, omnia percutiunt, nihil ad ipsos, modò id, quod è re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtruncant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigare non possit Deus; & So they who are now called Politicians, propounding to themselves, as their vltimost end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profit, are wont to allege the case of state forsooth, as the principall point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for aduancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they thinke they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppress their neighbour, to ouerturne all lawes of iustice and honestie, if religion it selfe must goe to wrack, yea if all right of God and Man must be violated, they will tricke alwaies, be it right, be it wrong, they will doe any thing; let all goe to ruine, what care they, so long as they may haue what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.*

Indeed this allegation of *raggione del stato*, did serue as well to vp-hold, as the self it had done to bring in this vile Idolatrie of the ten Tribes. Vpon this ground

20 12
373 109
38 250

204 12
00 11 19 727 6 730 7 756 8 761 5 871 950 436 507 94 688
100 17 20 203 10 9 795

Amasai the Priest of *Bethel*, counsaileth the Prophet *Amos*, not to propheticke at *Bethel*; For (saith he) it is the Kings Court. Vpon this ground euen *Iehu* that had massacred the Priests of *Baal*, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that politique sinne of *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, which made *Israel* to sinne. It was reason of state that perswaded the last famous French King *Henrie* the fourth to change his religion, yet the Protestants whom hee forsooke obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom hee followed murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizor of wise proceeding delude euen those that know the soule face of impietie lurking vnder it, and behold the wretched endes that haue euer followed it; whereof *Iehu* and all the Kings of *Israel* had, and were themselves, very great examples.

§. II.

OF *REHOBAM* his impietie; for which he was punished by *Sesac*: of his end and Contemporaries.



While *Jeroboam* was occupied in setting vp his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side hauing now little hope to recouer the Provinces lost, strengthened the principall places remaining with all endeavour: for he fortified and victualled fiftene Cities of *Iudah* and *Beniamin*: not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only filled himselfe, but withall inuited them to invade *Iudea*; laying perchance before them the incountable riches of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, which might now easily bee had, seeing ten of the twelue Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Iudaans*. So as by those two waies (of late yeares often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of foraine force, *Jeroboam* hoped to settle himselfe in the seate of *Israel*, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatrie in a few yeares after rooted out with all his. *Rehoboam* also hauing, as he thought, by fortifying diuers places assured his estate, forsooke the Law of the liuing God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groues on euerie high Hill, and vnder euerie greene Tree.

And therefore in the fifth yeare of his raigne, *Sesac* or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now King of *Egypt*, and with whom as well *Adad* of *Idumea*, as *Jeroboam*, were familiar and his instruments, entred *Iudea* with twelue thousand Chariots, and three score thousand Horse, besides foote-men, which *Iosephus* numbers at foure hundred thousand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations, *Egyptians*, *Lubaans*, *Succaans*, and *Cushites*. The *Lubaans* were *Lybaans*, the next bordering Region to *Egypt*, on the West side. The *Cushites* were of *Petrea*, and of the *Desert Arabia*, which afterward followed *Zerah* against *Asa* King of *Iuda*. The *Succaans*, according to *Iunius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the *Troglodytes*, mentioned often in *Plinie*, *Ptolomee*, and other Authors. The *Troglodytes* inhabited not farre from the banks of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward about five hundred English mile from the best and Maritimate part of *Egypt*: and therefore I doe not thinke that the *Succaans* or *Succai* were those *Troglodytes*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolomee* calls *Arabes Egyptij* or *Iethiophagi*, which possesse that part of *Egypt* betwene the mountaines called *Alabastrum*, and the red Sea farre nearer *Egypt*, and readier to be leuiued then those remoued *Sauages* of the *Troglodytes*.

With this great and powerfull Armie, *Sesac* invaded *Iudea*, and (besides many other strong Cities) wanne *Ierusalem* it selfe, of which, and of the Temple, and Kings house, he tooke the spoile, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *Dauid* recouered from *Adadzezer*, in the syrian warre: these *Rehoboam* supplied with Targets of brass, which were fit enough to guard a King of his qualitie; whom *Siracides* calleth The foolishnesse of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of *Egypt* claimed the soueraigntie of *Iuda*, and held the *Iewes* as their Tributaries: *Sesac*, as it seemes, rendring vp to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the wordes of God, where promising the deliuerance of *Iuda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them vnder the yoke of *Egypt*, in these wordes. *Neuerthelesse they* (to wit, the *Iudaens*) *shall be his seruants, that is, the seruants of Sesac.*

After this ouerthrow and dishonour *Rehoboam* reigned twelue yeares, and his losses received by *Sesac* notwithstanding, hee continued the warre against *Ieroboam* all his life time. After his death *Ieroboam* gouerned *Israel* foure yeares.

Rehoboam liued 58. yeares, and reigned 17. his storie was written at large by *She-mai* and *Hidden* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan* & the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the thid and fourth *Archontes* or Gouernours for life after *Codrus*, gouerned in *Atheni*. *Abdastrartus* or *Abstrartus*, in *Tyre*. *Dorisibus* the fist of the *Heracidae* in *Sparta* according to *Enschimus* (others make him the sixth) and *Primus* the fourth in *Corinth*. Ouer the *Latines* reigned *Syllus Alba* and *Syllus Arys*, the fourth and fifth of the *Sylngi*.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam* *Abdastrartus* King of *Tyre* was murdered by his Nurses sons, or foster brethern, the elder of which vsurped the Kingdom twelue yeares.

Towards his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrihiades*, beganne to gouerne *Abyria*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Asturtus* the sonne of *Balesturtus* recovered 20 the Kingdom of *Tyre* from the *Phisurpers*.

§. III.

Of the great battaile betweene *Ieroboam* and *Abia*, with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods iudgements.



ABIAH the Sonne of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdome, and his vices. He raised an Armie of foure hundred thousand, with which hee invaded *Ieroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand; both Armies ioyned neare to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Ieroboam* was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the strength of *Israel* broken; for there fell of that side fise hundred thousand, the greatelt ouerthrow that euer was giuen or received of those Nations. *Abiah* being now master of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Ishbanah*, and *Ephraim*, soone after which discomfure, *Ieroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. yeares. *Abiah*, the better to strengthen himselfe, entred into league with *Hefson*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*; as may be gathered out of the 2. of *Chren*. he reigned but three yeares and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet, as some part of his Fathers were.

2. Chron. 16. 23.

Here wee see how it pleased God to punish the finnes of *Salomon* in his Sonne *Rehoboam*: first, by an Idolator and a Traitor: and then by the successor of that *Egyptian*, whose daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he serued God, was by God assured against all and the greatelt neighbouring Kings, and when hee forsooke him, it was torne a-funder by his meanest Vassalls; Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the *Egyptian* *Sesac*. For the sonne *Abiah* was able to leue foure hundred thousand men and with the same number hee ouerthrew eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and slew of them fise hundred thousand, God giuing spirit, courage, and inuention, when and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were exprell, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before, and at the instant deliuered by Prophets; so the same iust God who lieth and gouerneth all things for euer, doeth in these our times giue victorie, courage, and discourage, raise, and throw downe Kinges, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed

in the present: for which reason in these and other the afflictions of *Israel*, alwaies the causes are set downe, that they might be as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *Dauids* time for three yeeres, For *Saul* and his blonde house, &c. And *Dauid* towards his later end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrowes in effect, for *Uriah*. *Salomon* had tenne tribes of twelue torne from his sonne for his idolatric. *Rehoboam* was spoiled of his riches and honour by *Seſac* of *Egypt*, because the people of *Iuda* made images, high places, and groues &c. And because they suffered *Sodomites* in the land. *Ieroboam* was punished in himselfe & his posteritie for the golden *Calues* that he erected. *Ioram* had all his sonnes slaine by the
 10 *Philistims*, and his very bowels torne out of his bodie by an exhorting filx, for murdering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Iezabel* were slaine, the blood of the one, the bodie of the other eaten with dogs: for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same and the like sinnes in all after-times, and in these our daies by the same famine, plagues, warre, losse, vexation, death, sickness, and calamities, howsoever the wise men of the world raise these chloets no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, seeme to them to worke euery alteration that happeneth.

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§ IIII.

Of *Asa* and his contemporaries.

O *Abijah* succeeded *Asa*, who enioyed peace for his first ten yeeres; in which time he established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groues, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his owne mother who was an Idolatresse, but depoling her from her regencie, brake her Idoll, stamp it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities and other places, providing (as prouident Kings doe) for the troubles of war
 30 in the leasure of peace. For not long after hee was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Iudea*, and with such a multitude entred the territorie of *Asa*, as (for any thing that I haue read) were neuer assembled of that Nation either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the *Iudeans* *Zerah* of *Ethiopia* with an host of tenne hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Asa* encountered with an armie of fise hundred and fourescore thousand, leuied out of those two tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* which obeyed him, and with which he ouerthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoile both of their Cities and Campe.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Ethiopian* I haue proued already, and were it but the
 40 length betwene *Ethiopia* and *Iudea*, and the strong flourishing regions of *Egypt* intertinent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to passe through them) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is that these invaders were *Ethiopians*. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were spoiled by the *Iudeans* in following their victorie, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* standeth vpon the torrent of *Beſor*, which *Dauid* pass over when he surprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*, this prouoeth sufficiently that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier towne standing on the vttermoſt South-border of all *Iudea*, from all parts of *Ethiopia* six hundred miles. Also the spoiles which *Asa* tooke, as the
 50 cattell, Camels, and sheepe, whereof he sacrificed fise thousand, shew them to bee *Arabians* adioyning, and not far off, and not vnknowne *Ethiopians*. And if it be objected that these desert countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petrea*, and the Desert which compasse two parts of the holy land, should yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two tribes of the

2 Chron. 14.

2 Chron. 15, 16.

2 Chron. 15, 16.

no more if they were
 15 guides for us

2 Chron. 14, 9.

* In the former booke c. 26
 § 14, item c. 26
 § 10, * 6.

2 Chron. 14.

the twelve, should arme five hundred and foure score thousand. Besides it answereth to the promise of God to Abraham, that these nations should exceed in number, for God spake it of Israel, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelve Princes, &c.

Bascha a King of Israel began to reigne in the third of Asa, and fearing the greatness of Asa after his great victory, entertained Benhadad King of Syria, of the race of Adadnezor, to ioyne with him against Asa; and to the end to block him vp, hee fortified Rama which lieth in the way from Ierusalem towards Samaria.

This warre began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. yeere of Asa his reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that Bascha died in the 26. yeare of Asa, therefore could not Bascha begin this warre in the 35. of Asa his reigne, but in the 35. yeere of the diuision of Iuda and Israel: for so many yeeres it was from the first of Rehoboam, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of Asa. It may seeme strangethat Asa being able to bring into the field an armie of five hundred and foure score thousand good souldiers, did not easily driue away Bascha, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of Abia against Ieroboam, and of Asa himselfe against Zerah being yet fresh in minde, which might well haue emboldened the men of Iuda and as much disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the text, which caused Asa to fight at this time with many. It may be that the employment of so many hundred thousands of hands in the late seruice against Zerah, had caused many mens priuate businesse to lie vnspatched, whereby the people being now intentue to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be vnwilling to stirre against the Israelites, choosing rather to winke at apparent inconuenience, which the building of Rama would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might haue deterred Asa from aduenturing himselfe with the least part of his forces, and committing the successe into the hands of God. Howsoeuer it were, he tooke the treasures remaining in the Temple, with which he waged Benhadad the Syrian again Bascha, whose imployments Benhadad readily accepted, and brake of confederacie with Bascha. For the Israelites were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his inuasion) nor his succcessors after him euer gaue ouer, till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdome. So Benhadad being now entred into Nephthulim without resistance, he spoiled diuers principall cities thereof, and inforced Bascha to quit Rama, and to leaue the same to Asa with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, Benhadad who loued neither partie, being laden with the spoiles of Israel, and the treasures of Iuda, returned to Damascus. After this, when Hanani the Prophet reprehended Asa in that he now relied on the strength of Syria, and did not rest himselfe on the fauour and assistance of God, he not onely caused Hanani to be imprisoned, but hee began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore brooken with the grieuous paines of the gout in his feete, wherewith after he had bene two yeeres continually tormented, he gaue vp the ghost when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

There liued with Asa, Agellash the sixth of the Heraclidae, and Basia the fift King of the same race in Corinth, of whom his succcessors were afterward called Basidae. Asartus and Asarimus were Kings in Tyre. Asarimus tooke reuenge on his brother Phelletes, for the murder of Ithobalus priest of the goddesse Ashtar, whom Solomon in dotage worshipped. Atys and Cappsus ruled the Latines. Pyrrhades and Ophrateus the Assyrians: Terisappus and Phorbus the Athenians: Chemmis reigned in Egypt who dying in the 36. yeere of Asa, left Cheops his succcessor that reigned fiftie six yeeres, euen to the 16. of Iouis.

d. V.

of the great alteration falling out in the Ten Tribes during the
raigne of A s a.

IN the raigne of *A s a*, the Kingdome of *Israel* felt great and violent commotions, which might haue reduced the ten Tribes vnto their former allegiance to the house of *Dauid*, if the wilddome of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of *Ieroboam* had, in his latter dayes, the sentence of heauie vengeance laied vpon it, by the mouth of *Aias*, the same Prophet which had foretold the diuision of *Israel*, for the sinne of *Salomon*, and his raigne ouer the ten Tribes. One sonne *Ieroboam* had among others, in whom only God found so much pietie, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Familie) it procured vnto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimonie of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death; and (wherein hee was most happie) the fauourable approbation of God himselfe.

After the losse of this good sonne, the vngodly father was soone taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile vnthankfulnessse to God, that he durst not suffer his owne name to be vsed in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging ouer him and his, yea of Gods extreme hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idolls that wrought his confusion. So loath hee was to forsake his worldly wisedome, when the world was ready to forsake him, and as belonging to him, his hateful memorie excepted.

Nadab the sonne of *Ieroboam*, raigned in the second and third yeares of *A s a*, which are reckoned as two yeares, though indeede his fathers last yeare of two and twentie did runne along (how farre is vncertaine) with the second of *A s a*, whose third yeare was the first of *Bascha*; so that perhaps this *Nadab* injoyed not his Kingdome one whole yeare. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seemes that he little feared the judgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that was secure of his owne estate, hee armed all *Israel* against the *Philistims*, and belieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill successe, and recalled to minde their grievous losse of five hundred thousand vnder *Ieroboam*, counting it an vnlackie familie to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, hee exasperated them) slaine he was by *Bascha*, whom the Armie did willingly accept for King in his stead. *Bascha* was no sooner proclaimed King, than hee began to take order with the house of *Ieroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercie, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of Gods will to haue it so, it is euident, by his continuing in the same forme of Idolatrie which *Ieroboam* had begunne. Wherefore hee receiued the same sentence from God that had beene laied vpon *Ieroboam*; which was executed vpon him also in the same sort. Hee beganne to infect *A s a*, by fortifying *Ramab*; but was diuerted from thence by the Syrian *Benhadad*, who did waste his Countrey, destroying all the Land of *Nephthulim*. Foure and twentie yeares hee raigned: and then dying, left the Crowne to *Ela* his sonne; who enioyed it, as *Nadab* the sonne of *Ieroboam* had done, two yeares current, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Armie against *Gibbethon*, the same Towne of the *Philistims*, before which *Nadab* the sonne of *Ieroboam* perished; but hee fate at home the whilst, feasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby hee gaue such aduantage against himselfe, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remayning with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Bascha* had found, by doing as *Bascha* had done. Wherefore hee did set vp-

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2. King. 16. 19.

on Elai in his drunkennesse, and flue him. Presently vpon which fact, he stiled himself King of *Israel*: and began his reigne with massacring all the house of *Basbas*; extending his crueltie not only to his children, and kinsfolke, but vnto all his friends in *Tirsa*. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcomed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in steade of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of *Gibbethon*) presented themselves before *Tirsa*; which in short space they may seeme to haue forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the Citie, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling alieue into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace: consuming it and himselfe together to ashes. Seven dayes he is said to haue reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Campe. For *Zimri* was also an Idolater, *Walking in the way of IEROBAM*; and therefore is likly to haue had more time wherein to declare himselfe, than the reigne of seven dayes, and those consumed partly in murdering the friends of *Basbas*, partly in seeking to haue defended his owne life. After the death of *Eli*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seeme, that *Zimri* had made his partie strong, as being able to set vp a new head, who doubtlesse would neuer haue appeared, if there had not bene readie to his hand, some strength, not vnlily to resist and vanquish the Armie which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out; I doe not finde; only it appears that his side was decayed, and so he died, leauing no other Successor than his concurrent.

§. VI.

A conjecture of the causes hindring the reuinion of *Israel* with *Juda*, which might haue bene effected by these troubles.



Any man that shall consider the state of *Israel*, in those times, may justly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered vnder these vnfortunate Princes, and with the present ciuill warres, did not returne to their ancient Kings, and reuinite themselves with the mightie Tribes of *Juda* and *Beniamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose, the one to endure a desperate necessitie of yelding, or burning himselfe, the other to languish away, a man forsaken: than to haue recourse vnto a remedie, so sure, so readie, and so honourable. To say that God was pleased to haue it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the cause of all things) vnlesse it could be proued, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deale in that businesse, as he forbade *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God vpon *Rehoboam*, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the Warre continued betwene *Israel* and *Juda*, so many yeares following: wherein *Abia* so farre prevailed, that he wanne a great battaile, and recovered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his owne Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly looke into the second causes, mouing the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing vnder new vsplurts, rather than to call their eyes vpon that Royall house of *Dauid*, from which the succession of five Kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly haue bene laid vpon the meane beginnings thereof: To thinke that *Omri* had preuented his Competitors, in making peace with *Asa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not only an Idolater, but did worse than all that were before him, which as it might serue alone to proue, that *Asa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which hee professed to take at the very first, of reuenging the massacre committed vpon the

2. King. 16. 25.

the familie and friends of *Bashta*, (*Asa* his mortall enemy) gives manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more iustly than he haue expected the friendship of *Iuda* in that quarrell. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardness in the ten tribes (which was such that they may seeme to haue neuer thought vpon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Prince; it were not amisse to examine the causes, moouing the people to reuenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the sonne of *Ieroboam*, who followed the warres in person, as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparant, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if wee looke vpon humane reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heauie yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their desire was to haue a King that should not oppress them, not to haue no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately chosse *Ieroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that libertie vnto them, for which hee had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it seemes) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularitie appeares in his building of decayed towncs, and in the institution of his new deuised idolatry; where he tolde the people, that it was too much for them, to trauaile so farre as to *Ierusalem*. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntarie, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reigne, and in the reigne of his sonne, when long time of possession had confirmed his title; which at the first was onely good by couretie of the people or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a King that he still retained in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is clearely apparant, that the whole armie of all *Israel* ioyned with *Bashta*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Ieroboams* house.

Now the reigne of *Bashta* himselfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) euery way vnfortunate; his labour and cost at *Rama* was cast away; the other side of his Kingdome harried by the *Syrians*; neither did hee winne that one towne of *Gibbethon* from the *Philistims*, but left that businesse to his sonne, who likewise appears an vnprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the fauour of the people toward the house of *Bashta* grew from his good forme of Ciuill government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Ieroboam* euer meant to doe. And surely he that shall take paines to looke into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the Kings of *Israel* and *Iuda*; in administration of iustice, will finde it most probable, that vpon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so aduersely from the line of *Dauid*; as to thinke all aduersitie more tollerable, than the weightie Scepter of that house. For the death of *Iab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them defruded; yet in that they suffered it without forme of iudgement, they suffered like vnto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without iudgement, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings ialousie: out of which by the same rule of arbitrarie iustice (vnder which it may be supposed that many were cast away) he would haue slain *Ieroboam* (if hee could haue caught him) before he had yet committed any offence, as appeares by his confident returne out of *Egypt*, like one that was knowne to haue endured wrong hauing not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Iehoram* did vpon his brethren, and vpon sundry of his greatest men; as also *Iasbi* did so put to death *Zachariah*, the sonne of *Iehoiada*, who had made him King, *even in the court of the house of the Lord*: and *MANASES* did shed innocent blood exceeding much, till he replenished *Ierusalem* from corner to corner: and this was imputed to him as another fault, besides his sinne, wherewith hee made *Iuda* to sinne. Contrariwise, among the kings of *Israel* we finde no monument of such arbitrarie proceeding, vnlesse perhaps the words of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance,

not sufficient to
justify the punishment
of the king

2. King. 11. 16.

2 King 6. 31.

instance, when he said, *God doe so to mee, and more also, if the head of ELISHA the sonne of SHAPHAT shall stand on him this day*: whereby it is not plaine whether hee meant to kill him without more ado, or to haue him condemned as a false prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Aramites*, till they were faine to eate their owne children, which he thought a sufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpose to deliuer them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the libertie which the *Israelites* enjoyed, than any peremptorie execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not feare to stand vpon his owne right, though *Ahab* were euen sicke for anger, neither was hee for that cause put to death, as vpon commandement, but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a iudiciall forme, to which might giue satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the deuile, though to God it could not.

2 King 19. 10.

The murder of the Prophets is continually ascribed to *Iezabel*, an impudent woman, and not vnto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made, whereby their liues were taken from them; but certaine it is that the people, being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the kings of *Juda* (such as are registered) proue them to haue vsed a more absolute manner of command, than the Kings of the tenne Tribes. Neither doe their sufferings witnesse the contrarie. For of those which reigned ouer *Juda*, from the diuision of the kingdom, to the captiuitie of the ten tribes, three were slaine by the people, and two were denied a place of buriall amongst their auncettors. Yea, the death of *Ahazias* and his brethren, slaine by *Iehu*, with the destruction of all the royall seed by *Athalia*, did not (for ought that wee can reade) stirre vp in the people any such thirst of reuenge, as might by the sodainesse and vniormitie testifie the affection to be general, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes; vnlesse we should thinke that the death of *Athalia*, after seauen yeeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memorie of her ill purchasing, than by the present fence of her tyrannicall abusing the gouernment, whereon she had seized. On the other side, such of the kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seauen of the twentie) were all slaine by conspiracie of the great men, who aspired by treason to the Crowne: the people being so fauie from embroiling their hands in the blood of their Soueraignes that (after *Nadab*) they did neuer forbear to reuenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approoue the good successe of treason, vnlesse teare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being thoroughly reuenged vpon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharias*, vpon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traitercouly got and vsurped, for a little while, their places; onely three of the seauen remaine, whose ends how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeed it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Ahabs* children by *Iehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because they were exceedingly afraid: and the same teare might be in them at the death of *Pekah*, whose historie (as others of that time) is curiously passed ouer. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that neuer any of them perished by furie of the people, but by treason of such as did succed them, neither was there any motiue vrging so forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in prison, as feare lest the people should stirre in their quarrell. And certainly (howsoeuer all that the law calls treason, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which haue here most preuailed, the furie of the multitude hath quenched it selfe, with the blood of some great Officers; no such rebellions, howsoeuer wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their naturall Soueraine, but rather forbearing the aduantages gotten vpon his royall person: which if any man impute vnto grosse ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truly, ascribe to a reuerent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who, being loosened by *Pallast*, did with his hundred hands giue assistance to *Iupiter*, when

all the rest of the Gods conspired against him, is very fully expounded by Sir Francis Bacon, as signifying, that Monarches need not to feare any courbing of their abolluness by mightie subiects, as long as by wisdom they keepe the hearts of the people, who will bee sure to come in on their side. Though indeed the Story might very well haue borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by Homer, who tells vs that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracie, and that *Theseus* alone did mayne all their practise, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good forme of government sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without assistance of a laborious Wit, but euen against all deuises of the greatest and shrewdest politicians: e-
 10 very Sherife and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any ouer-weening rebell how mightie Iocuer, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples loue, being seldom found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it selfe of government there was such, as neither gaue occasion of contentment vnto the subiects, nor of confidence in their good affection, to the Kings. Vpon which reasons it may seeme that the multitude was kept vniually disarmed. For otherwile it would haue bene almost impossible, that *Abthalia* the sister of *Abah*, a stranger to the royall blood of *Juda*, should by the onely authoritie of a Quene mother haue destroyed all the seede of *Dauid*, and vsurped the King:
 20 dom very neere seuen yeres without finding anie resistance. Yea when *Iehoiada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captains & principal men of the land to set vp *Iosaph* their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected, he was faine to giue to these Captaines and their men, the speares and the shields that were King *DAVIDS*, and were in the house of the Lord. But wee need not enter into such particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their dutie toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admision, holding the Crowne by a more vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the tenne tribes did neuer seeke to
 30 retorne to their auncient Lords: but after the destruction of their fixe first Kings, which died in the reigne of *Asa*, admitted a sauenth of a new family, rather than they would subiect themselves, with those of *Juda* and *Beniamin*, vnder a more honourable, but more heauie yoke.

So, *Asa* hauing seen the death of seauen kings of *Israel*, died him selfe after one and fourtie yeres reigne, leaving *Iehosaphat* his sonne to deale with *Abah* the son of *Omri*, who was the eight king ouer the tenne tribes.

§. VII.

Of IEHOSAPHAT and his contemporaries.



IEHOSAPHAT, who succeeded *Asa*, was a Prince religious and happie; hee destroyed all the groues, altars, and high places dedicated to idolatrie, and sent searchers to all places and people wanting instruction; hee recovered the Tribute due vnto him by the *Arabians* and *Philistims*: from the one hee had silver, from the other sheepe and goates to the number of fiftene thousand
 10 and foure hundred: The numbers of his men of warre were more than admirable: for it is written that *Adash* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Iehoshanani* of two hundred and fourecore thousand, and *Amasa* of two hundred thousand; also that hee had, besides these, in *Beniamin* of those that bare shields, which wee call *Targetiers*, and of Archers vnder *Eliada*

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two hundred thousand, and vnder the commaundement of *Iehozabab* a hundred and foure score thousand: which numbred together, make eleuen hundred and sixtie thousand, all which are said to haue waited vpon the King, besides his garrisons.

That *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, a territorie not much exceeding the Countie of *Kent*, should muster eleuen hundred and sixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. *Ioshin* *Dauid* time found five hundred thousand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and foure score thousand: *Abia* foure hundred and eight thousand: *Asa* five hundred and foure score thousand: *Amaziah* inrolled all that could beare armes, and they amounted to three hundred thousand: *Azariah* three hundred and seuen thousand and five hundred. Surely, whereas it is written that when newes was brought to *Iehosaphat* that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his territorie to the west of *Jordan*, and that there numbers were manie, hee feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that hee would haue feared euen the armie of *Xerxes*; if hee could haue brought into the field eleuen hundred and three score thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selfe to better iudgement) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the seauenteenth, distributed to seuerall leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thousand vnder *Adnah*, & the two hundred and foure score thousand vnder *Iehoshanah*, were afterward commaunded and mustred by *Amaziah*, *Eliada*, and *Iehozabab*: for the grosse and total is not in that place set downe, as it was vnder the other Kings formerly named. Again as the aydes which *Iehosaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not leue that he was a Prince of extraordinarie power, so the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which hee feared could neuer make the one halfe of those numbers, which hee that commaunded least among *Iehosaphats* leaders had vnder him.

This mightie Prince notwithstanding his greatnes, yet he ioynd in friendship with *Ahab* King of *Israel*, who had married that wicked woman *Iezabel*. Him *Iosaphat* visited at *Semaria*, and caused his sonne *Ioram* to marrie *Athalia*, this *Achab* 30 daughter.

Ahab perswaded *Iosaphat* to assist him in the warre against the *Syrians*, who held the Citie of *Ramoth* *Gilead* from him, and called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or *Basiliters* to foretell the successe: who promised him victorie. But *Iehosaphat* beleueed nothing at all in those diuiners, but resolu'd first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Hereupon *Achab* made answer that hee had one called *Micahiah*, but hee hated that Prophet, because hee alwaies foretolde of euill, and neuer of any good towards him. Yet sent for *Micahiah* was to the King, but by the way the messenger praied him to consent with the rest of the Prophets: and to promise victorie vnto them as they did. But *Micahiah* spakethe truth, and repeated his vision to both Kings, which was that God asked who should perswade *Ahab*, that hee may goe up and fall at *Ramoth* *Gilead*? to whom a spirit that rood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his prophets, and bee in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ: *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis*. It is not you that speake, but the spirit of your father speaks in you: so in a contrarie kinde did the deuill in the prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, incourage *Achab* to his destruction. And as *P. Martin* vpon this place well obserueth, these euill spirits are the ministers of Gods vengeance, and are vsed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime employ. For as it pleaseeth God by his good Angels, to saue and deliuer from destruction of which the Scriptures haue many examples: so on the contrarie, it is by the euill that he punisheth and destroyeth, both which are said to performe the wil of their Creator, *sicet non eodem animo*. Ecclesiasticus remembreth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are euery where vilible. There are spi- 30 rits,

rites, faith hee, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure strokes. In the time of destruction they shew tooth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Aschazus* having by this his revelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose spirit hee discovered, was strooken by *Zachab* one of *Asch* prophets, and by *Aschub* himselfe committed to prison: where he appointed him to be refused and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Meleah*, not tanning to reply, answered, *If thou returne in peace the Lord hath not spoken by me*. Nevertheless *Aschub* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. 10 *Ishophat* returned to *Ierusalem*, where hee was reprehended by *Iehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Arames* or *Damascenes*, joyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumeans* to invade *Juda*: who passe *Jordan*, and encampe at *Engaddi*, and when *Ishophat* gathered his armie, the Prophet *Ishaziel* foretold him of the victorie, which should bee obtained without any blood-shed of his part: and so when *Ishophat* approached, this assembly of nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, disagreeing with the *Idumeans*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves: those of *Ammon* and *Moab* set upon the *Idumeans*, and brake them utterly, which done they also invaded each other; in which broile *Ishophat* arriving tooke the spoile of 20 them all without any losse of his part, as it was foretold and promised by God. Notwithstanding this victorie, *Ishophat* forgetting that hee was formerly reprehended for assisting an Idolatrous King, did notwithstanding joyned with *Gehazias*, the sonne of *Aschub*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like returne which *Salomon* had: but as *Elezor* the Prophet foretold him, his shippes perished and were broken in the port of *Ezion Giber*, and so that enterprize was overthrowne.

Yet he taketh part with *Iehoram* the brother of *Gehazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* the *Edomites* joyned their forces, not forgetting, it seems, that the *Moabites*, assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their armie.

The *Moabites*, subjects to *David* and *Salomon*, forsaking the Kings of *Juda*, gave themselves for vassals to *Ierobam*, and so they continued to his successors till the death of *Aschub*: but *Ishophat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth, he was drawne into this warre both to bee avenge of the *Moabites* for their desertion from *Juda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately joyned themselves with the *Syrians* against *Ishophat*, and thirdly to punish their double rebellion who first forsooke *Juda* and now *Israel*.

Both Kings resolved to passe by the way of *Idumea*, thereby the better to assure that nation, for wee finde that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* against *Ishophat*. But whether they had then declared themselves against *Ishophat*, it is not certaine, for in the 2. of *Chron.* 11. vers. 8. it is written that in the time of *Iehoram*, the sonne of *Ishophat*, *Edom* rebelled, and therefore it seemeth to mee that the *Edomites*, when they were slain: by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, and to joyned themselves with the armie of *Juda*. For that they were numbered among the enemies of *Ishophat* it is plain in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plaine c. 2. v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Ishophat*'s death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the yeere, or whether the *Idumeans* having a purpose to rebell misse the armie of *Juda* and *Israel* with intent to infecte them for want of water, true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Cressus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had, in all likelihood, verily perished, had not *Elshaz* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water sprang, by which not onely *Ishophat* and his armie, but

Iehoram King of *Israel* an Idolator was relieued: the great mercie and goodnesse of God, hauing euer bene prone to faue the euill for the good, whercas hee neuer destroyed the good for the euill.

2 K^{ing}. 3.71+
2 Chron. 28.Exch^{acter}. 3rd.
31st ^{proph^{et}}

The miserable issue of this warre, and how *Masab* burnt his sonne, or the sonne of the King of *Edom*, for sacrifice on the rampire of his owne Citie, I haue already written in the life of *Iehoram* among the Kings of *Israel*. *Iehosaphat* reigned twentie five yeeres and died, he was buried in the valley of *Iehosaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* let ouer his graue is yet to be seene, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Iehu* the sonne of *Hanani*.

There liued with *Iehosaphat*, *Ophrasenes* in *Assiria*, *Capetus* and *Tiberinus* Kings of the *Abans* in *Italie*; of the latter the riuer *Tiber* (formerly *Albulæ*) tooke name.

In *Iehosaphats* time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mecades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Agessilus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilauus* of the same race, of the *Heracleide* the seauenth in *Lacedæmon*. *Badesorus* ruled the *Tyrrians*; *Aschab*, *Oebazias* and *Iehoram* the *Israhelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of IEHORAM the sonne of IEHOSAPHAT,
and ABASIA.

§. I.

That IEHORAM was made King sundry times.

2 K^{ing}. 23. v. 51.2 K^{ing}. 1. 1. 7.2 K^{ing}. 3. 10. 1.
and 9.2 K^{ing}. 8. 16.2 K^{ing}. 22. 42.

IEHORAM the sonne of *Iehosaphat* King of *Juda* began to reigne at thirtie two yeeres of age, and liued vntill hee was fourtie yeeres olde, being eight yeeres a King: but of these eight yeeres, which *Iehoram* is said to haue reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* warre with *Abab*, left this *Iehoram* King in his stead, as *Abab* did his sonne *Abazia*. This appeares by the seuerall beginnings, which are giuen in Scripture to the two *Iehorams* kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, and to *Abazia* the eldest sonne of *Abab*. For *Abazia* is said to haue begunne his reigne, in the seauenteenth yere of *Iehosaphat*, *Iehoram* the brother of *Abazia* succceeded him in the second yere of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Iehosaphat* King of *Juda*, that is in the next yere after that *Iehoram* of *Juda* was designed king by his father; it being (as wee finde elswhere) the eighteenth yere of *Iehosaphat* himselfe, who went with the *Israhelites* against *Masab*. Herby it appeares that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still by *Iehosaphat*, who gouerned absolutely by himselfe, not communicating the rule with his sonne. But in the fifth yere of *Iehoram* King of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Iehosaphat*, the olde king tooke vnto him, as partner in the Government, this his eldest sonne, who was at that time thirtie two yeeres olde, his father being fiftie seauen. Now forasmuch as *Iehosaphat* reigned twentie five yeeres, it is euident that his sonne did not reigne alone till the eighth of *Iehoram* King of *Israel*. The like regard is to be

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had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, who did not alwaies reigne precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seeme at first to affirme: but their yeeres were sometimes compleat, sometimes onely current, sometimes confounded with the yeeres of their successors or foregoers, and mult therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing lesse needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons mouing *Iehosaphat* either to allume vnto him his sonne as partner in the Kingdome, whilst hee was able himselte to commaund both in peace and in warre, the like hauing neuer bene done by any of his progenitors, or hauing once (in the seauenteenth of his reigne) vouchsafed vnto him that honour, to resume it vnto himselte, or at least-wile to deferre the confirmation of it, vntill fower or fife yeeres were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may bee a meane to hide some light, whereby wee may more clearly discouer the causes of much extraordinarye businesse ensuing, I hold it not amisse to make such coniecture, as the circumstances of the *Storie* briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to approue.

Wee are therefore to consider, that this King *Iehosaphat* was the first of *Reboboams* issue that euer entred into any freight league with the Kings of the tenne Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much labour and long warre, tired themselves in vaine, making small profite of the greatest advantages that could bee wished. Wherefore *Iehosaphat* thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensiu and defensiu betweene *Israel* and *Juda*, whereby each might enioy their owne in quiet.

This confederacie made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Lord, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true roote and fountaine of all wisdom: yet as a peece of sound policie, doubtlesse it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutuall fortification of both those kingdomes, against the vncircumcised nations their ancient enemies. This apparant benefit, being so inestimable a iewel that it might not easily bee lost, but continue as hereditarie from father to sonne, it was thought a very good course to haue it confirmed by some sure bond of affinitie, and thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omri* and sister of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, giuen in marriage to *Iehoram*, who was sonne and heire apparant to the King of *Juda*. This Ladie was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of *Queene Iezabel* her brothers wife; that shee durst vndertake, and could thoroughly performe a great deale more in *Jerusalem*, than the other knew how to compasse in *Samaria*. Shee was indeede a fire-brand, ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Juda*, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the Syrian warre at *Ramah* *Gilead*, wherein *Juda* and *Israel* did aduenture equally, but the profit of the victorie should haue redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes verie seldome thrice by matching with Idolators, but rather serue the turnes of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himselte, cannot be well affected to his seruants. Before their setting forth *Ahab* deligned, as King, his sonne *Ahazias*, not so much perhaps in regard of the vncertaine euents of warre (for none of his predecessors had euer done the like vpon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Micheia* (for he despised them) as inuiting *Iehosaphat* by his owne example, to take the same course, wherein he preuailed.

§. II.

Probable coniectures of the motives inducing the old King IEROSAPHAT to change his purpose often, in making his sonne IERORAM King.

Manie arguments doe verie strongly proue *Iehoram* to haue bene wholly ouer-ruled by his wife, especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly auncelors, and following the abhominable superstitions of the house of *Ahab*.

That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to liue a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter shee was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and unworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten vpon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not vpon base women and meere subiects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained against the *Syrian Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man thinke highly of himselfe, as being allied so honorably; who could otherwise haue found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparent to the Crowne, whereof already hee had, in a manner, the possession.

How soone his vices brake out, or how long hee dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Iehosaphat* about the same time, argue no small dislemper of the whole country, through the misgovernment of his vngodly sonne. For the good old King was faine to make his progresse round about the land, reclaiming the people vnto the seruice of God, and appointing Iudges throughout all the strong Cities of *Iuda* Citie by Citie. This had bin a needlesse labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Iustice bene perverted, by the power of such as had borne authoritie. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did giue to the Iudges; and by his commission giuen to one of the priestes in spirituall causes, and to the steward of his house in temporall matters, to be generall ouerscers.

This was not till after the death of *Ahaziah* the sonne of *Ahab*; but how long after it is vncertaine. For *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahaziah* beganne his reigne (as hath bene already noted) in the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Iehoram*, *Iehosaphats* sonne, though afterward this *Iehoram* of *Iuda* had another first and second yeere, even in his fathers time, before hee reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So hee continued in private estate, vntill the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignitie are not set downe, yet wee may not thinke, that motives thereto, appearing substantially, were wanting. *Iehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondencie with *Iehosaphat* that his father had done; and made vse of it. Hee drew the *Iudeans* into the warre of *Moab*, at which time it might well bee, that the young Prince of *Iuda* was againe ordained King by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition hee had bene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enterprise against *Moab* did not occupie so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, in which yeere that nation rebelled against *Israel*, vnto his two and twentieth; yet the daile negotiations betwene the two Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*, and the affinitie betwene them contracted in the person of *Iehoram*, might

2. Chron. 19. 1-4.
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might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certaine how the behaviour of the younger sonnes, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession, for feare of tumult after his death; or the deepe dissimulation, of *Iehoram* himselfe, might winne the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing vsuall in mischievous fell natures, to be as abiect and seruile in time of aduerlity, as insolent and bloudy vpon aduantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himselfe in such wise towards his brethren as caused their father to enable them, not only with store of silver, and of gold, and of precious things, (which kinde of liberalitie other Kings doubtlesse had vsed vnto their younger sonnes) but with the custodie of strong Cities in *Iuda*, to assure them, if it might haue bene, by vnwonted meanes, against vnwonted perills.

2. Chron. 21. 13.

§. III.

The doings of Iehoram when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Iehona.

20 **B**Ut all this prouidence auailed nothing; for an higher prouidence had otherwise determined of the sequell. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the younger sonnes of *Iehosaphat* found strong Cities, a weake defence, against the power of him to whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the summons of the King their brother, then had he them without more adoe; if they stood vpon their guard, then were they Traitors, and so vnable to hold out against him, who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the *Israelitish* Kingdom against them, so that the apparent likelihood of their finall ouerthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoeuer it was, they were all taken and slaine, and with them for companie many great men of the Land; such belike, as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant fought their liues, or had bene appointed Rulers of the Countrie, when *Iehoram* was deposed from his Gouernment, in which Office they, without forbearing to doe iustice, could hardly auoide the doing of many things, derogatorie to their yong Master, which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then King, who durst say the contrarie?

After this, *Iehoram* tooke vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innovations in religion; wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to giue way and safe conduct vnto superstition and idolatrie, nor to prouoke and encourage the people to that sinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much addicted, hauing such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that abone all other sinnes; but he vsed compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registered, to haue set vp irreligion by force.

Whilst hee was thus busied at home, in doing what hee listed, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and hauing hitherto, since *Davids* time, bene gouerned by a *Pieroy*, did now make vnto themselves a King. Against these *Iehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which hee obtained victorie in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of aduantage, wherof hee forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that hee had gotten in beating and killing some of those, whom he should haue subdued, and kept his seruants. Now beganne the propheticie 30 of *Isaie* to take effect, wherein he fore-told, that *Esaie* in procelle of time should breake the yoke of *Israhel*. For after this the *Edomites* could neuer be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Iuda*, but held their owne so well, that when, after many ciuill and forraine warres, the *Iewes* by sundrie Nations had bene brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his Sonne, and others of that race following them, became

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came Lords of the *Jewes*, in the decrepitage of *Israel*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jerusalem* it selfe.

Libna, a great Citie within *Juda*, which in the time of *Isaia* had a peculiar King, to rebell against *Iehoram*, and set it selfe at libertie. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Beniamin* and of *Dan*, farre from the assistance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore so unlikely it was to haue maintained it selfe in libertie, that it may seeme strange how it could escape from vtter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to haue bene taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and thoroughly incensed Lord. The *Israelite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*,¹⁰ that he would not haue accepted the Towne, had it offered it selfe vnto him: neither doe we reade that it sought how to cast it selfe into a new subiection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against *Iehoram*, was, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to haue not only bene the first and remote cause, but euen the next and immediate reason, mouing the inhabitants to doe as they did: For it was a Towne of the *Leuites*: who must needs be driuen into great extremities, when a religion contrarie to Gods law, had not only some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsiue authoritie to force vnto it all that were vnwilling. As for the vse of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (which being deuout men they might feare to loose by this rebellion) it was neuer denied to those of the ten reuolted Tribes by any of the religious Kings, who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gaue them kinde entertainment: vnder Idolaters they must haue bene without it whether they liued free or in subiection. Yet it seemes that priuate reasons were not wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than to suffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembred, wherein *Iehosaphat* reformed his Kingdome, the good old King appointing new Governours, and giuing them especial charge to doe iustice without respect of persons, vsed these wordes: The *Leuites* shall be Officers before you; Be of good courage and doe it, and the Lord shall be with the good. By these phrased, it seemes, that hee encouraged them against the more powerfull, than iust proceedings of his sonne; whom if the *Leuites* did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect, in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be euen with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heauie indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea that it was not (for ought that wee can reade) so much as besieged or molested, may iustly seeme very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mightie Armies which *Iehosaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to haue ouerwhelmed any one Towne, and buried it vnder the earth, which they might in one moneth haue cast into it with shouells, by ordinarie approaches.

But it seemes that of these great numbers which his father could haue leued,⁴⁰ there were not many whom *Iehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps hee thought it an easier losse, to let one Towne goe, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to be feared, than to be loved; are faine themselves to stand in feare of those, by whom they might haue bene dreadfull vnto others.

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§. IIII. 50

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of the miseries falling upon IEROM, and of his death.



These afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the minde of the wicked Prince a prophetic in writing was delivered vnto him, which threatened both his people, his children, his wiues, and his owne body. Hereby likewise it appears that hee was a cruell Persecutor of Gods seruants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his Predecessors, both good and euill Kings, but were faine to denounce Gods iudgements against him by letters, keeping themselves close and farre from him. This Epistle is said to haue bene sent vnto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, euen in the daies of *Iehosaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophetic in writing behinde him, or that (as some conclude) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we reade *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeece any thing may rather bee beleened than the Tradition held by some of the Jewish Rabbins, that *Elias* from heauen did send this Epistle, a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deuised by *Erasmus*, or of the Vereth that was sent from heauen to St. Giles.

But who soeuer was the Author of this threatening Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophetic was as terrible, as the sentence. For the *Philistims* and *Arabians* brake into *Iudea*, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wiues, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These *Philistims* had not presumed since the time of *Dauid*, to make any offensive warr till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small Territorie, by defensive armes, to which they were constrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to haue bene then as they are now, a naked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their Countrey affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to robbe and spoile in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities such as were thick set in *Iuda*. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must be considered; that this was when they had leamed of the *Romanes* the art of Warr; and that the provisions which they found, together with the arts which they leamed, in one subdued Prouince, did make them able and skillfull in pursuing their conquest, and going onward in to Regions farre removed from them. At this day hauing lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as liue in *Arabia* selfe are good horsemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to passengers, but vnable to deale with good Souldiers, as riding stark naked, and rather trauelling in the swiftness of their horses, than in any other meanes of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seeme to haue bene, that spoiled *Iudea* in the time of *Iehoram*. For their Countrey was alwaies barren and desert, wanting manuell arts whereby to supply the naturalls with furniture: neither are these bands named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistims*. Out of this we may inferre, that one halfe, yea or one quarter of the numbers found in the least number of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* vnder *Iehosaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eightie thousand fighting men) had bene enough to haue driven away farre greater forces than these enemies are likely to haue brought into the field, had not the people bene vnable to deale with them, for lacke of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes idouise, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the *Philistims*.

It may seeme that the house of the King which these inuaders tooke, was not his

his Palace in *Jerusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Countrey, where his wiues and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we read not that they did sacke the Citie, or spoile the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they tooke *Jerusalem* it selfe by surpris, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guards too weake to keepe them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous; and therefore hauing done what spoile they could, with-drew them selues with such purchase as they were able safely to conueigh away.

The slaughter committed by *Iehu* vpon the two and fortie Brethren of *Ahabias*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his Brothers Sonnes, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall seede perished (only *Ioram* excepted) vnder the tyrannic of *Athalia*, following within two yeares after this inuasion of the *Philistines*, and *Arabians*, make it seeme probable, that the sonnes of *Iehoram* were not all slaine at once, but that rather the first murder beganne in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heauie blowes, where with his house was incessantly stricken, vntill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, smiting him with a grievous discale in his bowels, which left him not vntill his guts fell out, and his wretched soule departed from his miserable carcase. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of *Iuda*, though his owne sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had bene his Fathers euill Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous entering of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to prouide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatness, to retaine her fauourites in their authority, and to place about her Some such Counsellors, of the house of *Ahab*, as were fittest for her turne. Wherefore these thought it vnreasonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eies, with a stately funnell of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed bee laid vpon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her selfe, and hers, which it now did concerne her to auoid. Such is the qualitie of wicked instigators, hauing made greedie vse of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his owne vices, but with their faults also, the man whose euill inclinations their sinister counsailes haue made worse, when once he is gone and can profit them no longer. The death of *Iehoram* fell out indeede in a busie time; when his friend and coile the *Israelite*, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the *Aramite*; and therefore could haue had no better leisure to helpe *Athalia* in setting of things according to her owne minde, than he had (perhaps through the same hindrance) to helpe her husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistines*. Yet rather he needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Iuda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly runne thither againe, vnlesse they were very fauorably intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I haue thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumstances remembered in holy Scripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, inuaguing the revealed will of God, accomplish neuerthelasse his hidden purpose, and without miraculous meanes, confound them selues in the seeming-wisdeuils of their owne folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learne, to submit their iudgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to thinke, that they may safely dispense with his commandments, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wise dome dictateth vnto them. For in such kinde of vnhappie subtilities, it is manifest that

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Athalia was able to furnish both her Husband and her Sonne, but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediately followeth.

§. V.

Of the raigne of AHASIA, and his busynesse with the King of Israel.

- 10 **C**HASIAS, or *Ahasia*, the sonne of *Iehoram* and *Athalia*, beganne his raigne ouer *Iuda* in the twelfth yeare of *Iehoram*, the sonne of *Abah* King of *Israel*, and reigned but that one yeare. Touching his age, it is a point of more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, wherof I see no more probable conclusion, than that of *Tornellius*, alleging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*. Anno Domini 1588. which saith that he was twentie yeares old in the beginning of his Kingdome, and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that give him two yeares more. Like enough he is to haue beene yong: for hee was gouerned by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gaue him counsaile by which hee perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his Fathers courles. In matter of State, he likewise vp-held the league made with the house of *Abah*. Hee was much busied in doing little, and that with ill successe. He accompanied his Cosen the *Israhelites* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wanne, but not without blowes: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was faine to aduerture his owne person, which escaped not vnwounded. The Towne being wonne was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to bee made by *Hazael* King of *Aram*: which done, *Iehoram* King of *Israel* with-drew himselfe to the Citie of *Izreel*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his woundes; and *Ahasia* returned to *Ierusalem*. It seemes that hee was but newly come home (for hee reigned in all scanty one yeare, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken vp a great part) when he made a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay sore of his woundes. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would haue hindred, and therefore sought euery occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vaine peece of worke so to leaue his Kingdome, hauing no other busynesse than by way of complement to goe see one whom he had seene yesterday. Certaine it is that the Lord had resolued at this time to put in execution that heauie iudgement, which hee had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet, vpon the house of *Abah*. And hereunto at this time had hee disposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in mans cies might seeme to haue beene accidentall; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtles was one; whose mischieuous purposes it will shortly be needfull for explanation of some difficulties arising, that wee diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.

How AHASIA perished with the house of AHAB: and how that Familie was destroyed by IEHV.

- 50 **T**He whole Armie of *Israel*, with all the principall Captaines lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elias* the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were sitting together, who calling out from among them *Iehu*, a principall man, tooke him apart, and annointed him King ouer *Israel*, recharishing vnto him the prophetic of *Elias* against the house of *Abah*,

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Ahab, and letting him vnderstand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The falshood of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captaine a desire to know his errand, which *Iehu* thought meete to let them know, as doubting whether they had ouer-heard all the talke or no. When hee had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forth-with proclaimed him King. For the prophetic of *Elisha* was well knowne among them, neither durst any one oppose himselfe against him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

Iehu who had vpon the suddaine this great honour throwne vpon him, was not flow to put himselfe in possession of it, but vsed the first heate of their affections who ioyned with him, in setting on foote the businesse which nearely concerned him, and was not to be fore-slowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The first care taken was that no newes of the reuolt might bee carried to *Izrael*, whereby the King might haue had warning either to fight or flee: this being fore-sene hee marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Iehoram* was now so well recouered of his wounds, that hee could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seemes that there was much feasting, and ioy made, especially by Queene *Iezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Ahasia* comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queene, as to visit the King.

Certaine it is, that since the rebellion of *Ahasia* against *Israel*, the house of *Ahab* did neuer so much flourish as at this time. Scuentie Princes of the bloud Royall there were that liued in *Samarita*; *Iehoram* the sonne of Queene *Iezabel* had wonne *Ramoth Gilead*, which his father had attempted in vaine, with losse of his life; and he wonne it by valiant fight, wherein hee recieued wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was so great betwene *Israel* and *Juda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leauing no hope of successe, to any rebellious enterprize: so that now the prophetic of *Elisha* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembred, than as an vnlkely tale, by them that beheld the majesticall face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and fortie Princes of his bloud expected.

In the midst of this securitie, whilst these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents; first against the *Ammites*, and then against *Ahasia*, *Edom*, and other rebells and enemies; or else were triumphing in ioy of that which was already well atchieued, and the Queene Mother dressing her selfe in the brauest manner to come downe amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discouered a companie comming. These newes were not very troublesome: for the Armie that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to bee readie against all attempts of the *Ammites*, was likely enough to be discharged vpon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stirre. Only the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger comming to *Iehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to giue the King as little warning as might bee. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the King to bee satisfied, sent out another, that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by *Iehu*. These dumbe shewes bred some suspicion in *Iehoram*, whome the watchmen certified of all that happened. And now the companie drew so neare that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of *Iehu* himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loath to discover any weakenesse, caused his Chariot to bee made readie, and issued forth with *Ahasia* King of *Juda* in his companie, whose presence added majestie to his traine, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee had bene more needfull. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Iehu* was come euen to the Townes end, and there they met each other in the field

field of *Naboth*. *Iehoram* beganne to salute *Iehu* with termes of peace, but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out vpon the treason to his fellow King, he turned away to haue fled. But *Iehu* soone ouer-tooke him with an arrow, where-with he strooke him dead, and threw his carcasie into that field, which, purchased with the blood of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with blood of the vniust possessor. Neither did *Abazia* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize vpon him.

The Kings Palace was ioyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Iezabel* might soone bee aduertised of this calamitie, if shee did not with her owne eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose iudgement, pronounced against her long before, had ouer-taken her, when shee least expected it. But shee, full of indignation, and proud thoughts, made her selfe readie in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her itarcelly and imperious lookes to daunt the Traitor, or at the least to vtter some *Apophtegme*, that should expresse her braue spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for euer. Little did shee thinke vpon the hungrie dogs, that were ordained to deuour her, whose paunches the *stibium*, with which shee besmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language where-with shee armed her tongue, could trouble the cares of him that had her in his power. As *Iehu* drew neare shee opened her window, and looking out vpon him, beganne to put him in minde of *Zimri*, that had not long ioyed the fruits of his treason, and murder of the King his Master. This was in mere humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeede a part of miserable folly, as are all things, howe soeuer laudable, if they haue an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her owne Eunuches that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much lesse was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Iehu* saw that shee did vse the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him; hee made her presently to vnderstand her owne estate, by deedes and not by wordes. He only called to her seruants to know which of them would be of his side, and soone found them readie to offer their seruice, before the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her downe head-long: which immediately they performed without all regard of her greatnesse and estate, wherein shee had a few houres before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the iudgements of God that had ben denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude handes of her owne seruants, at the commandement of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subiect, but now her Lord: and shee perished miserably struggling in vaine with base groomes, who conumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilest her insulting enemy late on horse-back, adding indignitie to her griefe by scornefully beholding the shamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her bodie vnder foote. Her dead carcasie that was left without the walls was deuoured by dogges, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murder, and oppression, with flow, but sure paiment, and full interest.

Abazia King of *Juda* fleeing a pace from *Iehu*, was ouer-taken by the way where he lurked; and receiving his deadly wound in the Kingdome of *Samarra*, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all haste) and seeke his buriall in his owne kingdome: and this fauour hee obtained for his grand-fathers sake, not for his fathers, nor his owne. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Ierusalem*, where he was interred with his Ancestors, hauing reigned about one yeare.

CHAP. XXI.

Of ATHALIA, and whose Sonne he was that succeeded vnto her.

p. I.

Of ATHALIA her vsurping the Kingdome, and what pretences
shee might forge.



FTER the death of *Ahaziah*, it is said that his house
was not able to retaine the Kingdome: which note, and
the proceedings of *Athalia* vpon the death of her
Sonne, haue giuen occasion to diuers opinions
concerning the Pedigree of *Ieas*, who reigned shortly after.
For *Athalia* being thus dispoiled of her Sonne,
vnder whose name shee had ruled at her pleasure, did
forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the blood,
and slew them, that so shee might occupie the Royall
Throne her selfe, and raigne as Queene, rather than
liue a Subiect. Shee had before hand put into great

place, and made Counsaillours vnto her sonne, such as were fittest for her purpose,
and readie at all times to execute her will: that shee kept a strong guard about her
it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Iehoram*, vpon
the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearefull to
stirre, whatsoeuer they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soeuer it be, is seldome or neuer so shamelesse as to re-
fuse the commoditie of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes
together all that will any way serue to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were
not absurd for vs to thinke, that *Athalia* when shee saw the Princes of the Royall
blood, all of them in a manner, slaine by her husband, and afterwards his owne
children destroyed by the *Philistims*, beganne euen then to play her owne game, re-
ducing by artificall practise, into faire likelyhoods, those possibilities where-with
her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great shew of reason,
either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might shee giue him
to vnderstand, how needfull it were to take the best order whilest as yet hee might,
for feare of the world that might happen. If the issue of *Dauid*, which now remai-
ned only in his Familie, should by any accident faile (as wofull experience had al-
readie shewed what might after come to passe) the people of *Iuda* were not vnlike-
ly to choose a King of some new stock, a popular seditious man peradventure, one
that to countenance his owne vnworthinesse, would not care what aspersions hee
laied vpon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could assure
him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not
alreadie contriue the destruction of him, and all his seede? Wherefore it were
the wisest way to designe by his authoritie, not only his Successour, but also the reuer-
sioner, and so to provide, that the Crowne might neuer bee subiect to any rising,
but remaine in the disposition of them that loued him best, if the world that might
bee feared comming to passe, his owne posteritie could not retaine it.

Such persuasions being vrged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate soli-
citation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the ielous Tyrant
thinke

For 15. 92m 37. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

thinke that the only way to frustrate all deuises of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the last and yongest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queene-Mother, to vp-hold the first and eldest.

- If *Athalia* tooke no such course as this in her husbands times, yet might shee doe it in her Sonnes. For *Abazaz* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his Mother) was not likely to take much care for the securitie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in respect of his owne high borne-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischieuous woman forgate her selfe so farre in her wicked pollicie, that shee lost all opportunitie which the weaknesse of her husband and sonne did afford, of procuring to her selfe some seeming Title, yet could shee afterwards faile some such matter, as boldly shee might: being sure that none would aske to see her euidence, for feare of being sent to learne the certaintie of her sonne or husband in another world. But I rather thinke that shee tooke order for her affaires before hand. For though shee had no reason to suspect or feare the suddaine death of her sonne, yet it was the wisest way to prouide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her husbands issue by other women was yong and vnable to resist. We plainly find that the Bretheren or Nephewes of *Abazaz*, to the number of two and fortie, were sent to the Court of *Israel*, only to salute the children of the King, and the children of the Queene. The slender occasion of which long journey, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stocke of *Iehoram* that could be growne to any strength) makes it very suspitious that their entertainment in *Jezebels* house would only haue bene more formall, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Iehu*. Hec that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to thinke no lesse. Of such as haue aspired vnto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heires by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the sword of such as claimed by them could giue, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may say, behold this is new? it hath bene alreadie in the old time that was before vs.* That a King might shed his brothers bloud, was proued by *Salomon* vpon *Adonia*; that he might aliene the Crowne from his naturall Heires, *David* had giuen proofe: but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* slew his brother that had begunne one rebellion, and was entring into another. *Iehoram* slew all his brethren, which were better than he: *David* purchased the Kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Iehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that he might aliene the remainder at his pleasure; or if *Athalia* sought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue: either of these was to be answered with the words which *Iehoiada* the Priest vsed afterwards, in declaring the title of *IOASH*. *Behold the Kings sonne must raigne; as the Lord hath said of the sonnes of DAVID.* Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoever it might bee, to the Crowne of *Iuda*; yet is it most certain that shee had the right no right at all, but only got it by treacherie, murder, and open violence; and so shee held it sixe whole yeares, and a part of the seuenth, in good seeming-securitie.

§. 11.

How IEREMY spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest

ATHALIA.

IN all this time *Iehu* did neuer goe about to disturber her, which in reason hee was likele to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posteritie of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres against the *Aramites*, wherein he was so farre overcharged, that hardly hee could retaine his owne, much lesse attempt vpon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were fewentie liuing in *Samaria*, out of which number *Iehu* by letter aduised the Citizens to set vp some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident hee was, which they well vnderstood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom he had slaine, and being exceedingly afraide of him, they offered him their seruice, wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in lesse than one daies warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were inioyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtiltie, slaying a great sacrifice to their God, by which meanes he drew them altogether into one Temple, where he slew them; and in the same zeale to God vterly demolished all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie deuised by *Ieroboam*, no King of *Israel* had euer greater reason than *Iehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to feare lest the people should be allured vnto the house of *Dauid*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted vp, and the Crowne of *Iuda* in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had receiued his kingdom by the vnexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeale expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, he was promised, notwithstanding his following the sinne of *Ieroboam*, that the Kingdom should remaine in his familie, to the fourth generation. But all this would not serue; hee would needes helpe to peece out Gods providence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedie gamester, who by stealing a needlesse Card to assure himselfe of winning a stake, forfeits his whole rest. He had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more hee should offend by taking from them the vse of a superstition, so long practized as was that Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*. Yet all these, how many soeuer they were, had neuer once thought vpon making him King, if God, whom to retaine them, hee now forsooke, had not giuen him the Crowne; when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the meanes of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Iehu* drew terrible vengeance of God vpon *Israel*, whereof *Hazael* King of *Damascus* was the Executioner. The crueltie of this barbarous Prince we may finde in the prophetic of *Elizaeus*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shalt thou set on fire, and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their infants against the stones, and rent in peeces their women with child.* So did not only the wickedness of *Ahab* cause the ruine of his whole house; but the obstinate Idolatrie of the people bring a lamentable miserie vpon all the Land. For the furie of *Hazael*s victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few Townes, nor worried with one inuasion; but he smote them in all the coasts of *Israel*, and wasted all the Countrey beyond the River of *Jordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities it seemes that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; (For in those daies the Lord began to loath *Israel*;) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble House of *Ahab*, vnder which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had brauely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities

2. Kings 8. v. 12.

2. Kings 10. v. 32.

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ties which his Father had wonne: whereas now they were faine to make wofull shifts, living vnder a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruell enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in seruing him, to whom nothing is difficult, are in stead of the ease and pleasure to themselves propounded by contrarie courses, ouerwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to auoide, and therein by God whom they first forsooke, forsaken, and left vnto the wretched labours of their owne blinde wildome, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

§. III.

Of ATHALIAHS Gouerment.

THese calamities falling vpon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giuing her leisure to looke to things at home; as hauing little to doe abroad, vnlesse it were so that shee held some correspondencie with *Hazeel*, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grand-father King *Asa*, who had done the like. And some probability that shee did so may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For wee finde that this wicked *ATHALIA* and her children brake vp the house of God, and all things that were dedicated for the house of the Lord did they bestow vpon *BAALIM*. Such a sacriledge, though it proceeded from a desire to let out her owne Idolatric, with such pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some faire pretext of necessitie of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next succellour was faine to doe the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazeel*, who perhaps was delighted with the tast of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Vnder this impious gouernment of *Athalia*, the deuotion of the Priests and Leuites was very notable, and serued (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himselfe, how soeuer the Queenes proceedings aduanced the contrarie. For the povertie of that sacred Tribe of *Leui*, must needs haue been exceeding great at this time; all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being vterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they liued, being now very few, and small; and the store laid vp in better times vnder godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robbetrie. Yet they vp-held in all this miserie the service of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping duly their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those daies wherein their entertainment was farre better.

§. IIIL

Of the preservation of IOAS.

IEHOIADA then occupied the high Priest-hood, an honourable, wise and religious man. To his carefullnesse it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender sort vp-held in those vnhappy times. His wife was *Jehosibabeh*, who was daughter of King *Jehoram*, and sister to *Ahaziah*, a godlie Ladie and vertuous, whose pietie makes
 30 it seeme that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her access to the Court argue the contrarie: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers house, than the education vnder such a Mother could haue permitted her to be such as shee was. By her care *IOASH* the yong Prince that reigned soone after, was conueighed out of the nourserie, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings children,

dren, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly hee was brought vp. How it came to passe that this yong child was not hunted out, when his bodie was missing, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policie, that the people should heare say, that one of the children had auoided that cruell blow; it might haue made them hearken after innouations, and so bee the lesse conformable to the present government. So *Iosif* was deliuered out of that slaughter, hee and his Nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to bee call away, as hauing no other guard than a poore woman that gaue him suck, who foolishly doubting that thee her selfe should haue bene flaine, was fled away with him into some desolate places, where it was like enough that shee and hee should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coine such tales, and rather sweare them to bee true in their owne knowledge, than they will loose the thanks due to their ioyfull tidings.

¶ V.
Whose Sonne *Ios* was.

¶ I.
Whether *Ios* may be thought likely to haue bene the Sonne of
A H A Z I A.

2. King. 11. 2.
Ch. 2.
Chron. 22. v. 11.



Ow concerning this *Iosif*, whose sonne he was, it is a thing of much difficultie to affirme, and hath caused much controuersie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the sonne of A H A Z I A, seeme plaine enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might giue that title of Sonne vnto him, in regard that he was his Successor, I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrarie opinions of them, that thinke him to haue bene, or not, the naturall Sonne of *Ahab*. For whereas it is said, that the house of A H A Z I A was not able to retaine the Kingdome; some doe inferre that this *Iosif* was not properly called his Sonne, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a sonne in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Ahab*, doth very well agree. For thee perceiuing that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom thee had no interest, might easily finde cause to feare, that the tyrannie exercised by her husband, at her instigation vpon so many noble Houses, would now bee reuenged vpon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedie of *Iezabel* teaching her what might happen to an other Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had bene heire to the Crowne; for thee that had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more ease, and lesse enuie, haue taken vpon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie thee might haue done her pleasure, and bene the more both obaied by others, and secure of her owne estate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherefore it was not needfull, that thee should be so vnnatural, as to destroy the child of her owne sonne, of whose life thee might haue made greater vse, than thee could of his death: whereas indeede, the loue of grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little lesse than that of Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessitie vrgeth nor any commoditie thereby gotten requireth it, yea when all humane policie doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would haue perswaded.

¶ II.

† II.

That I O A S did not descend from NATHAN.

BUT (as it is more easie to finde a difficultie in that which is related, than to *finde* how it might have otherwise beene) the pedigree of this *Iosif* is, by them which thinke him not the sonne of *Abazias*, set downe in such sort that it may verie iustly be suspected. They say that he descended from *Nathan* the sonne of *David*, and not from *Salomon*; to which purpose they bring a Historie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *David*, saying that the line of *Salomon* held the kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the family of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the son of *David* there are that would haue him to bee *Nathan* the Prophet, who as they thinke, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also *S. Augustine* sometime was, but afterward hee reuoked it, as was meet for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *David*, by *Bathsheba* the daughter of *Amnon*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregorie Nazianzen* (as I finde him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him, *Erasmus*, and *Eber Stapulensis*, haue likewise held the same of *Iosif*, deriuing him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan*, and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same mother, are thought, vpon good likelihoods, to haue bene the children of *Vriah* the *Hittite*; and so are they accounted by sundrie of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenſis*, who follow the *Hebrew* expositors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling him selfe the only begotten of his mother, doe approue this exposition: for wee read of no more than two sons which *Bathsheba* or *Bathsheba* did beare vnto *David*; whereof the one, begotten in adulterie, died an infant, and *Salomon* only of her children by the king did liue. So that the rest must needs haue bin the children of *Vriah*, and are thought to haue bene *Dauids* only by adoption. Wherefore, if *Iosif* had not bene the sonne of *Abazias*, then must that pedigree haue bene false, wherein *S. Mathew* deriue him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not our blessed *Sauour* issued from the loins of *David*, according to the flesh, but had onely bene of his line by courtesie of the Nation, and forme of Law, as any other might haue bene. As for the authoritie of *Philo*, which hath drawne many late writers into the opinion that *Iosif* was not of the posteritie of *Salomon* it is enough to say that this was *Fridericus* his *Philo*; for no other edition of *Philo* hath any such matter; but *Aurinus* can make authors to speake what he list.

† III.

That I O A S may probably be thought to haue bene the sonne of I E H O R A M.

IN so doubtfull a case, if it seeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought vpon, me thinkes it were not amiss to laie open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickednesse of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Iehoshaphat* King of *Iuda*, for which hee and his children perished, reherſeth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *David*, that according to his promise he would give him a light, and to his children for euer: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Iehoram*, there was not a sonne left him (sane *Iehoram* as the youngest of his sonnes). Now, if it were in regard of Gods promise to *David*, that, after those massacres of *Iehoram*, vpon all his brethren, and of the *Philistines* and *Arabians* vpon the children of *Iehoram*, one of the seed of *David* escaped, why may it not be thought that he was said to haue escaped, in whom the line of *David* was preserved; for had all the race of *Salomon* bene rooted vp in these wooll Tragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof; like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would haue bene extant, of an euent

so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord; as it is recounted by *S. Luke*. but the preferuation of the house of *David*, mentioned in the bookes of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Iehoaſas* in whom the roiall branch of *Salomon*, the naturall, and not onely legall issue remaining of *David*, was kept aliue. Wherefore it may bee thought that this *Ioaſas*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdome, was the yongest sonne of *Iehoram*, whose life *Athalia*, as a stepdame, was not vnlikely to pursue. For it were not easily vnderstood, why the preferuation of *Dauids* line, by *Gods* especiall mercie in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when besides *Athalia* himselfe there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sonnes of his brethren remaining aliue, which afterwarde would all (slaine by *Iehu*; than haue reference to the lamentable destruction and little lesse than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one onely did escape. Certainly that inhumane murder which *Iehoram* committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Historie) reuenged vpon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwarde prosecuted by *Iehu*, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation hee had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heuie iudgement laid vpon *Iehoram* and all his children, onely *Iehoaſas* his yongest sonne was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirme to be the same with *Ioaſas*, which is called the sonne of *Athalia*, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessitie there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise haue bene. For it was the yongest sonne of *Iehoram* in whom the race was preferred; which could not in any likelihood be *Athalia*, seeing that hee was twentie yeeres old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reigne, and consequently, was borne in the eighteenth or twentieth yeere of his fathers age. Now, I know not whether of the two is more vnlikely, either that *Iehoram* should haue begotten many children before he was eightene yeeres old, or that hauing (as hee had) many wiues and children, he should vpon the suddaine, at his eighteenth yeere, become vnfruitfull, and beget no more in twentie yeeres following: each of which must haue bene true, if this were true that *Athalia* was the same *Iehoaſas*, which was his yongest sonne. But this inconuenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causelesse crueltie of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Ioaſas*, are easily cleared, if *Ioaſas* and *Iehoaſas* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion. For he was: *seven yeeres old when he began to reigne*; which if wee vnderstand of yeeres complext, hee might haue bene a yeere old at the death of *Iehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sickness. Neither is it more absurd to say that hee was the naturall sonne of *Iehoram*, though called the sonne of *Athalia*, than it were to say, as great authors haue done, this difficultie notwithstanding, that hee was of the posteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer, which, had it concurred with the rest, might haue serued as the very foundation of this opinion. The name of *Iehoaſas*, that soundeth much more neere to *Ioaſas*, than to *Athalia*, in an English ear, doth in the Hebrew (as I am informed by some, skilful in that language) through the diuersitie of certaine letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our western manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be so that *Athalia* himselfe be also called *Azuba*, and must haue had three names, if hee were the same with *Iehoaſas*; in which manner *Ioaſas* might also haue had severall names; yet because I finde no other warrant hereof than a bare probability, I will not presume to build an opinion vpon the weak foundation of mine owne coniecture, but leaue all to the consideration of such as haue more abilitie to iudge, and leisure to consider of this point.

their fathers, their Kings and their Princes had vsed to do; For then (said they) had we plentye of victuals, and were well, and felt no euill: adding that all manner of miseries were befallen them, since they left off the seruice of that *Queene of Heauen*. So blinde is the wisdom of man, in looking into the counsaile of God, which to finde out there is no better nor other guide than his owne written wil, nor peruerted by vaine additions.

S. Phil. Sid. in his
Apoll. for Poet-
ric.

But this Historie of the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda* hath herein a singular prerogative aboue all that haue bene written by the most sufficient of merely humane authors: it setteth downe expressely the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his overforwardnesse in battaile; the ruine of his familie, to the securitie of *Ieroboam* in *Israel*; nor the victories of *Hasael*, to the great commotions raised in *Israel*, by the comming of *Iehu*; but referring all vnto the will of God, I meane, to his reuealed will: from which that his hidden purposes doe not varie, this storie, by many great examples, giues most notable proofe. True it is that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these booke nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman Sir *Philip Sidney*, that Historians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not alwaies true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discouer the passions, which did set them first on foote. Wherefore they are saine (I speake of the best, and in that which is allowed: for to take out of *Linie* every one circumstance of *Claudius* his journey against *Asoruball* in *Italie*, fitting all to another businesse, or any practise of that kinde, is neither Historically nor Poetically) to search in to the particular humours of Princes, and of those which haue gouerned their affections, or the instruments by which they wrought, from whence they doe collect the most likely motives, or impediments of euery businesse, and so figuring as neere to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they iudiciously consider the defects in counsaile, or obliquitie in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to giue assurance, how fower it may giue satisfaction. For the heart of man is vnsearchable: and Princes, how fower their intents be seldome hidden from some of those many eyes which prie both into them, and into such as liue about them; yet sometimes either by their owne close temper, or by some subtil miste, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead, and buried in obliuion, when the preparations which they begate, are conuerted to another vs. The industrie of an Historian, hauing so many things to wearie it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbearth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions worke to the same end, that one small matter in a weakie minde is more effectuell, than many that seeme farre greater. So cometh it many times to passe that great fires, which consume whole houles or Townes, begin with a few straws, that are waisted or not scene; when the flame is discovered, hauing fastned vpon some wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionlesse it is that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the *Greekes*, proceeded from desire of the *Persians* to enlarge their Empire; how fower the enterprize of the *Athenians* vpon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrell: yet *Herodotus* telleth vs, that the wanton desire of *Queene Atossa*, to haue the *Grecian* dames her bondwomen, did first moue *Darius* to prepare for this warre before he had receiued any iniurie, and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enioy what was already gotten.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more iustly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alleading the vaine appetite, and secret speech of the *Queene* in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great euils following; this I may boldly affirme, (hauing I think, in euery estate some sufficient witnesses) that matter

Herod. 1.1.

matter of much consequence, founded in all seeming vpon substantiall reasons, haue illud indeed from such petty trifles, as no Historian would either thinke vpon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certaine Frier, comming to visite him in his Popedom, as hauing long before in his meaner estate, bene his familiar friend. This poore Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to vse his old libertie of speech, aduentured to tell him, that he verie much wondred how it was possible for his holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning politician, to attaine vnto the Papacie; in compassing of which, 10 all the subtiltie (said he) of the most craftie braines, finde worke enough: and therefore the more I thinke vpon the arte of the conclaue, and your vnaptnesse thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plaine dealing Frier, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou liued abroad as I haue done, and scene by what folly this world is gouerned, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred vnto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is moued; the Pope said true. For the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more closely, and 20 churcheily, than right reason either needs or can. But if we lift vp our thoughts to that supreme gouernour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of *Iupiter*.

*Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, & verbes, regnaque tristia
Diuisque, mortalesque turmas,
Imperio regit vnus aquo.*

Who rules the duller earth, the wind-swolne streames,
The ciuill Cities, and th' infernall realmes,
Who th' host of heauen and the mortall band,
Alone doth gouerne by his iust commaund.

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Then shall we finde the quite contrarie. In him there is no vncertaintie nor changes he foreseeeth all things, and all things disposeth to his owne honour; He neither deceiueth nor can be deceiued, but continuing one and the same for euer, doth constantly gouerne all creatures by that law, which hee hath prescribed and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriuers, and the prosperitie of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea, this broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightfull as it seemeth at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poisons which infect the soule, many cruell thornes 40 deeply wounding the bodie, all which, if any few escape, they haue onely this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the seruice of God is the path guiding vs to perfect happinesse, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicitie, yeelding such abundance of ioy to the conscience, as doth easilie counteruaille all afflictions whatsoeuer: though indeed those brambles that sometimes teare the skinne of such as walkein this blessed way, doe commonly keie hold vpon them at such time as they sit downe to take their ease, and make them with themselves at their iourneys end, in presence of their Lord whom they faithfullly serue, in whose presence is the iunlesse of ioy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for euermore.

50 Wherefore it being the end and scope of al Historie, to teach by example of times past, such wisdome as may guide our desires and actions, wee should not meruaile though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda and Israel*, being written by men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct vs cheifly, in that which is most requisite for vs to know, as the meanes to attaine vnto true felicitie, both here, and hereafter, propounding

Fals 160. vii

Ep 22

pounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The feare of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdome*. Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) bene written by some Prophet alter the captiuitie: wee may well beleuee that the counsaile of God therein, and the execution of this righteous will, should haue occupied either the whole, or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his wife, and the businesse at *Sardes*, with other occurrences, bene the lesse true, though they might haue bene omitted, as the lesse materiall: but these things it had bene lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Histories, or out of circumstances other wise appearing, wherein he should not haue done iniurie to the sacred writings, as long as hee had forborne to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or litle different, is the businesse that I haue now in hand: wherein I cannot beleuee that any man of iudgement will taxe mee as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not faile, that rehearseth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he deprauce the text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things, which authoritie alone, without further circumstance, ought to haue confirmed in euery mans belief. And this may suffice in defence of the libertie, which I haue vsed in coniectures, and may hereafter vse when occasion shall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor misbecoming an Historian.

¶ VII.

The conspiracie against ATHALIA.



HEN *Athalia* had now fixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of *Iuda*, and had found neither any forsaite enemy, nor domesticall aduersarie to disturbe her possession, suddainly the period of her glorie, and reward of her wickednesse meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of

the young Prince began to bee such, as permitted him no longer to bee concealed, and it had bene very vnfitting that his education should bee simple, to make him seeme the childe of some poore man (as for his safetie it was requisite,) when his capacitie required to haue bene inducted with the stomach and qualities meete for a King. All this *Iehoiada* the Priest considered, and with all the great increase of impietie, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to spread it selfe ouer all the Countrey, if care were not vsed to weede it vp very speedily. Wherefore hee associated vnto himselfe fise of the Captaines, in whose fidelitie he had best assurance, and hauing taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings sonne, hee made a Covenant with them, to aduance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first onely, that they should repaire to *Ierusalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many persuasions to win them to the businesse: the promise of the Lord vnto the house of *Dauid* was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawfull, and likelie to succeed as they desired.

But in compassing their intent some difficulties appeared. For it was not to bee hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the Captaines, and other associates of *Iehoiada* able by close working, to draw together so many trustie and seruiceable hands as would suffice to manage the businesse. To helpe in this case, the Priest gaue order to such of the *Leuites*, as had finished their courses in waiting on the Diuine seruice at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart vntill they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made vp such a number, as would bee

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RE ad exempli

able to deal with the Queenes ordinarie Guard, and that was enough, for if the tyrannesse did not preuaile against them at the first brunt, the fauour of the People was like to shew it selfe on their side, who made head against her. These Leuites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents were bestowed in the vtter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it selfe had store enough; King David had left an Armorie to the place, which was now employed in defence of his issue.

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come wherein this high designe was to be put in execution; *Iehoiada* deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard vnto the Kings person; produced him openly, and gaue vnto him the Crowne; vnto all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings the Queene was the last that heard any word; which is not so strange as it may seeme; for insolent natures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly loose the benefit of hearing what is to bee feared, whilst yet it may bee prevented, and haue no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the suddennesse, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischief.

All *Ierusalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the newes, others ranne forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of perill, vnder the windowes of the Court, were the people running and praising the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourse, and noise, of folkes in the streets, making towards the Temple, with much vniuersall passion in their looks, did presently conceive, that somewhat worthe of her care was happened; though what it might bee shee did not apprehend. Howsoeuer it were, shee meant to vie her owne wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may bee, that shee thought it some especiall solemnitie vsed in the Diuine service, which caused this much adoe; and hereof the vnaccustomed number of *Leuites*, and of other deuout men, about the towne, might giue some presumption.

Many things argue that shee little thought vpon her owne Tragedie; although *Iosephus* would make it seeme otherwise. For we finde in the Text, *Shee came to the people into the house of the Lord* (which was neare to her Palace) and that when shee looked and saw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was, with the Princes, or great men of the Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, shee rent her clothes, and cried Treason, Treason. Hereby it appeares that shee was quietly going, without any mistrust or feare, to take her place, which when shee found occupied by another, then shee begun to afflict her selfe, as one cast away, and cried out in vaine vpon the Treason, whereby shee saw that shee must perish. But that shee came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) and that her companie being beaten back, shee entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the yong Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had shee truly knowne how things went, shee would surely haue gathered her friends about her, and vsed those forces in defence of her Crowne, by which shee gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly if it were granted, that shee, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had bene meere madnesse in her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if shee perceiving that neither her authoritie, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let in her guard, would neuertheless take vpon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of seven years old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom shee saw to bee armed in his defence, may wee not thinke that shee was mad in the most extreme degree? Certaine it is that the counsaile of God would haue taken effect, in her destruction, had shee vsed the most likely meanes to disuoynt it: yet wee neede not lo cut her throate with any morall impossibilities. It is

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2. Chron. 23. 12.
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enough to say, that the godly zeale of *Iehoiada* found more easie successe, through her indiscretion, than other wise could haue beene expected; so that at his appointment there was without more ado carried out of the Temple and slaine, yea so, that no bloud saue her owne was shed in that quarrell; her small traine, that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

§. VIII.

The death of *ATHALIA*, with a comparison of her and *IZABELL*. 527

Moft like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashnesse of her Nephew *Iehoram* the *Israélite*, who did foolishly cast himselfe into the very throat of danger, gaping vpon him, only through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant; yet theether selfe, by thelike bait, was taken in the like trap, and hauing liued such a life as *Iezabel* had done, was rewarded with a sutable death. These two *Queenes* were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatresse, and a Murtheresse. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Iezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them suruiuing her husband about eight yeares, did spend the time in satisfying her owne affections; the one vsing tyrannie, as the exercise of her haughtie minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine vnto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the sudden by Conspirators; and each of them exclaiming vpon the Treason, receiued sentence from the mouth of one that had liued vnder her subjection; in execution whereof, *Iezabel* was trampled vnder the feet of her enemies horses; *Athalia* slaine at her owne horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* hauing (though not much) the more leisure to vex her proud heart; that of *Iezabel*, the more indigntie, and shame of body. Touching their buriall, *Iezabel* was deuoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatened by the Prophet *Eliuz*; what became of *Athalia* wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that shee was buried as hauing not perfected and slaine the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument; for there was a Church-robbet. The seruice of *Baal* erected by these two *Queenes*, was destroyed as soone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Priests of that Religion, slaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who slue them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazzel* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who seemes to haue bene her good friend) pretended her reuenge, as any part of his quarrell to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Iezabel* perished in few daies after her; whether *Athalia* left any behinde her, it is vncertaine; shee had sonnes liuing after shee was *Queene*, of whom, or of any other, that they were slaine with her, we doe not finde.

This is a matter not vnworthie of consideration, in regard of much that may depend vpon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had bene in *Ierusalem* when their Mother fell, their death would surely haue followed hers as nearely, and bene registered, as well as the death of *Matthan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which God forbade that the children should die for the fathers, could not haue saued these vngacious Impes, whom the clause following would haue cut off, which commands, that euery man shall die for his owne sinne. Seeing therefore that they had bene professors & aduancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Baal* with the spoile of it; likely it is that they should not haue escaped with life, if *Iehoiada* the Priest could haue got-

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ten them into his hands As there was awfull cause enough requiring their death, so the securitie of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craued as much, and that very earnestly. For these had bene citemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her alltants in that particular businesse of robbing the Temple, may be thought to haue carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes and fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is euident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *hianael* in his warres against *Iehu*) absent from *Ierusalem*; whereby *Iehoiada* might with the more confidence, aduenture to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of *IOAS* and *AMASIA*, with their Contemporaries;
where somewhat of the building of

CARTHAGE.

§. I.

Of *IOAS* his doings; whilest *IEHOIADA* the Priest liued.



BY the death of *Ahab*, the whole Countrey of *Iuda* was filled with great ioy and quietnesse; wherein *IOAS* as a child of seuen years old or there-about, began his Raigne, which continued almost fortie years. During his minoritie, hee liued vnder the protection of that Honourable man *Iehoiada* the Priest, who did as faithfully gouerne the Kingdome, as hee had before carefully preferred the Kings life, and restored him vnto the Throne of his ancellors. When hee came to mans estate, he tooke by appointment of *Iehoiada* two wiues, and begat sonnes and daughters, repairing the family of *Dauid* which was almost worn out. The first Act that hee took in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull peece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that Holy place was fallen, through the wickednesse of vngodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should vphold the Temple, whome the Temple had vpheld. This businesse hee followed with so earnest a zeale, that not only the *Leuites* were more slacke then he, but euen *Iehoiada* was faine to be quickned by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the taxe imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberalitie of the people; who giue so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of Gold and Silver, and with all other Vteniles. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as vnder godly Kings they had bene, and the seruice of God was magnificently celebrated.

§. II.

The death of *Iehoiada*, and *Aposiasie* of *Ioas*.

BVt this endured no longer than the life of *Iehoiada* the Priest: who having liued an hundred and thirtie yeares, died before his Countrie could haue spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Iuda*, as he well deserved, having preserved the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themselves, and all their issue. Yet his honourable Funerall seemes to haue beene given to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the Citie of DAVID*. As for the King himselfe, who did owe to him no lesse than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to haue been Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if hee had thereby beene discharged of some heauie debt.

For after the death of *Iehoiada*, when the Princes of *Iuda* beganne to flatter their King, he soone forgate, not onely the benefites, received by this worthie man his old Councellour, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himselfe, the author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith *Iehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Countrie, in fifteene or sixtene yeares; that thirtie yeares, or there about, of the Raigne of *Ioas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleare it from that mischief. The King himselfe, when once hee was entred into these courses, ranne on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertie, to despise the seruice of God; and a manifest proofe of his being now King in deede, that hee regarded no longer the sower admonitions of deuout Priests. Hereby it appeares, that his former zeale was onely counterfeited, wherein like an actor vpon the stage, he had striven to expresse much more liuely affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

§. III.

The causes and time of the Syrians invading *Iuda* in the dayes of *Ioas*.

BVt God, from whome he was broken loose, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazeel* King of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a Towne of the *Philistims*, addressed himselfe towards *Ierusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich bootie, did inuite him. He had an Armie heartned by many victories, to hope for more, and for ground of the warre (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of *Iuda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises vpon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I thinke he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdome of *Iuda* had molested the *Aramites*, in the time of his predecessour, this was thoroughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leauing the ten Tribes in their extreame miserie, to the furie of *Hazeel* himselfe. Neither is it likely, that *Hazeel* should haue gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and thirre vp against himselfe a powerfull enemy, before hee had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay betwene *Ierusalem* and his owne Kingdome, if some opportunitie had not promised such easie and good successe, as might rather aduance, than any way disturbe, his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sonnes of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countreies vially doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his side; and not to remaine, as *Ioas* did, a neutrall in the warre betwene him and *Israel*, but to ioyne all their forces with his, as they had cause,

cause, for the rooting out of *Ierim* his posteritie, who, like a bloudie Traitor, had vtterly destroyed all the kindred of the *Queenes*, their mother, euen the whole house of *Abub*, to which he was a subiect. It thus were so, *Hazael* had the more apparant reason to inuade the Kingdome of *Iuda*. Howloeu it were, we find it plainly, that *Iosias* was afraid of him, and therfore tooke all the hallowed things, and all the Golies that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, for in his owne house, with which present hee redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this, for the possibillitie of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a
 10 rich bootie of vnhappie treasure, which, belonging to the liuing God, remained a small while in the possession of this mightie, yet corruptible man, but knt him quickly to the graue. For in the thirtie seuenth of *Iosias*, which was the fifteenth of *Iehoaiaz*, he made this purchase; but in the same or the very next yeare he died, leauing all that he had vnto his Sonne *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered none otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of *Hazael* is, by some, confounded with that warre of the *Arames* vpon *Iuda*, mentioned in the second Booke of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alledged by them that hold the contrarie opinion, doe forcibly prouue, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without bloudshed or fight,
 20 in the later, *Iosias* tried the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the world, hee lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life: In the one, *Hazael* himselfe was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the King of *Ararn* then reigning (who may seeme to haue then bene the Sonne of *Hazael*) is said to haue bene at *Damascus*. The first Arme came to conquer, and was so great that it terrified the King of *Iuda*; The second was a small companie of men, which did animate *Iosias* (in vaine, for God was against him) to deale with them, as hauing a very great Arme.

Now concerning the time of this former inuasion, I cannot perceiue that God forsooke him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeede some, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Iehoiada* the Priest, be-
 30 cause that storie is ioyned vnto the ressauration of the Temple. This had bene probable, if the death of *Iehoiada* had bene afterwards mentioned in that place of the second Booke of *Kings*, or if the Apostallie of *Iosias*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeede to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his owne will and pleasure, neither was he more vniust in the afflictions of *Iob* that righteous man, or the death of *Iosias* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid vpon *Pharash*, or his iudgments vpon the house of *Abub*. But it appeares plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent seruice of God therewithall, which are ioyned to-
 40 gether, were vsed in the house of the Lord continually, all the dayes of *Iehoiada*, soone after whose death, if not immediatly vpon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the six, or thirtie thirtieth yeare of this *Iosias* his Raigne, the King falling away from the God of his Father, became a foule Idolater.

And indeede we commonly obserue, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay vpon his seruants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, haue alwayes tended vnto the bettering of their good. In which respect, euen the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of his Saints being precious in the sight of
 50 the Lord) are to their great advantage. But with euill and rebellious men, God keepe a more euen, and more strict account; permitting vually their fautes to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickednesse be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to runne on in their wicked courses, to their greater miserie. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appeares that he dealt with *Iosias*. For this vnhappie man did not onely continue an obstatinate Idolater, but grew so forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if he had strouen to exceede the wickednesse of all that

went before him, and to leaue such a vilainous patterne vnto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should indure to imitate.

§. IIII.

How ZACHARIA was murdered by IOAS.

SVndry Prophets hauing laboured in vaine to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia*, the sonne of *Iehoiada* the Priest, was stirred vp at length by the Spirit of God to admonish them of their wickednesse, and make them vnderstand the punishment due vnto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so honourable, and sonne to a man so exceeding beloued in his life time, and reuerenced, that if *IOAS* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elia*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty, to haue cloaked his ill affection, and haue vsed at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecountable benefits, which they had done vnto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should haue placed *Zacharia* in the most heartie and assured loue of *IOAS*, yea though he had bene otherwise a man of very small make, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should bee heard with reuerence, how simple soeuer he appeares that brings it. But this king *IOAS*, hauing already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandman in that parable of our Saviour deale with the heire of the Vineyard; who said, *this is the heire, come let vs kill him, that the Inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing be like that he was no free Prince, as long as any one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soeuer that mans deserting were, that did so, yea though Gods commandment required it. So they conspired against this Holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any forme of open law, as was practised vpon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treacherie, I doe neither reade nor can conjecture. The dignitie of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publique judgement; though the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, by order of Law, inflicted vpon malefactours, may argue the contrarie. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandment, by which he suffered, tooke place in stead of Law: which exercise of meere power (as hath bene already noted) was nothing strange among the Kings of *Iuda*.

§. V.

How IOAS was shamefully beaten by the *Arames*, and of his death.

THIS odious murder, committed by an vnthankfull snake vpon the man in whose bosome he had bene fostered, as of it selfe alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his owne time, and his memorie detested in all ages; so had it the well-deserued curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompanie it vnto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell downe swiftly, and heavily vpon the head of that vngratefull monster. It was the last yeare of his reigne; the end of his time comming then vpon him, when he thought himselfe beginning to liue how he listed, without controulement. When that yeare was expired, the *Arames* came into the Countrey, rather as may seeme to get pillage, than to performe any great action

tion; for they *came with a small compaignie of men*: but God had intended to doe more by them, than they themselves did hope for.

That *Joab* naturally was a coward, his bloudie malice against his best friend, is, in my judgement, proove sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when hee might have leauied (as his sonne after him did mulier) three hundred thousand chosen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needes be valiant and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when he might haue his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of rousers, he tooke a verie great Armie; so that wise-men might well perceiue, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Countrey, and expose his person to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meer ostentation, and no perill to be feared; he going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise-men thinke, and laugh at him in secret, considering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh, not onely at this vaine glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *Joab* met, whether it were by some folly of the leaders, or by some amazement happening among the Souldiers, or by whatsoever meanes it pleased God to worke, so it was, that that great Armie of *Juda* received a notable ouerthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of *Juda*, at whose perswasion the King had become a rebell to the King of Kings. As for *Joab* himselfe (as *Abulensis* and others expound the storie) hee was forcibly beaten and hurt by them, being, (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessive ranfome.

And surely all circumstances doe greatly strengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old translation) saith, they excresced vpon *Joab* ignominious iudgments; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their handes, and handled him illiuaouredly. Now at that time, *Joab* is the Son of *Iehoshaphat* reigned ouer *Israel*, and *Benhada* the Son of *Hazael* ouer the *Syrians* in *Damascus*; the one a valiant vndertaking Prince, raised vp by God to restore the State of his miserable Countrey; the other inferior euery way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betwene these two Princes, promising no other euent than such as after followed, might haue giuen to the King of *Juda* good cause to bee bold, and plucke vp his spirits, which *Hazael* had beaten downe, if God had not bene against him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake vpon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of warre at his doores, it were ealie to make him craue any tolerable conditions of peace. The vnexpected good successe herof, already related, and the (perhaps as unexpected) ill successe, which the *Aramites* found in their following warres against the King of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weaknesse of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his ordinance; both the Kingdome of *Juda*, after more than fortie yeares time of gathering strength, was vnable to drive out a small compaignie of enemies; and the Kingdome of *Israel*, hauing so beene troden downe by *Hazael*, that onely fiftie horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tennethousand footmen were left, preuailed against his Sonne, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples herof are euerie where found, and therefore I will not insist vpon this; though indeed we should not, if we be Gods children, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent reports of our Heavenly fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore fathers vpon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they listed, and saw that they were not able, be-
ing

ing to few, to take any possession of the Countrey, they departed out of *Iuda* laden with spoyle, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselves belike falling vpon the ten Tribes, where it is to bee thought that they sped not halfe so wel. The King of *Iuda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sonnes of an *Ammonitessie*, and of a *Maabitesse*, whom some (because onely their Mothers names being strangers, are expressed) thinke to haue bene bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, least (as Tyrants vse) hee should reuenge his disaster vpon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatfoeuer else it were that animated them to murder their King, the Scripture tells vs plainly, that, *for the blood of the children of IERODADA*, this befell him. And the same appears to haue bene vsed as the pretence of their conspiracie, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amacia*, the sonne and successor of *Ioa*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdome was established: but contrariwise, his bodie was judged vnworthie of buriall in the Sepulchers of the Kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zecharia* caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his Sonne, vpon the Traytours, with wel-deserued death.

2. Chron. 24. 25.

1. Chron. 2. 20.
2. Chron. 24. 25.

§. VI.

Of the Princes lining in the time of *IOAS*: Of the time when *Carthage* was built, and of *DIDO*.

THereliued with *Ioas*, *Mexades* and *Diognetus* in *Athens*: *Eudemus* and *Aristomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Syluius*, and after him *Syluius Aladius*, were Kings of the *Albans* in *Italie*. *Ocraxapes*, commonly called *Anacynanaxes*, the thirtie seventh King succeeding vnto *Ophratanes*, began his raigne over the *Assyrians*, about the eighteenth yeare of *Ioas*, which lasted fortie two yeares. In the sixteenth of *Ioas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded vnto *Cheops* in the Kingdome of *Egypt*, and held it fiftie yeares.

In this time of *Ioas*, was likewise the Raigne of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*, the building of which Citie is, by diuers Authors, placed in diuers ages, some reporting it to be seuentie yeares yonger than *Rome*, others aboue foure hundred yeares elder, few or none of them giuing any reason of their assertions, but leauing vs vncertaine whom to follow: *Iosephus*, who had read the *Annales of Tyre*, counting one hundred fortie and three yeares and eight Moneths from the building of *Salomons Temple*, in the twelfth yeare of *Hyram* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the seuenth of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this account (which is not rare in *Iosephus*) are very perplexed, and serue not verie well to make cleare the totall summe. But whether it were so that *Iosephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write, some number of the yeares, which he reckoneth in Fractions, as they were diuided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hyram* to *Pigmalion*, we may well enough beleue, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose Bookes hee giues vs the whole summe, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betwene two workes no longer following one the other, than the memorie of three or foure generations might easily reach. This hundred fortie and foure yeares current, after the building of *Salomons Temple*, being the eleuenth yeare of *Ioas*, was a hundred fortie and three yeares before the birth of *Rome*, and after the destruction of *Troy*, two hundred eightie and nine: a time so long after the death of *Aeneas*, that we might truly conclude all to bee fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Asconius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigramme.

Ioseph. Cont. App.
lib. 1.

*Illa ego, si non Dido vultu quam conspicis hospes,
Asimulata modo diu pulcherrimam
Talis eram, sed non Maro quam vultu fixit erat mens,
Vitance incestis lata cupidibus
(Non enim nec Aeneas vidit me Troian vnam
Nec Libyam aduentu, clausibus Itacis.
Sed furia fregens, atq; arma procatu larbe,
Seruauit, futor, morte pudicitiam,
Pectore transfixo, castos quod pertulit enses)
Non furor, aut laeso crudus amore dolor
Sic ceciisse iuuat: vixi sine vulnere fama,
Vita virum, posita manibus oppetij.
Imunda cor in me stimulasit Musa Maronem,
Fingeret ut nostrae donna pudicitiae?
Vos magis historicis lectores credite de me
Quam qui surta Deum concubitusq; canunt.
Falsidici rates: temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisq; deos asimulant vitij.*

Which in effect is this,

*I am that Dido which thou here dost see,
Cunningly framed in beauteous Imagie.
Like this I was, but had not such a soule,
As Maro fained, incestuous and foule.
Aeneas neuer with his Troian host
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
But flying proud Tarbus villanie,
Not mou'd by furious loue or calouisie;
Idid with weapon chaft, to fave my fame,
Make way for death vntimely, ere it came.
This was my end, but first I built a Towne,
Reueng'd my husbands death, liu'd with renowne.
Why did'st thou surre vp Virgil, enuious Muse,
Falsidicy my name and honour to abuse?
Readers, beleene Historians; not those
Which to the world Ioues thefts and vice expose.
Poets are liars, and for veries sake
Will make the Gods of humane crimes partake.*

From the time of *Dido* vnto the first Punicke warre, that *Carthage* grew and flourish'd in wealth and conquests, we find in many histories: but in particular wee find little of the *Carthaginian* affaires before that warre, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts vpon the Isle of *Sicile*. Wee will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mightie Citie, vntill such time as they shall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally destroyed, and prosecuted in the meane while the historie that is now in hand.

§. VII.

The beginning of AMAZIA hircigne. Of IOAS King of Israel, and ELISHA the Prophet.



MAZIAS, the Sonne of *Iosaph*, being twentie fuyecares old when his father died, tooke possession of the Kingdome of *Iuda*, wherein he laboured so to demane himselfe, as his new beginning raigne might be least offensive. The Law of *Moses* he professed to obserue; which howfouer it had bene secretly despised since the tyme of *Iehoram*, by 10 many great persons of the Land, yet had it by prouision of good Princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) unitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conforme himselfe vnto it. And at that present tyme, the slaughter, which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the seruice of God, being seconded by the death of the King himselfe, even whilst that execrable murder, committed by the King vpon *Zecharia*, was yet fresh in memorie, did serue as a notable example of Gods iustice against idolatours, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazias* from following the way, which led 20 to such an euill end. He therefore, hauing learned of his fathers the art of dissimulation, did not only forbear to punish the Traytours that had slaine King *Ioas*, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead bodie to be interred, as that of *Iehoram* formerly had bene, in the Citie of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Iuda*. Neuertheless after this, when (belike) the noyse of the people hauing wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspiratours (howfouer their deed done was applauded as the handie worke of GOD) had neither any mightie partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as hauing done well, seeing it was not ill taken; the King, who perceived his gouernment well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the 30 heate of mens affections, being not well allaied it was ealie to distinguish betweene their treasons and Gods judgment, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to liue; which could not but giue contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a iust Prince, rather than of a reuenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life the better secured, by such exemplary iustice, against the like attempts; *Amazias* carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelue or thirteene yeares.

As *Amazias* gathered strength in *Iuda* by the commoditie of a long peace, so *Israel* 40 the *Israhelites* grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his predecessours had bene, worshipping the Calues of *Ieroboam*. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of *Iehu*, that the tenne Tribes wanted little of being vtterly consumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the tyme of *Iehu* and his sonne *Iehoshaphat*. But as Gods benefites to *Iehu* sufficed not to withdraw him from this politike idolatrie, so were the miseries rewarding that impietie, vnable to reclaime *Iehoshaphat* from the same impious course; yet the mercie of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, condescended vnto the prayers of this vngodly Prince, even then when hee and his miserable subjects, were obstinate in following their owne abominable waies. Therefore in 50 temporall matters the ten tribes recovered apace but the fauour of God, which had bene infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor beleue, that they sought, that they had it not, I finde in the wordes of the Prophet, laying plainly to *Amazias*, the Lord is not with *Israel* neither with all the house of *EPHRAIM*.

2. Chron. 25.

Whe-

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperitie of the *Israelites* vnder the Raigne of *Iouas*, or whether *Iehozabaz* wearied and broken with long aduersitie, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himselfe in part of the heauie cares attending those vnhappy Syrian warres, by laying the burthien vpon his hopeful sonne, we find that in the thirtieth year of *Iouas*, King of *Iuda*, *Iouas* the sonne of *Iehozabaz* began to raigne ouer *Israel* in *Samaris*, which was in the fiftenth of his fathers raigne, and some two or three years before his death. 2. Kings 13. 10.

It appeares that this yong Prince, euen from the beginning of his Rule, did so well hulband that poore stocke which he received from his Father, of tenne Charriots, fittie horsemen, and ten thousand foot, that he might seeme likely to proue a thriuer. Among other circumstances, the wordes which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no lesse. For *Iouas* visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake vnto him thus; *O my father, my father, the Charriot of Israel, and the horsemen of the same*, by which manner of speech hee did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his Kingdome in more steede, than all the horses and Charriots could doe. 2. Kings 13. 14.

This Prophet who succeeded vnto *Elisha*, about the first year of *Ioram* the sonne of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, died (as some haue probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Iouas*, the Nephew of *Iehu*. To shew how the Spirit of *Elisha* was doubled, or did rest vpon him; it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that he did not only raise a dead child vnto life, as *Elisha* had done, but when hee himselfe was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life vnto a carcase, which touched them in the graue. In finche bestowed, as a legacie, three victories vpon King *Iouas*, who thereby did set *Israel* in a faire way of recouering all that the *Aramites* had vsurped, and weakening the Kings of *Damasco* in such sort, that they were neuer after terrible to *Samaris*.

§. VIII.

of AMAZIA his warre against EDOM; His Apostasie; and ouerthrow by IOAS.

THe happie successe which *Iouas* had found in his warre against the *Aramites*, was such as might kindle in *Amaziah* a desire of vndertaking some expedition, wherein himselfe might purchase the like honour. His Kingdom could furnish three hundred thousand seruicable men for the wars; and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, and the hire of many more. Cause of warre he had very iust against the *Edomites*, who hauing rebelled in the time of his grandfather *Iehoram*, had about fiftie yeares beene vnreclaimed, partly by means of the troubles happening in *Iuda*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of *Iuda* had in many yeares beene without all exercise of warre (excepting that vnhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wisedom to increase his forces, with Souldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence hee hired for an hundred talents of silver, an hundred thousand valiant men, as the Scripture telleth vs, though *Iosephus* diminisheth the number, saying that they were but twentie thousand.

This great Armie, which with so much cost *Amaziah* had hired out of *Israel*, hee so was faine to dismisse, before hee had employed it, being threatened by a Prophet with ill successe, if hee strengthened himselfe with the helpe of those men, whom God (though in mercy he gaue them victorie against the cruell *Aramites*) did not loue, because they were idolatours. The *Israelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismissal, as an high disgraces which to revenge, they fell vpon

2. Chron. 22. 8.
1. Sam. 11. 1.
1. Sam. 10. 1.

a peece of *Iuda* in their returne, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men; and some spoile, which they carried away. But *Amazias* with his owne forces, knowing that God would be assitant to their journey, entered courageously into the *Edomites* Countrey, ouer whome obtaining victorie, he slew tenne thousand, and tooke other tenne thousand prisoners, all which hee threw from an high rocke, holding them, it seemes, rather as Traytors, than as iust enemies. This victorie did not seeme to reduce *Edom* vnder the subjection of the crowne of *Iuda*, which might be the cause of that seueritie, which was vsed to the prisoners; the *Edomites* that had escaped, refusing to buy the liues of their friends and kinsmen at so deere a rate, as the losse of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount *Seir*, *Amazias* tooke, as appears by his carrying away the idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another yeare the better haue pursued the conquest of the whole Countrey. How soeuer it were, he got both honor by the iourne, & gaines enough, had he not lost himselfe.

Among other spoiles of the *Edomites*, were carried away their Gods, which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserue well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so beforsed this vnworthie King *Amazias*, that hee set them vp to bee his Gods, and worshipped them, and burned incense vnto them.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, hee gaue a churlish and threatening answer; asking the Prophet, who made him a Counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the worl. If either the costly stuffe, wherof these idols were made, or the curious workmanship and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had rauished the Kings fancies, me thinks, hee should haue rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as household ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby haue suffered himselfe to be blinded, with such vnreasonable deuotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more should the bad seruice which they had done to their old Clients, haue moued him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it seemes to me, that the same affections caried him from God, vnto the seruice of idols, which afterwards moued him to talke so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. Hee had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such auxiliary forces as he had gathered out of *Israels*, which done, it is said that hee was encouraged, and led forth his people, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should haue limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Esa*, hauing broken the yoke of *Jacob* from his necke, accordingly as *Isaac* had foretold, should no more become his seruant. If therefore *Amazias* did hope to reconquer all the Countrey of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might haue well contented him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported can ill endure to ascribe vnto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to vse their owne industrie, courage, or foresight. Therefore it is commonly seene, that they, who entering into battaile are careful to pray for aide from Heauen, with due acknowledgement of his power who is the giuer of victorie; when the field is wonn, do vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gaue checke to such a battallion; a third, how hee seized on the enemies Canon; euery one striving to magnifie himselfe, whilest all forget God, as one that had not bene present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better successe, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happinesse; so hee whose meere wisdom and labour hath brought thinges to a prosperous issue, is doubly

doubly bound to shew himselfe thankfull, both for the victorie, and for those virtues by which the victorie was gotten. And indeede so farre from weaknesse is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no vertue being so truly heroicall, as that by which the spirit of a man aduanceth it selfe with confidence of acceptation, vnto the loue of God. In which sense it is a braue speech that *Esaunder* in *Virgil*, vnto *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition,

*Aude hostes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.*

With this philosophic *Amazias* (as appeares by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himselfe a better man of warre than any King of *Iuda*, since the time of *Iehosaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should thinke him little inferior to *Dauid*: of which honour hee saw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him loofe a hundred talens, and done him no pleasure, he hauing preuailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was dislempered with such vaine thoughts as these (besides the witness of his impietie following) *Iosephus* doth testifie; saying, That hee despised God, and that being putt vp with his good successe, of which neuertheless hee would not acknowledge God to be the Authour, hee commanded *Ioa* King of *Israel* to become his subject, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their soveraigne, as they had done his Ancestors King *Dauid* and King *Salomon*. Some thinke that his quarrell to *Ioa* was rather grounded vpon the iniurie done to him by the *Israelites*, whom he dismissed in the iourne against Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him vp, than the remembrance of an old tittle, forgotten long since, and by himselfe neglected thirtene or fourteen years. Neuertheless it might so be, that when he was thus prouoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that to the Kings of *Israel* might, at the least, learne to keepe their subiects from offending *Iuda*, for feare of endangering their owne crownes. Had *Amazias* desired onely recompence for the iniurie done to him, it is not improbable that hee should haue had some reasonable answer from *Ioa*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Ioa* returned, likening himselfe to a Cedar, and *Amazias* in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent tearmes, flust perhaps with such proud comparisson of nobilitie, as might be made (according to that which *Iosephus* hath written) betweene a King of Ancient race, and one of lesse nobilitie than vertue.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Alex*, that when going to the warre of *Troy*, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victorie by Gods assistance, he made answer, that by Gods assistance, a coward might get victorie, but he would get it alone without such helpe: after which proud speech, though he did manie valiant actes, hee had small thanks, and finally killing himselfe in a mad sicke, whereinto hee fell vpon disgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazias* did vter such words, I doe not find: but hauing once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, he was rewarded with successe according. The verie first counsaile wherein this warre was concluded, serues to proue that hee was a wise Prince indeed at *Ierusalem*, among his Parallies, but a foole when he had to deale with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weakie people, trusting more in the seltie of their Countre than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Ioa*, who from so poore beginnings had raised himselfe to such strength, that he was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained vp, in along victorious warre. But as *Amazias* discouered much want of iudgement, in vndertaking such a match,

Santa Julia

10 Ant. 1.9.10

*2 Cedar
2 Thistle*

*Sophocles in
Iace Loo.*

x5/10

flatter

so in prosecuting the businesse, when it was set on foote, hee behaued himselfe as a man of little experience, who hauing once onely tried his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in warre there was nothing else to doe, than send a defiance, fight, and winne. *10. 10* on the contrarie side; hauing beene accustomed to deale with a stronger enemy than the King of *Juda*, vsed that celeritie, which peraduenture had often flood him in good lucke as the *Arasite*. Hee did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and waited his Countrey, but presented himselfe with an Arme in *Juda*, readie to bid battaile to *Amazias*, and saue him the labour of a long iourne. This could not but greatly discourage those of *Juda*; who (besides the impression of feare which an inuasion beates into people, not inured to the like) hauing deuoured, in their greedie hopes, the spoile of *Israel*, fully perswading themselves to get as much, and at as easie a rate, as in the iourne of *Edom*, were so farre disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good lucke, when the olde had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their King that had stomacke enough to challenge the patrimonie of *Salomon*, thought like another *Danil*, to winne it by the sword. The issue of which foolishness might easily be foreseene in humane reason; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the warre. But meete humane wisdom, how fouler it might foresee much, could not haue prognosticated all the mischiefe that fell vpon *Amazias*. For as soone as the two Armies came in sight, God, whose helpe this wretched man had so despised, did (as *Iosephus* reports it) strike such terrour and amazement into the men of *Juda*, that without one blowe giuen, they fled all away, leauing their King to shift for himselfe, which he did so ill, that his enemy had soone caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abiect basenesse. That the Armie which fled, sustained any other losse than of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in *Iosephus*; it being likely that the soone beginning of their flight, which made it the more shamelull, made it also the more rare. But of the mischiefe that followed this ouerthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazias* himselfe should sustaine the whole disgrace. For *Ioa* carried him directly to *Ierusalem*, where he had him procure that the gates might be opened, to let him in and his Armie; threatening him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable captiue, with these dreadfull wordes, that he durst doe none other, than perswade the Citizens, to yelde themselves to the mercie of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwarde being in weaker state, held out two yeares, against *Nebuchadnezzar*, was vtterly dismayed, when the King, that should haue giuen his life to saue it, vsed all his force of command and intreatie to betray it. So the gates of *Ierusalem* were opened to *Ioa*, with which honour (greater than any King of *Israel* had euer obtained) hee could not rest contented, but, the more to despight *Amazias* and his people, hee caused foure hundred cubites of the wall to be throwne downe, and entered the Citie in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him, as in triumph. This done, he sackt the Temple, and the Kings Pallace, and so, taking hostages of *Amazias*, he dismissed the poore creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

§. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindring *Joas* from visiting *Ivba* to the
croune of *Israel*, when he had wonne *Ierusalem*, and held

AMAZIA prisoner. The end of

Joas his raigne.

10 **W**He may iustly maruaile how it came to passe, that *Joas*, being thus in
possession of *Ierusalem*, hauing the King in his hands, his enemies
forces broken, and his owne entire, could bee so contented to depart
quietly, with a little spoile, when hee might haue seized vpon the
whole Kingdom. The raigne of *Atalia* had giuen him cause to hope,
that the issue of *Dauid* might be dispossessed of that croune, his owne Nobilitie, be-
ing the sonne and grand-childe of Kings, together with the famous actes that hee
had done, were enough to make the people of *Iuda* thinke highly of him; who might
also haue preferred his forme of government, before that of their owne Kings, es-
pecially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked Princes had smothered
the thanks, which were due to the memorie of a few good ones. The commoditie
that would haue ensued, vpon the vnion of all the twelue Tribes, vnder one Prince,
is so apparant, that I need not to insult on it. That any misfortune from God forbad the
20 *Israelites* (as afterwards in the victorie which *Pekah* the sonne of *Romelia* got vpon
Ahaz) to turne his present aduantage, to the best vse, wee doe not reade. All this
makes it the more difficult to resolue the question, why a Prince so well exercised;
as *Joas* had beene, in recouering his owne, and winning from his enemy, should for-
sake the possession of *Ierusalem*, and wilfully neglect the possibilitie, or rather cast
away the full assurance of so faire a conquest, as the Kingdome of *Iuda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others, had bene most materiall, I meane
the desire of the vanquished people to accept the *Israelite* for their King, it is plainely
scene, that entering *Ierusalem* in triumphant manner, *Joas* was vnable to concoct
30 his owne prosperitie. For the opening of the gates had beene enough to haue let
him not only into the Citie, but into the royall throne, and the peoples hearts,
whom by faire intreatie (especially hauing sure meanes of compulsion) hee might
haue made his owne, when they saw themselves betrayed, and basely giuen away
by him whose they had beene before. The faire marke with this opportunitie pre-
sented, he did not aime at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanely
busied, in leuelling at the glorie of a triumphant entrie through a breach. Yet this
error might afterwards haue beene corrected well enough, if entering as an ene-
my, and shewing what he could doe, by spending his anger vpon the walles, he had
within the Citie done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good will to the in-
40 habitants. But when his pride had done, his couetousnesse began, and fought to
please it selfe, with that which is commonly most readie to the spoiler, yet should be
most forborne. The treasurie wherewith *Sesac*, *Hazael*, and the *Philistines*, men ig-
norant of the true God & his religion, had quenched their greedie thirst, ought not
to haue tempted the appetite of *Joas*, who though an idolatour, yet acknowledged
also and worshipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at *Ierusalem*. Therefore
when the people saw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his rauen-
ous hands vpon the consecrated vessels, calling the family of *Obed Edom* (whose chil-
dren had hereditarie charge of the tresurie) to a strict account, as if they had bene Offi-
cers of his owne Exchequer, they considered him rather as an execrable Church-
50 robber, than as a Noble Prince, an *Israelite* and their brother, though of another
Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our age
(taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely avoided; by stealing a few apples, hee
lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the
respice of a few dayes, might by comparing themselves one to one, perceiue his

Soul diers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to
 the inhabitants of so great a Citie. It is not so ealie to hold by force a mightie Towne
 entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by vnadulced feare. For when
 the Citizens, not being disarmed, recover their spirits, and begin to vnderstand their
 first error; they will thinke vpon euery aduantage, of place, of prouisions, of mul-
 titude, yea of women armed with tilestones, and rather chuse by desperate resolu-
 tion, to correct the cuils growne out of their former cowardice, than suffer those
 mischiefs to payson the bodie, which in such halfe-conquests, are easily tasted in
 the mouth. A more liuely example herof cannot be desired, than the Cite of *Flo-
 rence*, which through the weaknes of *Pier de Medices*, gouerning therein as a
 Prince, was reduced into such hard termes, that it opened the gates vnto the French
 King *Charles* the eight, who not plainly professing him selfe either friend or foe to the
 Estate, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himselfe and
 his horse armed, with his lance vpon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein com-
 mitted by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred, betwene them
 and the Townes men: so farre forth that the *Florentines*, to preserve their libertie,
 were driuen to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intol-
 erable conditions, demanding huge summes of readie monie, and the absolute
 Signorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But *Peter
 Caponi*, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, 20
 and tearing them before his face, bad him sound his trumpets, and they would ring
 their bells: which peremptorie wordes made the French bebinke themselves, and
 come readily to this agreement, that for foure thousand pounds, and not halfe of
 that monie to be paid in hand, *Charles* should not onely depart in peace, but restore
 whatsoever he had of their dominion, and continue their assured friend. So danger-
 ous a matter did it seeme for that braue Armie, which in few months after wanne
 the Kingdome of *Naples*, to fight in the strettes, against the armed multitude of
 that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other businesse (and so perhaps had
Joas, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of
 imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houles,
 usually drawes euery Citizen to save his owne, leaving victorie to the Souldier: yet
 where the people are prepared and resolute, women can quench, as fast as the ene-
 mie hauing other things to looke vnto, can set on fire. And indeed that Command-
 er is more giuen to anger than regardfull of profit, who vpon the vncertaine hope
 of destroying a Towne, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diuersitie
 of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in *Ierusalem*,
 as we know it was in *Florence*.

How strongly *Joas* might hold himselfe within *Ierusalem*, he could not easi-
 ly depart, from thence, with his bootie safe, if the Armie of *Juda*, which had
 become more terrified than weakened in the late encounter, should reinforce it selfe,
 and giue him a checke vpon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to
 take hostages for his better securitie, his Armie being vpon returne, and better lo-
 den than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more vnapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, serving to coole the
 ambition of *Joas*, and keepe it downe from aspiring to the Crowne of *Juda*; it ap-
 pears that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of
Elisba the Prophet: who when this *Joas* had smitten the ground with his arrowes
 thrice, told him that he should no oftner smite the *Aramites*. The three victories
 which *Israel* had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probability, referred
 vnto the fifth, sixth and seventh yeares of *Joas*: after which time, if any losses ensu-
 ing had blemished the former good luckesse, it might the King of *Israel* haue like-
 ned himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worse could he haue either lent the *Judean* one
 hundred thousand men, or meeete him in battaile, who was able to bring into the
 field three hundred thousand of his owne. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by
 the

the wordes of *Elisba*, that after three victories, *Ioa*s should finde some change of fortune, and suffer losse; wee must needs conclude, That the *Aramite* prevailed vpon him this yeare, it being the last of his Raigne. That this was so, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Ioa*s his absence, gave such a blow to *Israel*, as the King at his returne was not able to remedie, but rather fell himselfe into new misfortunes, which increased the calamitie, wee may evidently perceiue in that which is spoken of *Ieroboam* his sonne. For it is said, That the Lord *Iaw* the exceeding bitter afflictions of *Israel*, and that hauing not decreed to put out the name of *Israel* from vnder the heauen, he preserved them by the hand of *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Ioa*s. This is enough to proue, that the victorious raigne of *Ioa*s was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple halting his miserie and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craesus*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived against him, by the people of *Ierusalem*, and courage which they tooke to set vpon him within the Walls: or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrie, to bid him battaile in open field, and recouer by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought vpon his owne Countrie, by the *Syrian* in his absence, if not by all of these; *Ioa*s was driuen to lay aside all thought of winning the Kingdome of *Iuda*; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where hee found a sad well-come, and being vtterly forsaken of his wonted prosperitie, forsooke also his life in few moneths after, leaving his Kingdome to *Ieroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant Sonne.

p. X.

The end of *Amazias* his Raigne and Life.

- 30 **A**ny man is able to ghesse how *Amazias* looked, when the enemye had left him. Hee that had vaunted so much of his owne great prowess and skill in armes, threatning to worke wonders, and let vp anew the glorious Empire of *Dauid*, was now vncafed of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had beche painted. Much argument of scoffing at him hee had ministred vnto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtlesse, were very many: for the shame that falls vpon an insolent man, seldome failes of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazias* (besides that the multitude are alwayes prone to lay the blame vpon their Governours, euen of those calamities which happened by their owne default) there was no child in all *Ierusalem*, but knew him to be the roote of all this mischief. He had not only challenged a good man of Warre, being himselfe a Dastard; but when hee was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common Enemye, to haue him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes hee might see what spoile there was, and not make a bad bargain by heare-say. The father of this *Amazias*, was a beastly man; yet when the *Aramites* tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his owne life at so deare a rate, as the Citie and Temple of *Ierusalem*. Had he offered; should they haue made his promise good? Surely the hate which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very vnfortunate: for by keeping out the *Israelite* (which was easie enough) any little while, they should soone haue bene rid of him, seeing that the *Aramites* would haue made him runne home, with greater speede than he came forth. Then also, when hauing trusted vp his baggage, he was readie to be gone, a litle courage would haue serued to perswade him to leaue his loade behinde; had not their good King deliuered vp hostages, to secure his returne, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this vnhappy King: it had bene well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his faults vnto God, that had punished him by all this dishonor. But we finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that hee continued an Idolator to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treason against him in Ierusalem*; a manifest proofe that he was not reclaimed, vnto his liues end. And certainly, *they which tell a man in his aduersitie of his faults passed, shall sooner bee thought to vpbraide him with his fortune, than to seeke his reformation*. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that Priests and Prophets were lesse welcome to him, than euer they had bene. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselves might alwaies be Masters, wanted not plausible matter to reuiue him. For hee was not first, nor second, of the Kings of Iuda, that had bene ouer-come in battaile. *Dauid* himselfe had abandoned the Citie, leauing it, before the Enemie was in sight, vnto *Absalom* his rebellious sonne. Many besides him had receiued losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Iosias* might so easily haue bene kept out; why did their Ancestors let *Sesae* in? *Aha* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands hee emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessitie of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes; if so, hee should rather liue to punish them, than die to please them. Though wherein had hee giuen them any cause of displeasure? It was hee indeede that commanded to set open the gates to *Iosias*; but it was the people that did it. Good seruants ought not to haue obeyed their Masters commandements, to his disadvantage, when they saw him not Master of his owne Person. As his captiuitie did acquite him from blame, of all things that hee did or suffered in that condigion; so was that misfortune it selfe, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his losse. For had hee bene as hasty to flie, as others were; hee might haue escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base Multitude courage, by his Royall example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom hee trusted. Vnworthe creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans wordes, being prisoner, he commanded them to yeeld; hauing neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he had them stand to it, and fight like men. The best was that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand liues were saued; the Enemie hauing wisely preferred the surpris of a Lyon that was Capitaine, before the chafe and slaughter of an Armie of stags, that followed him.

These or the like wordes comforting *Amazias*, were able to perswade him, that it was euen so indeede. And such excules might haue serued well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that was vnwilling to ascribe vnto God the good successe foretold by a Prophet; could easily finde how to impute this late disaster, vnto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seemes that he meant to keepe himselfe safe from her, by sitting still; for in fiftene yeares following (so long he out-liued his honor) we finde not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his gouernement, yet we may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them; increasing their hatred, to his owne ruine. He that suspecteth his owne worth, or other mens opinions, thinking that lesse regard is had of his person, than he beleueeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authoritie, in purchasing the name of a seuerer man. For the affected lowrenesse of a vaine fellow, doth many times resemble the grauitie of one that is wise; and the feare wherein they liue, which are subject vnto oppression, carries a shew of reuerence, to him that does the wrong; at least it serues to dazle the eyes of vnderlings, keeping them from prying into the weaknesse of such as haue iurisdiction ouer them. Thus the time, wherein, by well using it, men might attaine to be such as they ought, they doe vially mispend, in seeking to appeare such as they are not. This is a vaine and deci-

deceivable course; procuring, instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an vnable spirit, being outparted with high authoritie, is too passionate in the execution of such an Office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazias* thought by extreme rigour to hold vp his reputation, what did hee else than tricke to make the people thinke he hated them, when of himselfe they were apt enough to beleene, that he did not loue them? The best was that he had, by reuenging his fathers death, prouided well enough for his owne securitie: but who should take vengeance; (or vpon whom?) of such a murder, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himselfe, who had not giuen commandement or leaue vnto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the blood of his anointed. Yet as *Amazias*, careless of God, was carried headlong by his owne affections; so his subjects, following the same illexample, without requiring what belonged vnto their duties, rose vp against him, with such headlong furie, that being vnable to defend himselfe in *Ierusalem*, he was driuen to forsake the Citie, and fle to *Lachis*, for safegard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceiued against him, and so generall, that neither his absence could alliaie the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his presence in the Countrie abroad procure friends, to defend his life. Questionlesse, he chose the Towne of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found he there none other fauour, than that the people did not kill him with their owne hands: for when the Conspiratours (who troubled not themselves about raising an armie for the matter) sent pursuers after him; he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the vtmost Citie of his Dominion Westward; standing somewhat without the border of *Iuda*, so that hee might haue made an easie escape (if hee durst aduenture) into the Territorie of the *Philistines*, or the Kingdome of *Israel*. Therefore it may seeme that he was detained there, where certaine it is that he found no kind of fauour: for had not the people of this Towne, added their owne treason to the generall insurrection; the murderers could not at so good leasure as they did, haue carried away his bodie to *Ierusalem*, where they gaue him buriall with his fathers.

Of the Interregnum, or vacancie that was in the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after the death of *AMAZIA*.

IT hath already beene shewed, that the raignes of the Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by complicit yeares; otherwhiles, by yeares current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last yeares of his fathers Raigne, or the foremost of his Sonnes. But we are now arrived at a mere vacation, wherein the Crowne of *Iuda* laye void eleuen whole yeares: a thing not plainly set downe in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Iosaphat*, and therefore hard to bee beleueed, were it not proued by necessarie consequence.

Twice we find it written, that *AMAZIA*, King of *Iuda*, lived after the death of *IOAS* 2. Chron. 25. 25. & 2. King. 14. 17. about the end of fiftene yeares complete, which *Ieroboam* the second (who in the fiftenth yeare of *AMAZIA* was made King ouer *Israel*) had raigned in *Samarita*. But the succession of *AMAZIA*, who is also called *Azarias*, into his father in the Kingdome of *Iuda*, was eleuen yeares later than the sixteenth of *Ieroboam*: for it is expressed, that *Azarias* began to Raigne in the seuen and twentieth yeare of *IOEROBAM*; the sixteenth yeare of his life, being ioyned with the first of two and fiftie that hee Raigned. So the Interregnum of eleuen yeares cannot bee diuided, without some hard meanes vied of interpreting the text otherwise than the letter foundes.

Yet

Yet some coniectures there are made, which tend to keepe all euen, without acknowledging any voided time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seuen and twentieth yeare of *Ieroboam*, we should perhaps vnderstand the seuen and twentieth yeare of his life, or else (because the like wordes are no where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Asaria* was eleauen yeares vnder age, that is five yeares old, when his father died, and so his sixteenth yeare might concur with the seuen and twentieth of *Ieroboam*; or that the text it selfe may haue suffered some wrong, by miswriting twentie seuen for seenteene yeares, and so, by making the seenteenth yeare of *Ieroboam* to be newly begun, all may be salued. These are the coniectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which, it may suffice, that the author himselfe doth easily let it passe, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that vpon euery doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all coppies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Asaria* began his raigne being five yeares old; but then must we adde those eleauen yeares which passed in his minority, to the two and fiftie that followed his sixteenth yeare, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an *interregnum*.

But why should we be so carefull to auoide an *interregnum* in *Iuda*, seeing that the like necessitie hath enforced all good writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeares, in the Kingdome of *Israel*? The space of time betwene *Ieroboams* death, and the beginning of *Zachariashs* Raigne, and such another gap found betwene the death of *Peká*, and the beginning of *Hosea*, haue made it easily to be admitted in *Samaria*, which the consideration of things as they stood in *Iuda*, when *Amazias* was slaine, doth make more probable to haue happened there, yea although the necessitie of computation were not so apparant.

For the publike furie, hauing loo farre extended it selfe, as vnto the destruction of the Kings owne person, was not like to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redresse of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremitie. Wee need not therefore wonder how it came to passe, that they which already had throwne themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the crowne from a Prince of that age, which being interested in all ornaments of regalitie, is neuertheless exposed to many iniuries, proceeding from headstrong and forgetfull subiects.

As for their coniecture, who make *Asaria* to haue bene King but one and fortie yeares, after he came out of his nonage; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the text. The best opinion were that, which gives vnto *Ieroboam* eleauen yeares of raigne with his father, before hee beganne to raigne single in the fiftenth of *Amazias*, did it not swallow vp almost the whole raigne of *Iona*, and extending the yeares of those which rained in *Israel* (by making such of them compleat, as were only current) and take at the shortest the Raignes of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: euery man may follow his owne opinion, and see mine more plainly in the *Chronologicall Table*, drawne for these purposes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporarie with *AMAZIA*, and more particularly of *SARDANAPALVS*.



He Princes living with *Amazias*, and in the eleauen yeares that followed his death, were *Iona* and *Ieroboam* in *Israel*; *Cephenes* and *Achaz* in *Egypt*; *Syluius Alladius*, and *Syluius Auentinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diogneus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athenis*; in *Lacedaemon* *Thelephus*, in whose time the *Spartans* wan from the *Achaians*, *Gerantha*, *Amylea*, and some other townes.

But more notable than all these, was *Assyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazis* succeeding his father *Oerazapes* or *Anaxadaraxes*, reigned twentie yeares, and was slaine the last of the clean void yeares which forewent the Raigne of *Asaria*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thousand two hundred and fortie yeares. A most luxurious and effeminate Palliard hee was, passing away his time among flumpets, whom he imitated both in apparell and behauiour.

In these voluptuous courses hee lived an vnhappy life, knowing himselfe to bee so vile, that he durst not let any man haue a sight of him; yet seene he was at length, and the light of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* vnder him, finding meanes to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, and striving to counterfeit an harlot, that hee thought it great shame to lue vnder the command of so vnworthie a creature. Purposing therefore to free himselfe and others from so base subiection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Belesus* or *Belesus* a *Chaldean*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleased with this prophetic, did promise vnto *Belesus* himselfe the gouernment of *Babylon*; and so concluding how to handle the busines, one of them stirred vp the *Medes*, and aured the *Persians* into the quarrell, the other perswaded the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* to venture themselves in the same cause. These foure Nations armed fortie thousand men a peece: *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himselfe, but gathering such forces as hee could, out of other Nations, encountered the rebels, as one that would by deedes refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, answere to the manner of his retirednesse. For in three battailes hee carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearefull termes, that had not *Belesus* promised them constantly some vnexpected succours, they would forthwith haue broken vp their Campe. About the same time, an Armie out of *Bactria* was comming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountering it vpon the way, perswaded so strongly by promise of libertie, that those forces joyned themselves with his. The sodaine departure of the enimie seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his Armie, triumphing before victorie. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came vpon him by night, and forced his Campe; which through ouer-great securitie, was vnprepared for resistance.

This ouerthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leauing his wiues brother *Salammennus* to keepe the field, he withdrew himselfe into the Citie of *Ninues* which; till new aides that he sent for should come, hee thought easily to defend; it hauing bene prophesied, that *Ninive* should neuer be taken, till the River were enimie to the towne. Of the greatnesse and strength of *Ninive*, enough hath bene spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* (hauing in two battailes ouerthrowne the Kings Armie, and slaine *Salammennus*) was faine to lie two whole yeares before it, in hope to winne it by famines; whereof yet hee saw no appearance. It seemes that hee wanted Engines and skill to force those walles, which were a hundred foot high, and thicke enough for three Chariots in front to passe vpon the rampire. But that which hee could not doe in two yeares, the Riuier of *Tygris* did in the third: for being high swolne with raines, it not only drowned a part of the Citie through which it ranne, but threw downe wentie furlongs of the wall, and made a faire breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the olde Oracle, or seeing no meanes of resistance left, shutting vp himselfe into his Pallace, with his wiues, Eunuches and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, where with hee and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a monument of his, that was in *Strabopolis* a Citie of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that Citie and *Tharsus* vpon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men cate and

and drinke, and make merrie, encouraging other, with verses well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example, testifie that his nature was more prone to sensualitie, than to any vertue becoming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that sodainly hee slew him with a dagger. *Diod. Sicul. l. 2. c. 7.* This relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a Grecke writer, that liued in the Court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be knowne.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Assyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, vnto *Sardanapalus*, though I beleue that they were sometimes (yct not, as *Orosius* 10 hath it, incessantly) busied, in offensive or else defensive armes; yet for the most part of them I doe better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were ouerpassed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthe of memorie. Whatsoever they did; that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is verie true; *Silence* and *obliuion* hath oppressed them. *Diod. l. 2. c. 6.* *Theophilus Antiochenus l. 2.*

CHAP. XXIII.

10

Of VZZIA.

§ I.

The prosperitie of VZZIA, and of IEROBOAM the second, who reigned with him in Israel. Of the Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes after the death of IEROBOAM. Of ZACHARIA, SALVEM, MENAHEM and PEKAHIA.

30



VZZIA, who is also called *Azaria* the sonne of *Iotham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was sixteen years old, in the seuen and twentieth year of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioa* King of *Israel*. Hee serued the God of his father *Dauid*, and had therefore good successe in in all his enterprises. Hee built *Eloth*, a Towne that stood neare to the Red Sea, and restored it to *Juda*. 40 Hee ouercame the *Philistims*, of whose Townes hee dismantled some, and built others in sundrie partes of their Territories. Also hee got the maiestie ouer some partes of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruites of his prosperous warres, wherein (as *Iosephus* rehearseth his acts) hee beganne with the *Philistims*, and then proceeded vnto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Armie consisted of three hundred and seuen thousand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thousand fixe hundred Captaines. For all this multitude the King prepared shields, and speares, and helmets, and other Armes requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite vnto that which some of his late predecessors had held, who thought it better policie to vse the seruice of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre the Princes and all the Charriots. 50

2. Chron. 26. 14.

2. Chron. 26. 9.

As the victories of *Vzzia* were farre more important, than the atchieuements of dismantling a town, pulling down the walls, bulwarks & fortification of and leaving it without any defence.

of all that had raigne in *Juda*, since the time of *Dauid*; so were his riches and magnificent works, equall, if not superior to any of theirs that had been Kings betweene him and *Salomon*. For besides that great conquests are wont to repay the charges of yare with triple interest, hee had the skill to vse, as well as the happinesse to get. Hee turned his lands to the best vse, keeping Ploughmen and Trellers of Vines, in grounds consuenient to such husbandrie. In other places hee had cattell feeding, whereof he might well keepe great store, hauing wonne so much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waite ground scruieng for pasture. For defence of his cattell and Heardsmen, hee built Towers in the wilderness. He also digged many cisternes or ponds. *Iosephus* calls them water-courses; but in such drie grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. It by these Towers hee so commanded the water, that none could without his consent, releue themselves therewith; questionlesse he took the onely course, by which hee might securely hold the Lordship ouer all the wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the vse of trauailers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of sundrie Townes among the *Philistims*, hee repaired the wall of *Ierusalem*, which *Iosab* had broken downe, and fortified it with Towers, whereof some were an hundred and fiftie Cubites high.

The State of *Israel* did neuer so flourish, as at this time, since the diuision of the twelue Tribes into two Kingdomes. For as *Rezia* preuailed in the South, so (if not more) *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Iosab*, King of the tenne Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories, against the *Syrians*, he wanne the Royall Citie of *Damascus*, and he wanne *Hamath*, with all the Countrie therabout from the entring of *Hamath*, vnto the Sea of the Wilderness, that is (as the most expound it) vnto the vast deserts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was vndiscovered. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in the time of this *Ieroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had beene in the raigne of *Dauid*.

But it was not for the pietie of *Ieroboam*, that hee thrived so well; for hee was an Idolater: it was only the compassion which the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which caused him to alter the successe of warre, and to throw the victorious *Aramites*, vnder the feet of those, whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Iehu*, to which God had promised the Kingdome of *Israel* vnto the fourth generation, was now not faire from the end; and now againe it was invited vnto repentance, by new benefits, as it had bene at the beginning. But the sinne of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Rebat*, was held so pretious, that neither the Kingdome it selfe, giuen to him by God, was able to draw *Iehu* from that politike idolatrie; nor the miserie falling vpon him and his posteritie, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperitie, of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Iosab*, to make him render the honour that was due, to the onely giuer of victorie. Wherefore the promise of God, made vnto *Iehu*, that his sonnes, vnto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gaue warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that wee, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly gesse at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Iosab*, after a victorious raigne of one and fortie yeares, had ended his life, it seemes in all reason that *Zacharia* his Son, should forth with haue bene admitted, to raigne in his stead; the Nobilitie of that race hauing gotten such a lustre, by the immediate succession of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the crowne passed by election, must needs haue appeared base; and the vertue of the last King, hauing bene so great, as might well serue to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a familie so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twentie yeares

yeares did passe before *Zacharia* the Sonne of *Ieroboam* was, by vniforme content, receiued as King. The true originall causes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calues did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to haue bene wanting, vpon which, the wisdome of man was readie to cast an eye. Probable it is that the Captaines of the Armie (who afterwards slew one another, so fast, that in foureteen yeares there reigned five Kings) did now by headstrong violence, rent the Kingdome asunder, holding each what he could, and either despiing or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*, vntill, after many yeares, wearied with dissention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yeeld all quietly to the sonne of *Ieroboam*. That this *Anarchie* lasted almost three and twentie yeares, we find by the difference of time, betwene the fiftenth yeare of *Vasias*, which was the last of *Ieroboam* his one and fortieth (his seuen and twentieth concurring with the first of *Vasias*) and the eight and thirtieth of the same *Vasias* in the last sixe moneths whereof, *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are some indeed that by supposing *Ieroboam* to haue reigned with his father eleauen yeares, doe cut off the *interregnum* in *Iuda* (before mentioned) and by the same reason, abridge this *Anarchie*, that was before the reigne of *Zacharia* in *Israel*. Yet they leaue it twelue yeares long: which is time sufficient to proue that the Kingdome of the ten Tribes, was no lesse distempered, than as is alreadie noted. But I chooſe rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the world, than this doubtfull coniecture, that giues to *Ieroboam* two and fiftie yeares, by adding three quarters of his fathers reigne vnto his owne, which was little indeed so long, that hee may well seeme to haue begun it very young: for I doe not thinke, that God blessed this Idolater, both with a longer reigne, and with a longer life, than he did his seruant *Dauid*.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the throne of *Israel* was void, before the reigne of *Zacharia*; little may suffice to be said of his Raigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely was he King; in which time he declared himselfe a worshipper of the golden Calues; which was enough to iustifie the iudgement of God, whereby hee was slaine. He was the last of *Iehu's* house, being (inclusiue) the first of that line; which may haue bene some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the prophetic hauing determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended vnto the vtmost) there was no warrant giuen to *Sallum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had bene giuen to *Iehu*, for the slaughter of *Iehoram*, and for the eradication of *Ahab's* house.

Zacharia hauing bene sixe moneths a King, was then slaine by *Sallum*, who *King. 15. 13.* reigned after him, the space of a moneth in *Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I doe not finde; saue onely that he was a Traitor, and the sonne of one *Iabeesh*, whereby his father got no honour. It seemes that hee was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himselfe; and now, when all other Competitors were sitted downe, thought easily to preuaile against that King, in whose person the race of *Iehu* was to faile. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong partie: for *Tiphshab* or *Thapsa*, and the coast thereof euen from *Tirzah*, where *Menabem*, his enemy and supplanter, then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* receiued the reward of his treason, and was slaine by *Menabem* who reigned in his place.

Menabem the sonne of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* tenne yeares. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane, For he not onely destroyed *Tiphshab*, and all that were therein, or therabouts, but he ript vp all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this crueltie bene vsed in reuenge of *Zacharia's* death, it is like that he would haue bene as earnest, in procuring vnto him his fathers crowne when it was first due. But in performing that office,

office, there was used such long deliberation, that we may plainly discover Ambition, Disdain, and other private passions, to have beene the causes of this beastly outrage.

In the time of *Menabem*, and (as it seemes) in the beginning of his raigne; *Pal*, King of *Assyria*, came against the Land of *Israel*; whom this new King appeased, with a thousand talents of silver, leaved upon all the substantiall men in his Countrey. With this monie the *Israelite* purchased, not only the peace of his Kingdome, but his owne establishment therein: some factious man (belike) hauing either invited *Pal* thither, or (if he came vncalled) fought to vse his helpe, in depolting this ill beloued King. *Iosephus* reports of this *Menabem*, that his raigne was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his tyrannic ended with his life: and *Pekahis*, his Sonne, occupied his roome.

Of this *Pekahis* the storie is short: for hee reigned only two yeares; at the end whereof, he was slaine by *Pekah*, the Sonne of *Kemath*, whose treason was rewarded with the crowne of *Israel*, as, in time coming, another mans treason against himselfe shall be. There needs no more, to be said of *Menabem*, and his Sonne, save that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the Sonne (as wee finde in *Iosephus*) like to his Father in cruelty. Concerning *Pal* the *Assyrian* King, who first opened unto those Northern Nations the way into *Palestina*; it will shortly follow in order of the storie, to deliuer our opinion: whether he were that *Belofus* (called also *Belshazzar*, and by some, *Phul Belochus*) who joyned with *Arbaces* the *Median*, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of *Vezia's* life, who out-lived the happinesse wherein we left him.

§. 11.

The end of *Vezia's* his reigne and life.

30 **A**S the zeale of *Iehoiada*, that godly Priest, was the meane, to preferre the linage of *Dauid*, in the person of *Ioiakim*; so it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Vezia*, to bring him vp, and aduance him to the crowne of *Juda*, when the hatred borne to his Father *Achaz*, had endangered his succession. For it is said of *Vezia*, That he sought God in the daies of *Zecharia* (which vnderstood the visions of God) and when as he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.

But, when he was young, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the Lord his God: and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incense, upon the Altar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his owne authority, by meddling in the Priests office, whose power had in euery extremitie bene so helpfull to the Kings of *Juda*, that mere gratitude, and ciuill policie, should haue held back *Vezia* from incurring thereupon; yea, though the law of God had bene silent in this case, and not forbidden it. Howloeu the King forgot his dutie, the Priests remembred theirs, and God forgate not to assist them. *Azarias* the high Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gaue him to vnderstand, how little to his honor it would proue, that he tooke vpon him the office of the Sonnes of *Aaron*. There were with *Azarias* foure score other Priests, valiant men, but their valour was shewed, only in assisting the high Priest, when (according to his dutie) hee reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himselfe performed. We finde in *Iosephus*, that the King had apparrailed himselfe in Priestly habit, and that hee threatened *Azarias* and his Companions, to punish them with death, vnlesse they would be quiet. *Iosephus*, indeede, enlargeth the storie, by inserting a great earthquake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure furlongs till it rested against another Hill, stopping vp the high waies, and spoiling the Kings Garden in the passage. With this earth-quake, hee saith, that the rooffe of the Temple did

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cleare, and that a Sunne beame did light vpon the Kings face, which was presently infected with leprosie. All this may haue bene true; and some there are who thinke that this earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*, wherein they doe much misse-reckon the times. For the earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the daies of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*, who died seuen and thirtie years before *Vezias*; so that *Iotham* the Sonne of *Vezias*, which supplied his Fathers place in gouernment of the Land, should, by this account, haue bene then vnborne: for he was but five and twentie yeares old, when hee beganne to raigne as King. Therefore, thus farre only we haue assurance; that while *Vezias* was wroth with the Priests, the leprosie rose up in his forehead, before the Priests. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to liue in a house by himselfe, vntill he died; the rule ouer the Kings house, and ouer all the Land, being committed to *Iotham*, his Sonne, and Successor. *Iotham* tooke not vpon himselfe the stile of King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred, yet in a Monument a-part from the rest, because he was a Leper.

2. Chron. 26. 30.

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§. III.

Of the Prophets which liued in the time of *Vezias*, and of Princes then ruling in *Egypt*, and in some other Countries.

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IN the time of *Vezias* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea*, *Isaiah*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, and *Jonas*. It is not indeede set downe, when *Isaiah*, or *Obadiah*, dought prophetic: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to *S. Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then must these two bee judged contemporarie with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who liued vnder King *Vezias*. To enquire which of these five was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* liued, hath so painefullly bene sought, without reprehension; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquitie of these holie Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*; who foretold the great victories of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; and therefore is like to haue prophesied in the daies of *Isaiah*, whilst the affliction of *Israel* was exceeding bitter; the Text it selfe intimating no lesse: by which consequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose works are now extant. But his prophecies, that concerned the Kingdome of *Israel*, are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seemes, not without reason, vnto some very learned, to haue belonged vnto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose daies *Nineue* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all there are found expresse promises of the Messias.

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In the raigne of *Vezias* likewise it was, that *Esaï*, the first of the foure great Prophets, beganne to see his visions. This difference of greater and lesser Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they haue left written (as *S. Augustine* giues reason of the distinction) because the greater haue written larger Bookes. The Prophet *Esaï* was great indeede, not only in regard of his much writing; or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who thinke him to haue bene the sonne of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he liued; but for the excellencie, both of his stile, and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole Historie of our Sauour, with the calling of the Gentils, that he might as well be called an Euangelist, as a Prophet; hauing written in such wise, That (as *Hierome* saith) one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Historie of matters already past.

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Bocchoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth yeare of his raigne, by our computation

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2. Chron. c. 14. vs. 26.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 18. c. 29.

Esaï. in ysaïa. per Hieron.

tion (whereof in due place we will giue reason) was current, when *Vazza* tooke possession of the Kingdome of *Juda*.

After the death of *Bocheris*, *Aschis* followed in the Kingdome of *Egypt*, vnto him succeeded *Anyfis*; and these two occupied that crowne fixe years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Ethiopian*, became King of *Egypt*, and held it fiftie years, whereof the ten first ranne along with the last of *Vazza* his raigne and life. Of these and other *Egyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to bee intermeddled with the businesse of *Juda*.

In *Ashens*, the two last years of *Atriphron* his twentie, the seuen and twentith of *Thespeus*, the twentieth of *Aganestor*, and three the first of *Aschylus* his three and twentie, made euen with the two and fiftie of *Vazza*: as likewise did in *Alba* the last seuen of *Siluius Auentinus* his seuen and thirtie, together with the three and twentie of *Siluius Procas*, and two and twentie the first of *Siluius Anulus*. In *Media* *Arbaces* beganne his new Kingdome, in the first of *Vazza*, wherein, after eight and twentie years, his Sonne *Sosarmus* succeeded him, and raigned thirtie years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diuision of the *Affyrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it conuenient to vfe more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great vncertaintie in the storie of the *Affyrian* Kings, who haue already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

§. IIII.

Of the *Affyrian* Kings, descending from *Phul*: and whether *Phul* and *Belosys* were one person, or heads of sundrie Families, that raigned a part in *Ninive* and *Babylon*.

BY that which hath formerly beene shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparant that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not only submit themselves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiuing by his authoritie sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited liues. The first example of this his power, was shewen vpon *Belosys* the *Babylonian*, by whose especiall aduise and helpe, *Arbaces* himselfe was become so great. Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* excreised in so tyrannicall manner, as might giue offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generalltie of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belosys*, he vsed the counsaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne Grace; allowing him to hold, not only the Citie and Province of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embelzing whereof his life had beene endangered.

In like manner, he gaue rewards to the rest of his paktars, and made them Rulers of Provinces; retaining (as it appears) only the Soueraignetie to himselfe, which to vfe immoderately he did naturally abhorre. He is said, indeede, to haue excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding vnto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, hee destroyed the Citie of *Ninive*; permitting the Citizens neuerthelesse to take and carrie away euerie one his owne goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Babylonians*, he drew to his side, by the allurements of libertie, which he himselfe so greatly loued, that by slackning too much the reines of his owne Soueraignetie, he did more harme to the generall estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enioyed, could recompense. For both the Territorie of that Countrie was pared narrower by *Salmansar* (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee finde, in the Scriptures, to haue held some Townes of the

Medes; and the ciuill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deiaces*, the filt of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that gouernement, by reducing them into stricter termes of obedience.

How the force of the *Affyrians* grew to be such, as might in fourescore yeares, if not sooner, both extend it selfe vnto the conquest of *Israel*, and teare away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to bee answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Nimue*, and subuersion of the *Affyrian* Kingdome, whereof the *Medes*, vnder *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seeme at that time to haue kept the *Affyrians* vnder their subiection, when the rest of the Prouinces were set at libertie; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nimue*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their historie is made vncertaine.

I will first therefore deliuer the opinion generally receiued, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it; I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Ioseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the iudgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or haue followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set downe a part the severall authorities and arguments of sundrie men, adding somewhat of weight or clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without feare to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine owne, but merely led by those reasons, which vpon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appeare weak.

That which, vntill of late, hath passed as current, is this; That *Belosus* was the same King who, first of the *Affyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Armie, being called *Pal*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his Authors with such as follow them, *Phul Beluchus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilfull Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that hee got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Affyria*: finally, that he reigned eight and fortie yeares, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglatphalsar* his Sonne, in whose Posteritie it continued some few descents, till the house of *Achaz* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient proofe, could not be gainsaid: for that Author (such as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howsoever *Annius* his Authors deferue to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, iustifie it by diuers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant vnto no Historie at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeede the foundation, whereupon all haue built) that *Arbaces* and *Belosus* were Partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bablians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewise other Capitaines were with gouernements: but that any third Person was so eminent, as to haue *Affyria* it selfe, the chiefe Countreie of the Empire, bestowed vpon him, it is a thing whereof not the least apparence is found in any Historie. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Affyrians* should be committed vnto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meete to trust them in their owne walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Nimue* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policie, because thereby the people of that Nation might bee kept downe, from aspiring to recouer the Soueraignetie, which else they would haue thought to belong, as of right, vnto the Seate of the Empire.

Vpon such considerations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolve the Corporation, or Bodie politike, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Townes were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed ouer dangerous

dangerous cunct to Rome it selfe, that was Mistress of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or four years had erected their Kingdome a-new, vnder one *Pul*? or what must this *Pul* haue beene (of whose descents, or entremedling, or indeede of whose very name, we finde no mention in the Warre against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall part of the Empire fell, either by generall consent in dnuision of the Prouinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soone after? Surely he was none other than *Belofus*; whose neare Neighbourhood gaue him opportunitie (as he was wise enough to play his owne game) both to get *Assyria* to himselfe, and to empeach any other man, that should haue attempted to seize vpon it. The Prouince of *Babylon*, which *Belofus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and siluer that had bene in the Palace of *Nimue*. And questionlesse to restore such a Citie as *Nimue*, was an enterprife fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belofus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belofus*, is likely to haue wanted.

Besides all this, had *Pul* beene a distinct person from *Belofus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not haue beene an ealie matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Armie, seeking bootie a farre off in *Israel*: the only action by which the name of *Pul* is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers haue called *Belofus*, *Beleser*, and *Belesis*, (in like manner as *Iosephus* acknowledgeth, that hee, whom the Scriptures called neuer otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the Sonne of *Astages*, and called of the *Greekes* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this scruple viterly remoued. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border vpon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belofus*, hauing setled his affaires in *Assyria* towards the East and North, might with good leasure encroach vpon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdome, to the South and West. He that looks into all particulars, may finde every one circumstance concurring, to proue that *Phul* who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belofus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joynd with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was ouerthrowne, did enter into that action, merely for the loue of *Belofus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of maine importance, to those that were to passe ouer *Euphrates* with an Armie into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belofus*, that held good correspondence with them; and whose most fruitfull Prouince, adjoining to their barraine quarters, might yearely doe them inestimable pleasures; was not only like to haue quiet passage through their borders, but their vtmost assistance; yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loved not *Israel*, should for their owne behoofe haue giuen him intelligence, of the destruction and ciuill broiles among the ten Tribes; whereby, as this *Pul* got a thousand talents, so it seemes that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heauie Neighbour of *Ieroboam*, recouered their owne, setting vp a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wildernesse to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations diuided by *Euphrates* hold together in fogood termes of friendship: it was ancient consanguinitie; the memorie whereof was auailable to the *Syrians*, in the time of *Dauid*, when the *Aramites* beyond the Riuer came ouer willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belofus* had good reason to looke into those parts; what a King reigning so farre off as *Assyria*, should haue to doe in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, least it should seeme to haue ill coherence with that which hath beene said of the long Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes.

For if the Crowne of *Israel* were worne by no man in three and twentie yeares, then is it likely that *Belofus* was either vnwilling to stirre, or vnable to take the advantage when it was fairest, and first discovered. This might haue compelled those, who alone were not strong enough, to seeke after helpe from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belofus*, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belofus* did passe the River of *Euphrates*, as soone as hee found likelihood of making a prosperous journey, then may it seeme that the inter-regnum in *Israel* was not so long as we haue made it: for three and twentie yeares leisure would haue afforded better opportunitie, which ought not to haue bene looll.

For answere herunto, we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* haue written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they preuailed and grew mightie, betwene the times of *Arbaces* and *Daces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an error of *Orosius*, where hee supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldeans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* doe concur, that the authoritie of *Arbaces* did restrain the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull only of it selfe. Now, though some haue conjectured that all *Assyria* was giuen to *Belofus* (as an ouerplus, besides the Prouince of *Babylon*) which was his by plaine bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deseruings, yet the opinion more commonly received is, that hee did only encroach vpon that Prouince by little and little, whilst *Arbaces* liued, and afterwards dealing more openly got it all himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelue yeares betwene the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his raigne; manifest it is, that the conquest of *Assyria*, and setting of that Countrie, was worke enough to hold *Belofus* occupied, besides the restauration of *Ninive*, which alone was able to take vp all the time remaining of his raigne, if perhaps he liued to see it finished in his owne daies. So that this argument may rather serue to proue that *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person; forasmuch as the journey of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made vntill *Belofus* could finde leisure; and the time of advantage which *Belofus* did let slip, argued his businesse in some other quarter, namely in that Prouince of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may be said, that he who conquered *Assyria*, and performed somewhat vpon a Countrie so farre distant as *Palestina*, was likely to haue bene, at least, named in some historie, or if not himselfe, yet his Countrie to haue bene spoken of for those victories: but wee neither heare of *Phul*, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Assyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belofus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, wee finde good Record.

Surely, that great slaughter of so many thousand *Assyrians*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and vnfortunate warre, which ouerwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine and viter desolation of *Ninive*, must needs haue so weakened the state of *Assyria*, that it could not in thirte yeares space be able to invade *Palestina*, which the auncient Kings, raigning in *Ninive*, had in all their greatnesse, forborne to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did helpe to enable *Belofus* to subdue it; who having once extended his dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Countrey, secure of the *Sythians*, and other warlike Nations on that side, might very well turne Southward, and trie his fortune in those Kingdomes, whereinto ciuile dissention of the inhabitants, and the bordering enuie of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damasco*, friends and cousins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mesopotamians*, did inuite him. For these, and the other before alledged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of *Pal* in the Scriptures, ought to be vnderstood of *Belofus*; euen as by the names of *Nebuchad-*

nesser, Darius the Mede, Artaxerxes, and Belshazzar, with the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the same, whom prophane Historians, by names better knowne in their owne Countries, haue called *Nabopolassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath bene written of olde, nor neede to trouble our selues and others with framing new coniectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly receiued.

Now this being once graunted; other things, of more importance, will of the selues easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Babylus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found those famous Princes, *Nabopolassar*, *Mardocempalus*, and *Nabonassar* (the famous for the Astronomical observations recorded from their times) doe stand ground of this contention. If therefore *Belshazzar* or *Belus* were that *Pul* which reued *Israel*, if he and his posteritie reigned both in *Nineve* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Pul-Aur*, from whence *Salmanassar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Asarhaddon* descended; then is it manifest, that we must seeke *Nabopolassar*, the *Babylonian* King among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other then *Salmanassar*, who is knowne to haue reigned in those yeares, which *Ptolemy* the Mathematician hath assigned vnto *Nabopolassar*. As for *Mero-lach*, who supplanted *Aur-badon*, I mislike it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all this disputation.

But they that maintaine the contrarie part, will not be satisfied with such coniectures. They lay hold vpon the conclusion, and by shaking that into peeces, hope to ouerthrow all the premisses, vpon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabopolassar*, that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Assyrian* Kings, then is it manifest, that the races were distinct, and that *Pul* and *Belus* were severall Kings. This consequence is so plaine, that it needes no confirmation. To prove that *Nabopolassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrarie. For first, *Nabopolassar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Assyria*. This is proued by his name, which is merely *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassar*, name, is proper to the *Assyrians*. It is likewise proued by the Astronomical observations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Assyrians*, doe shew, that *Nabopolassar*, from whom *Ptolemy* drawes that *Epochs* or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Assyrian*. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of *Nabopolassar*, which was *Mardocempalus*, called in his owne language *Mero-lach-ken-pel*, but more briefly in *Esay* his prophetic, *Mero-lach*, by the former part of his name; or *Mero-lach-Baladan*, the sonne of *Baladan*. Now if *Mero-lach*, the sonne of *Baladan*, King of *Babel*, were the sonne of *Nabopolassar*, then was *Nabopolassar* none other then *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* King of *Assyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabopolassar* and *Salmanassar*, which in *Greece* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the Hebrew letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, wherinto *Salmanassar* carried captiue some part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the prouince of *Babylon* *Salmanassar* had gotten some what, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it selfe. To conclude, *Mero-lach* beganne his raigne ouer *Babylon* in the fixt yeare of *Heczekiah*, at which time *Salmanassar* tooke *Samaritias*; therefore, if *Salmanassar* were King of *Babylon*, then must we say that he and *Mero-lach*, yea and *Nabopolassar*, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Ioseph Scaliger*, who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded vpon likelihood of coniectures, hath drawne his proofs from matter of more necessarie inference.

To touching all that was laid before of *Pul* *Belus*, for the prouing that *Pul* and *Belus*

Berosus were not sundrie Kings; *Ioseph Scaliger* pitties their ignorance, that haue spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painefull men he coniecteth that they were, who by their diligence might haue wonne the good liking of their Readers, had they not by mentioning *Annus* his Authors giuen such offence, that men refused thereupon to reade their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine owne part, howfouer I beleue nothing that *Annus* his *Berosus*, *Metasthenes*, and others of that flampe affirms, in respect of their bare authoritie; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of these good fellows alleged in it: I haue (somewhat peradventure too often) already spokn my minde of *Annus* his Authors: neithertheless, I may fay here againe, that where other Historics are silent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elswhere we finde, and serueth to explaine or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeede are those honest and painefull men (as *Scaliger* termes them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good silly fellowes) who set downe the *Assyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Berosus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers as a man should be ashamed or vnwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annus*, though disliking him ingeneral) *Gerard Mercator* is not so slight a Chronologer, that hee should bee laughed out of doores, with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons betwene *Scaliger* and *Mercator*, they were both of them men notably learned: let vs examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force, as cannot either be resisted or auoided. It will easily be granted, that *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Assyria*, some men doubt whether *Scaliger*'s reasons be enough to proue. For though *Nabonassar* be a Chaldean name, and *Salmanassar* an *Assyrian*; yet what hinders vs from beleueing, that one man in two languages might bee called by two fucrall names? That *Astronomie* flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to proue *Nabonassar* either an Astrologer, or a Chaldean. So it is, that *Scaliger* himselfe calls them, *Prophetas I know not who, that in their sleepe haue dreamt of Nabonassar*, that hee was an Astrologer.

Whether *Nabonassar* were an Astrologer or no I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negatiue. But as his being Lord ouer the *Chaldeans*, doth not proue him to haue beene learned in their sciences; so doth it not proue him, not to haue bene also King of *Assyria*. The Emperor *Charles* the first, who was borne in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Sonne, King of *Spaine*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men farre more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, then were any that I read of then liuing in *Spaine*, if *Spaine* at that time had any; yet I thinke, Posteritie will not vse this as an argument, to proue that *Spaine* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar*, did vse the *Assyrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Scholers: but it seemes, that he and his posteritie, by giuing themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued; as likewise King *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two vnanswerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* termes them, being me thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alleged on the contrarie side) one of them which is drawn from the vnlike sound and writing of those names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the Hebrew, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likenesse of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some places in the Prouince of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it selfe; this indeede might bee so, and it might bee otherwise.

Hitherto

Hitherto there is nothing false conjecture against conjecture. But in that which is alleged out of the Prophet *Esaï*, concerning *Merodach* the Sonne of *Baladan*, and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, or *Mardakenpadus*, his being the Successor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to raigne in the sixth year of *Hezekia*, I finde matter of more difficultie, then can be answered in halfe. I will therefore deferre the handling of these objections, untill I meete with their subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekia*, wherein *Merodach* liued and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a scruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I here satisfie him; that how strong soeuer this argument may seeme, *Sealiger* himselfe did liue to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the Sonne of *Nabonassar*, he had beene deceiued.

Now therefore let vs consider, in what sort they haue fashioned their storie, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belosus* or *Belesus*, haue in like sort, as was necessarie, distinguished their off-spring, making that of *Pul* to faile in *Asarhadon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confesse mine owne want of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that haue gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present vnto vs the bodie of this Historie, in one view. Diuers, indeede, there are, whom I haue seene, that since *Ioseph Scaliger* deliuered his opinion, haue written in fauour of some one or other point thereof: but *Seslus Calusius* himselfe, who hath abridged *Scaligers* learned Worke, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not bene carefull to giue vs notice, how long *Belosus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Palassar*, did raigne, (perhaps because he found it not expresse in *Scaliger*) but is content to set downe *Baladan*, for the same person with *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himselfe reuoked. In this case therefore I must lay downe the plot of these diuided Kingdomes, in such sort as I finde it contriued by *Augustinus Tornilius*; who only of all that I haue seene, sets downe the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that raigned in *Affria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belosus*, and his Posteritie, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Tornilius* is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of *S. Paul*, whose *Annales* were printed the 30 last yeare; he appeares to me a man of curious industrie, sound iudgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those *Protestant* Writers, by whose Bookes hee hath receiued good information, and enriched his workes by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse he hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose helpe, without wrong or dishonour to himselfe, he hath both vsed and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not spare to doe right vnto *Tornilius*; but confesse my selfe to haue receiued benefit by his writing; and with that his *Annales* had sooner come to light; for that as hee hath much confirmed mee in some things, so would hee haue instructed and emboldened mee, to write more fully and lesse timorously in other things, which now I haue not leisure to reuise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly deliuered, and yet feared least it had ouer hastily passed out of my hand, and beene exposed to other mens constructions) of the four Kinges that inuaded the Vallie of *Siddim*, and were slaine by *Abraham*, I finde him aduenturing, as I haue done, to say, that they may probably be thought to haue bene some petty Lords; the contrarie opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let vs consider how he hath ordered these last *Affrian* and *Babylonian* Kinges.

After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the most mightie, fought to get all to himselfe, but was opposed by *Belosus*, in which contention, one *Pul*, a powerfull man in *Affria*, sided with *Belosus*, and they two preuailed so farre, that finally *Arbaces* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a diuision thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire, betweene *Ossian*, *Antonie*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Tornilius* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certaintie) that *Arbaces* made himselfe Soueraigne Lord of all, and placed the seate of

C. 1. §. 13.

of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belofus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Affyria*. But in short space, that is, in foure yeares, it came to passe, by the iuit judgement of God, that *Phul* and *Belofus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*, and in stead of being his Viceroyes, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this later opinion *Tornellus* himselfe leanes, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, resolving to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guess. Having thus deuised, how *Phul* and *Belofus* might, at the first, attaine to be Kings, hee orders their time, and their successors, in this manner.

Foure yeares after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to raigne, and continues eight and fortie yeares. *Theglathulassar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I write diuersly, according as the Authors whome I haue in hand are pleased to diuerse them) succeeding vnto *Phul*, raigned three and twentie. *Salmansassar* followed him, and raigned tenne. After him *Senacherib* raigned seven: and when he was slaine, *Asarhaddon* his sonne tenne yeares; in whome that Line failed.

The same time that *Phul* tooke vpon him as King of *Affyria*, or not long after, (why not rather afore? for so it had bene more likely) *Belofus* vsurped the Kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threecore and eight yeares; at the least threecore and eight yeares did passe, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whome (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Badadan*, are assigned fixe and twentie yeares: then, two and fiftie to *Merodach*, or *Mardacempadus*: foure and twentie to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly, one and twentie to *Nabollassar*, the father of *Nabuchodonosor*, who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the originall of these *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truly say, That the conjectures of other men, who giue all to *Belofus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appeare to me more neerely resembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that *Tornellus* would haue conceived two different wayes, by which *Phul* might haue gotten *Affyria* (for how *Belofus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could haue contented him. He adheres to the later of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceiued, that to make *Phul* on the Iuddaean King of *Affyria*; or to giue him so noble a Prouince, as would, of it selfe, inuite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most vnlikely to haue happened, vnlesse his deserts (whereof wee finde no mention) had bene proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he deuised the meanes, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that diuided all betwene them, was utterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this Diuision it selfe, and the ciuile Warres that caused it, were neuer heard of. Questionlesse, the intercurrenting of some Treasures by *Belofus*, with his Iudgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconueniences can this way be auoided; but that either we must confesse, the Dominion giuen to *Phul* to haue bene exceeding his merits, or else his merits, and name withall, to haue bene strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make vs thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequelle, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Belofus* against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Affyrians* to recover such strength in foure yeares, as might serue to hold out in rebellion: for *Belofus*, it was needlesse to rebell, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seek to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an ouer great fauourer of libertie) euen the *Medes*, that were vnder his owne Government, to doe what they listed.

But it is now fit that wee peruse the Catalogue of these Kings: not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their owne times) but

speaking of their order and time in general. If it bee so vnlawfull to thinke, that some of *Annus* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may bee true, especially such, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparrant likelihood, why then is it said, that *Phul* did raigne in *Assyria* eight and fortie yeares? For this hath no other ground than *Annus*. It is true, that painfull and judicious Writers haue found this number of yeares, to agree fitly with the course of things in Historie; yet all of them tooke it from *Annus*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annus* his forgerie (as questionlesse he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probability, he be not beleued for his owne sake; though for our owne sakes we make vse of his boldnesse, taking his wordes for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) wee are vnwilling our selues to be Authors, of new, though not vnprobable conjectures. Hercin we shall haue this commoditie, that wee may without b'ulshing alter a litle, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame vpon *Annus*, against whom we shall bee fure to finde friends that will take our part.

The raignes of *Thelathphasar* and *Salmansar* did reach, by *Annus* his measure, to the length of hve and twentie yeares the one, and leuenteene the other; *Tornielus* hath cut off two from the former, and seuen from the later of them, to fit (as I thinke) his owne computation; v'ing the libertie wherof I spake last: for that any Author, saue our good *Metaphyses*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did raigne, it is more then I haue yet found. To *Senscherib* and *Ashadion*, *Tornielus* giues the same length of raigne, which is found in *Metaphyses*. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate so much vnto themselves, as may well be allowed vnto a man so iudicious as is *Tornielus*: yet could I wish, that he had forborne to condemne the followers of *Annus* in this business, wherein he himselfe hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must haue done, almost nothing.

The like libertie we finde that he hath vied in measuring the raignes of the *Chaldeans*; filling vp all the space betwene the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threecore and eight yeares of *Belofus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that hee thought *Belofus* might haue begonne his raigne somewhat later then *Phul*: for threecore and eight yeares would seeme a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no yong man when he tooke possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shorning his raigne, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a priuate man, enough for a long liuer. Indeece, eight and fortie yeares had beene somewhat of the molt, considering that hee seemes by the storie to haue beene little lesse, at such time as hee joynd with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twentie yeares did well deferre that note (which *Tornielus* aduicely giues) that his raigne extended 40 not so farre, then the raigne of such as came after him, occupied the middletime, vnto *Nabonassar*.

I neither doe reprehend the boldnesse of *Tornielus*, in conjecturing, nor the modestie of *Sealiger* and *Sethus Calaisius*, in forbearing to set downe as warrantable, such things as depend only vpon likelihood. For things, wherof the perfect knowledge is taken away from vs by Antiquitie, must be described in Historie, as Geographers in their Maps describe Countries, wherof as yet there is made no true discouerie, that is, either by leauing some part blank, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of loadestone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Riuers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrarie to truth. Yet indeede the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such libertie to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remediesse obliuion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith;

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—Nec, servitidis
 Pars inclusa caloribus
 Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
 Duratæq; sole Nives,
 Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi
 Vincunt aquora Navita.

Nor Southerne heate, nor Northerne frow
 That freezing to the ground doth grow,
 The subject Regions can fence,
 And keepe the greedie Merchant thence.
 The subtile Shippmen way will finde,
 Storme never so the Seas with winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe
 serve only to misleade such discoverers as rashly beleue them; drawing vpon the
 publishers, either some angrie curses, or well deserued scorne; but to keepe their
 owne credit, they cannot serue alwaies. To which purpose I remember a pretie
 jeast of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthie Spanish Gentleman, who had bene em-
 ployed by his King in planting a Colonie vpon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I
 asked him, being then my Prisoner, some question about an Iland in those streights,
 which me thought, might haue done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise,
 he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters wines Iland*; saying, That
 whilst the fellow drew that Mappe, his wife sitting by, desired him to put in one
 Countreie for her; that shee, in imagination, might haue an Iland of her owne. But
 in filling vp the blankes of old Histories, we neede not be so scrupulous. For it is not
 to be feared, that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things them-
 selues to knowledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: What if some good
 Copie of an ancient Author could be found, shewing (if wee haue it not alreadie)
 the perfect truth of these vncertainties? would it be more shame to haue beleued
 in the meane while, *Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to haue beleued nothing. Here I
 will not say, that the credit, which we giue to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to
 be giuen to one of those Authors whose names hee pretendeth. Let it suffice, that
 in regard of authoritie, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*; yet
 him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved
 Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seemes to me; it hauing more
 gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanelly
 learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such
 opinions, as haue once gotten the credit of being generall, so to deale as *Pacinius* in
Capnia did with the multitude, finding them delirious to put all the Senators of the
 Citie to death. He loekt the Senators vp within the State-houffe, and offered their
 liues to the Peoples mercie; obtaining thus much, that none of them should peri-
 ish, untill the Commonaltie had both pronounced him worthe of death, and elect-
 ed a better in his place. The condemnation was hallic; for as fast as every name
 was read, all the Towne cryed, Let him die: but the execution required more lei-
 sure; for in substituting another, some notorious vice of the Person, or baseness of
 his condition, or insufficiency of his qualitie, made each new one that was offered
 to be rejected: so that finding the worse and lesse choise, the further and the more
 that they fought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

p. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they beganne.



After this diuision of the *Assyrian* Empire, folloves the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the raigne of the same King *Pezia*, and in his one and fiftieth year. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Iotham*: yet is not that opinion so generally, but that Authors, weigh-

10 tie enough, haue giuen to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things vnto the sacred Historie, which are found in prophane Authors, we should not bee too carefull of drawing the *Hebrewes* to those workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accompts, we joyne them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of astiuitie, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his owne foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules* his bodie. They tooke name, not from the Mountaine *Olympus*, but from the Citie *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, neare vnto *Elis*; where also *Iupiters* Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Gracians*, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from euery fourth year compleat, in the plaines of *Elis*, a Citie of *Peloponnesus*, neare the Riuer *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many yeares, till *Iphitus* by aduise from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Lycorgus* the Law-giuer then liuing: from which time they were continued by the *Gracians*, till the raigne of *Theodosius* the Emperor, according to *Cedrenus*: other thinke that they were dissolued vnder *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Parrus* accepted the *Gracian* times, and their stories, to be 30 certaine: but reckoned all before either doubtfull, or fabulous; and yet *Plinie* giues little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the raigne of *Cyrus*, who beganne in the fise and fiftieth Olympiad, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Cassor*, *Polybius*, and others hath gathered, in whose time the seuen wise *Gracians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Craesus*, and *Craesus* was ouerthrowne and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing braines haue laboured to finde out the certaine beginning of these Olympiads, namely to set them in the true year of the World, and the raigne of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds year, they can hardly jump in particulars theron depending.

Cyril against *Julian*, and *Didymus*, beginne the Olympiads the nine and fortieth of 40 *Oliar* or *Acariab*.

Eusebius who is contrarie to himselfe in this reckoning, accompts with those that finde the first Olympiad in the beginning of the foure hundred and sixth year after *Troy*, yet he telleth vs that it was in the fiftieth year of *Pezia*, which is (as I find it) two yeares later.

Erastophenes placeth the first Olympiad foure hundred and seuen yeares after *Troy*, reckoning the yeares that passed betwene; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The distance betwene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first Olympiad, is thus collected by *Erastophenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the descent of *Hercules* his Posteritie into *Peloponnesus*, were fourescore yeares; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, three score yeares; from that expedition to the time of *Lycorgus* his gouernement in *Sparta*, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the first Olympiad, one hundred and eight yeares. In this account the first year of the first Olympiad is not included.

Ddd

Eut

Ant. Gell. l. 1. c. 12
ex Plot.
Plot. out of
Hecataeus.

Euseb. de Prep.
Evang. l. 1. c. 13.

Erastoph. apud
Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. 1.

But vaine labour it were, to seeke the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbring the yeares from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date farre more vncertaine. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games, to haue bene in the foure hundredth and eight yeare current after *Troy*, wee may reckon back to the taking of that Citie, setting that, and other accidents, which haue reference thereto, in their proper times. The certaintie of things following the *Olympiads*, mult teach vs how to finde when they beganne.

To this good vse, we haue the ensuing yeares, vnto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus diuided, by the same *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundredth fourecore and setetene yeares; 10 from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, eight and fortie yeares; forwards to the victorie of *Lyander*, seuen and twentie; to the battaile of *Leuctra*, thirtie foure; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, siue and thirtie; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelue. The whole summe ariseth to foure hundred fiftie and three yeares; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allow- ed by the moit.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth yeare of *Veziah*, we haue arguments, grounded vpon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his raigne, and the death of *Alexander*; as also vpon the Astronomi- 20 call calculation of sundrie Eclipses of the Sunne, as of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Armie to invade *Greece*; and of diuers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his raigne as King, before hee was Lord of the great Monarchie, began the first yeare of the siue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirtie yeares; they who giue him but twentie nine yeares of raigne (following *Herodotus*, rather than *Tulles*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, and others) beginne 30 a yeare later, which comes all to one reckning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers, in the first yeare of the hundredth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This later note of *Alexanders* death, serues well to leade vs back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like obseruations doe. For if we reckon vpwards from the time of *Alexander*, we shall finde all to agree with the yeares of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* beganne his raigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie 40 a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first yeare of the siue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, vnto the end of the *Persian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundredth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we finde two hundred and thirtie yeares compleat. From the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchie, which lasted but seuen yeares, we finde compleat two hundred and seuen yeares, which was the continuance of the *Persian* Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first yeare of *Cyrus* his Monarchie (which was the last of the sixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundredth and fortieth yeare from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the seuenth yeares, of the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and desolation of the Land of *Israel*; manifest it is, that we must 40 reckon back those seuenth yeares, and one hundred threecore and ten yeares more, the last which passed vnder the Kings of *Iuda*, to finde the first of these *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Veziah*, as wee haue already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serue well to the same purpose. For examples sake, that which was scene when *Xerxes* mustered his Armie at *Sardis*, in the two hundredth threecore and seuenth yeare of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threecore and fourteenth *Olympiad*'s, leades vs back vnto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we haue a faire way through the threecore and ten 50 yeares, vnto the destruction of *Ierusalem*; and so vpwards through the raignes of the last Kings of *Iuda*, to the one and fiftieth yeare of *Veziah*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* beganne.

of the Olympian Games.
Gotham.

CHAP. 23. §. 6. of the Historie of the World.

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To tell the great solemnitie of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all Greece they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say, that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein pacified; as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Maltire in those feats, whereof there was good use, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises, that served only for ostentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable qualitie, to make triall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers, which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour, of having plaied the best part.

The *Elæni* were Presidents of those Games; whose justice, in pronouncing without partialitie, who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Olive, without any other commoditie following, than the reputation. Indeede there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Dingoras* had scene his three Sonnes crowned for their severall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Moxere DIAGORAS, non enim in calum ascensusus es; that is, Die DIAGORAS, For thou shalt not come up to heaven: as if there could bee no greater happinesse on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like sense Horace*

20 speaks of these Victors, calling them,

*Quos Elæi domum reducit
Palma celsities.*

*Horat. Carm. l. 3.
Ode 2.*

Such as like heavenly wights doe come
With an Elæan Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or the songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne these *Olympian* prizes; but even grave Historians thought it a matter worthie of their noting. Such was (as *Tullie* counts it) the vanity of the *Greekes*; that they esteemed it almost as great an honor, to have wonne the victorie at Running or Wrestling in those games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victorie, or conquest of a Province.

That these *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and upon the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Eleatombaon*, which doth answer to our *June*; and what means they used to make the Moneth beginne with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne vnto the Kings of *Juda*, and leave the merrie *Greekes* at their games, whom I shall meeete in more serious employments, when the *Persian* quarrells draw
40 the bodie of this Historie into the coasts of *Tonia* and *Hellespont*.

§. VI.

of IOTHAM and his Contemporaries.

10 **I**OTHAM the Sonne of *Yeziah*, when he was five and twentie yeares old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was annointed King in *Jerusalem*, his Father yet living. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple of threecore cubits vpright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides diuers Cities in the Hills of *Juda*, and in the Forests, Towers, and Palaces: he inforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundredth talents, and of Wheate and Barly two thousand measures: hee reigned sixe and twentie yeares; of whom *Iosephus* giues this testimonie. *Eiusmodi vero*
Ddd 2
Principes

2 Kings 15. 33.

Princeps hic fuit, et nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pœ coluerit, hominibus suis adeo in se præferit, urbem ipsam tanta sibi cura esse passus sit, & tantopere auerit, ut vniuersum regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem eius incolis atque ciuibz felix, sanctum & fortunatum sua virtute efficeret; This was such a Prince, as a man could finde no kinde of vertue wanting in him: he worshipped God so religiously, he gouerned his men so righteously, he was so prouident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplyfie it, that by his vertue and proffesse he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Seruants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happy.

This is all that I haue of *Iothan*: his raigne was not long, but as happy in all rō things, as he himselfe was deuout and vertuous.

Authomenes about this time succeeded *Phelosses* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected *Magistrates*, which gouerned from yeare to yeare. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Booke, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was gouerned by Kings of the race of the *Bacide*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who droue them out.

Teglatphalassar, or *Tiglatpheser*, the sonne of *Phul*, the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murdered his Master *Pekahiah*) was King thereof. In which Expedition he tooke most of the Cities of *Nephthali* and *Galile*, with those of *Gilead*, ouer *Jordan*, 26 and carried the inhabitants captiue. This *Tiglat* reigned five and twentie yeares, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentzheimus* findes, that with his sonne *Salmansar* he reigned yet two yeares longer: which yeares I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the *Acta* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single raigne, but reckon them to *Tiglatphalassar* himselfe, who therewith reigned seuen and twentie yeares.

Aschylus, the sonne of *Agamemnon*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled five and twentie yeares. *Alcamenes* gouerned *Sparta*: after whom, the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*: but therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken. For *Diadore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witness the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned 30 threecore yeares, and out-liued the *Alesseniack* Warre: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the sonne of *Nicander*, his royall companion.

At this time liued *Nahum* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the Citie of *Ninive*: which succeeded (sayth *Iosephus*) a hundred and fiftene yeares after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sosarmus* and *Medius* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§. VII.

Of *ACHAZ* and his Contemporaries.



HAs, or *Achaz*, succeeded vnto *Iotham* in the seuenteenth yeare of *Pekah*, the sonne of *Remaliah*: the same being also the last yeare of his fathers raigne, who began in the second of the same *Pekah*, and reigned sixtene, but not complete yeares. This *Achaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his sonne for sacrifice before the Idoll *Molech*, or *Saturne*, which was represented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calf, set vp not farre from *Ierusalem*, in a Valley 50 shadowed with Woods, called *Gehennem*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is vied for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carcase of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noyse of Cymbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pittifull cries of the children might

2 King. 16. 1.
Achaz. 28.

2m 614
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might not be heard: which vnnatural, cruell, and deuilish Oblation, *Jeremie* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which *S. Hierome* upon the tenth of *Mattheus* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leuiticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sinne was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomie*, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Indea*, diuers Authors witnesse; as *Virgil* in the second of his *Æneids*, — *Sanguine placatis*, &c. and *Silius*, — *Poscere cade Deos*. *Saturne* is said to haue brought this custome into *Italie*, besides the casting of many soules into the Riuer of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Hercules* commanded that the waxen Images of men should be throwne in and drowned. The *Deuill* also taught the *Carthaginians* this kinde of butcherie, in so much that when their Citie was besieged, and in distresse, the Priest made them beloeue, that becaue they had spared their owne children, and had bought and brought vp others to bee offered, that therefore *Saturne* had stirred vp and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be slaine, and offered to *Saturne* or *Satan*, to appease him: who besides these fore-named Nations had instructed the *Rhocians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Messena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Massagets*, and others, in these seruices: Further, as if hee were not content to destroy the soules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, (as *Aquila* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the *Deuill* vnder this fearful seruitude, in which he also holdeth the *Floridians* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickednesse of this King *Achaz*, God stirred vp *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the Sonne of *Remiah*, King of *Israel* against him, who invaded *Indea*, and besieged *Ierusalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, posselt himselfe of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and cast the *Iewes* out of it, and *Pekah* slaughtered in one day twelue hundred thousand *Iudeans*, of the ablest of the Kingdome, at which time *Maasiah* the Sonne of *Achaz* was also slaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Gouernor of his house: and *Eleanath* the second person vnto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the *Israelites* led away to *Samaria*: but by the counsell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and deliuered back againe.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Iuda* on the North; so the *Edomites* and the *Philistines*, who euermore attended the ruine of *Indea*, entred vpon them from the South: and tooke *Bethsomer*, *Aialon*, *Gaderath*, *Scho*, *Tinnah*, and *Gemo*, slew many people, and carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* saw himselfe enuironed on all sides, and that his Idolls and dead Gods gaue him no comfort, hee sent to the *Assyrian* *Tiglabpileser*, to desire some aide: from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the silver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings House.

Tiglabpileser wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in *Palestina*. His Father hauing lately made himselfe from a Prouinciall Lieutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Indea*, invited by *Menabem* King of *Israel*. Wherefore now the Sonne willingly hearkened to *Achaz* and embraced the aduantage. As for *Balochur* himselfe, he was content to assigne some other time for going through with this enterprize: becaue (as I haue said before) he was not firmly settled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But *Tiglab*, hauing now, with the treasures of *Ierusalem*, prepared his Armie, first invaded the Territory of *Damascus*, wanne the Citie, and killed *Rezin*, the last of the race of the *Adadis*, who beganne with *Dauid* and ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus* *Achaz* met *Tiglab*, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar sent it to *Frisch* the Priest, commanding the like to be made at *Ierusalem*, whereon at his returne hee burnt Sacrifice to the Gods of the *Syrians*. In the meane while *Tiglab* posselt all *Basen*, and the rest

beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribe of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*. And then passing the River, he mastered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdome of *Israel*, and made them his Vassalls. And notwithstanding that he was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the spoile of *Israel*, he posselt himselfe of the greater part of *Juda*, and as it seemeth enforced *Achaz* to pay him Tribute. For in the second of Kings the eighteenth it is written of *Ezechias*, that he revolted from *Assur*, or rebelled against him, and therefore was invaded by *Senacherib*. After *Achaz* had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth year of his raigne hee died: but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Juda*.

With *Achaz* lived *Medusus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who governed fortie years, 10
Enſib. in ch. vii. saith *Eusebius*: *Dionorius* and *Ctesias* finde *Anticarnus* in stead of this *Medusus*, to have bene *Sofarnus* his Successour, to whom they giue fiftie years.

Tiglath Pileser held the Kingdome of *Assyria*, all the raigne of *Achaz*: yet so, that *Salmanassar* his Sonne may seeme to haue reigned with him some part of the time. 10
For we finde that *Achaz* did send vnto the Kings of *Assyria* to helpe him. The *Geneus* note saies, that these Kings of *Assur* were *Tiglath Pileser*, and those Kings that were vnder his Dominion. But that hee or his Father had hitherto made such conquests, as might giue him the Lordship ouer other Kings, I doe neither finde any Historie, nor circumstance that proueth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of *Assur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanassar* his Sonne, who reigned with his Father, as hath bene said before: though how long hee reigned with his Father, it bee hard to define. 20

At this time beganne the Ephori in *Lacedaemon*, a hundred and thirtie years after *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*: *Eusebius* makes their beginning farre later, namely in the fifteenth Olympiad. Of these Ephori, *Elalus* was the first, *Theopompus* and *Polydorus*, being then Joynt Kings. These Ephori, chosen euery year, were controllers, as well of their Senators as of their Kings, nothing being done without their aduise and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their Kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Achaz* died *Aeschylus*, who had ruled in *Athenes* euer since the fiftieth year of *Pezias*. *Alcamenon* the thirteenth of the *Medontides*, or Gouernours of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his Father *Aeschylus*, and was the last of these Gouernours: he ruled only two years. For the *Athenians* changed first from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Gouernors for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a Magistrate whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of Burghomaster or Gouernor of their Citie for ten years. 30

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth Booke beginnes in the first year of the eight Olympiad. *Eusebius* and *Halicarnassus* in the first of the seuenth Olympiad: at which time indeede, *Carops* the first of these, beganne his ten yeares rule.

The Kingdome of the *Latines* gouerned about three hundred yeare by the *Syluius*, of the race of *Aeneas*, tooke end the same *Achaz* time: the foundation of *Rome* being laied by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eight yeare of the same King. *Codoman* buildt it the eleuenth of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I thinke he should, others somewhat later, and in the raigne of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Entropius*, *Orosius*, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third yeare of the sixth Olympiad. But *Halicarnassus*, *Solinus*, *Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first yeare of the seuenth: who seeme not only to mee, but to many very learned Chronologers, to haue kept herein the best accompt. 40

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Antiquities of Italy, and foundation of
Rome in the time of Ahas.

10

p. I.

of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of *Italie*.

20

Now here to speake of the more ancient times of *Italie*, and what Nations possit it before the arrivall of *Aeneas*, the place may seeme to inuite vs: the rather because much fabulous matter hath bene mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. *Italie* before the fall of *Troy*, was knowne to the *Greekes* by diuers names: as first *Hesperia*, then *Ansonia*, the one name arising of the Seate, the other of the *Ansones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom *Halicarnassus* thinks to haue been the first, that brought a Colonie of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italie* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speaks thus.

Halicarn. l. 1.

30

Est locus Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebae:
Oenotrij colluere viri, nunc famam minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

72.

There is a Land which *Greekes* *Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertilitie.
Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fame,
That by late ages of Posteritie,
Tis from a Captaines name called *Italie*.

Who this Captaine or King may haue bene, it is very vncertaine. For *Virgil* speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long vpon the whole Countrey, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to finde out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrey, *Remenius* hath made a very painfull search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds vpon that of *Halicarnassus*, who speaks of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did leade into *Italie*, before the name of *Italie* was giuen to it: Secondly, vpon that of *Isidore*, who saith, that *Brundisium* was a Colonie of the *Aetolians*: Thirdly, vpon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temesi* or *Temisa*, a Citie of the *Bruij* in *Italie*: Lastly, vpon the authoritie of *Plinie*, who shewes that the *Italians* did inhabite only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was deriued overall. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Aetolians*, who (as he shewes) had one original; from them hee brings the name of *Italie*. For the word *Italus*, differs in nothing from *Atitola*, saue that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greeke*

Halicarn. l. 1.

Isid. l. 12.

Strabo. l. 6.

Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

word

words is common, and the letter (*o*) is changed into (*a*): which change is found in the name of *Æthalia*, an Island neere *Italie*, peopled by the *Ætholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolie* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassicus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach. Hercunto appertaines that of *Iulian* the Apostata, who called the *Greekes* cousins of the *Latines*. Also the common originall of the *Greekes* and *Latines* from *Iunon*; and the Fable of *Ianus*, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Italie* lay, and was stamped on Coyne, with a Shippe on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Iunon*, father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who sayling over the *Ionian* Sea, that lyes betweene *Ætolia* and the Westerne parts of *Greece* and *Italie*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reynecius* thinkes, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applies that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may seeme strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanius*, whilest he abode in *Italie* with *Eleſtra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kitim*, then was he the sonne of *Iunon*, and nephew of *Iapheth*, the eldest sonne of *Nogah*: which antiquitie farre exceeds the name of *Italie*, that began after the departure of *20 Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanius* his marriage with *Eleſtra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italie*; but calleth *Eleſtra* and her sister *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; which he would not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* beene one person.

As for the authoritie of *Berosus* in this case, we needeth lesse to regard it, for that *Reynecius* himselfe, whose conjectures are more to be valued then the dreames wherewith *Amnius* hath filled *Berosus*, holdes it but a figment.

That the name of *Italie* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the Verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein hee would not have said, — *Nunc summa minores Italiam dixisse duci de nomine gentem*, had that name beene heard of ere *Dardanius* left the Countrey. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few yeares before the Warre of *Troy*, had left in *Italie* a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italia* began: and seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldnesse to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not, that I haue read of any such Greeke as was named *Italus*, yet the name of *Ætolus*, written in Greeke *Ætolus*, was very famous both among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being sonne of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdome. Neither is it more hard to denie the name *Italus* from *Ætolus*, then *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgil*s authoritie stand well with the collections of *Reynecius*; the name of *Italie* being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

§. 11.

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of
the names of Latini and Latium.



IN *Italie* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greatest part of it vnder their subiection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicitie of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italie*, and in few ages what beauer Nation was knowne in *Europe*: together with all the Westerne parts of *Asia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassensis*, *Varro*, and *Reynecius* (following them) thinke to haue bene *Arcadians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as originall, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Arcadians* are knowne in vaunting manner to haue alwaies vsurped, fetching their antiquitie from beyond the Moone; because indeede, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* inforced to forsake their seats so oft as other *Greekes* were, who dwelt without that halfe Island, neither had the *Arcadians* so vnifure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Countrie was lesse fruitfull in land, mountainous, and hard of access, and they them selues (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore hauing occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new Scate, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might beeth that the *Arcadians* who dwell somewhat farr from Sea, and are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, should haue bene Authors of new discoueries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulness of children, in which those ages abounded, inforced the superfluous companie to seeke another scate, and that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Eumander*, into the same parts of *Italie*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelasgi*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gaue name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lack of good records: Neither was their glorie such in *Italie*, as could long sustaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Steani*, *Anfones*, *Aurunci*, *Rutii*, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to some ciuilitie, and he therefore canonized as a God.

This *Saturne* *S. Augustine* calleth *Stereos* or *Sterculius*, others terme him *Stercorinus*, and say, that hee taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* tooke his name of *Saturne*, because hee did *late*, that is lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, is questionlesse a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanity to thinke that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many Gods of whom one fled from another, so in the truth of Historie, it is well knowne, that no King reigning in those parts was so mightie, that it should bee hard to finde one Countrie or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poetical fictions, were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by ambiguitie of speech or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkely expresse (for so they fainded a passage ouer a River in Hell, because death is a passage to another life, and because this passage is hateful, lamentable, and painefull, therefore they named the River *Styx* of Hate, *Cocytus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron* of Pain: so also because men are stonie hearted, and because the *Greeke* *xai* people, and *xai* stones, are neare in sound, therefore they fainded in the time of Denication stonies conuerted into men, as at other times men into stonies) in like manner it may be

Spanish

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be, that the originall of *Saturnus* hiding himselfe was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisdome of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Aëti*; whence also *Esay* of the true God saies, in *Deus absconditus*. For it can not be in vaine that the word *Saturnus* should also haue this very signification, if it bee deriued (as some thinke) from the Hebrew *Satur*, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not, but that the originall of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Reynescius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who defended of *Cethim*, the Sonne of *Ianus*, were the men who gaue the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembered by *Homer* as aiders of the *Troians* in their Warre. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the Crowne of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reynescius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*: viz. in *agro Elaitico*; in the *Elaitian* Territorie, which agreeeth with *Strabo*. Of a Citie which the *Æolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elaea*, or *Elai*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidamis*, or (according to the Greeke) writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very neare sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cuthim*; the Greeke Letter (*D*) hauing (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*T H*) differing only in the strength or weakenesse of vterance, which is found betwene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans* being descended of *Cethim*, *Cuthim*, or *Kithim*, the Sonne of *Ianus*, who was Progenitor of the *Greekes*, might very well take a denomination from the Citie, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaiter*, or *Elaiter*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Ætolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Æoliæque* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine *Elæus*, the Haven *Elæus*, the people *Elaitæ*, the Cities *Elæus*, *Elai*, and *Elaetia*, of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elaitini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Ceteans* and *Arcadians*, had their originall from *Cethim*, it is nothing vnlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might neuertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriuing the *Sabines* from him) giue the name of *Sabinus*: in the like manner might be whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the Citie *Elaetia*) been named of the *Ceteans* *Latinus*. *Reynescius* pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when *Euripylus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, being the Sonne of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat vpon *Atge*, the Daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*, was slaine by *Achilles* in the *Troian* Warre: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*; who (feearing what euill might befall themselves by the *Greekes*, if the affaires of *Troy* should goe ill) passed into that part of *Italie*, where the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrus*. And *Reynescius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian* *Arcadians*, by the memorie of his Grand-mother *Atge*, an *Arcadian* Ladie, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*: That this name of *Elatus* may have been taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*; it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sonnes of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*, which gaue name to the Countrie: and betwene these two Families the succession in that Kingdome did passe, almost enterchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the *Troian* warre it fell into the hand of *Hippobomus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose Posteritie it continued vntill the last. Again, the name *Latinus*, hauing a deriuative sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reynescius*, which if he made ouer-boldly, yet others may follow it with the lesse reproofs, considering that it is not easie to finde either an apparent truth, or faire probability among these disagreeing Authors, which haue written the originalls of *Latium*.

2. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines untill *Æneas* his coming.

THe Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrivall of *Æneas*, were, *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinus*. Of *Saturnus* there is nothing remembered, save what is mentioned already, and many fables of the *Greekes*, which whether they be applicable to this man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturnus* 10 of the *Greekes*, called by them *Kronos*, or some other, stiled *Saturnus* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have bene the same: but the names of * *Stereus*, and *Stercutius* (for it may bee this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the soile which they laied on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him seeme some other man.

Of *Picus* it is said that he was a good Horse-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a *Pic*, may well seeme (as it is interpreted) to have growne from the skill which he had in sooth-saying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Sonne of *Picus*, reigned after his Father. Hee 20 gaue to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having slaine by mischance his Father *Echemon* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the wast grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the sister of *Faunus*, was also his Wife, as all Historians agree; there was held a Prophetesse, and highly commended for her chastitie, which praise in her multitudes have bene much blemished by her marriage, it selfe being merely ineffectual.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his sister any child, neither doe we read of any other Wife which he had, save only that *Virgi* giues unto him *Latinus* as his Sonne, by a Nymph, called *Merica*.

30 But who this *Merica* was it is not found, save only that her abode was about the River *Liris* neare *Manturna*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted foure: one, the Sonne of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Phryx* by *Cree*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice only of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetij*, were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reynecius*, the difference consi- 40 almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the Sonne of *Hercules*, whereas *Reynecius* makes him his Nephew, by a sonne of the same name. This *Latinus* hauing obtained the succession in that Kingdome after *Faunus*, did promise his only Daughter and Heire *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the sonne of *Penius*, who was sister to *Amata* *Latinus* his Wife.

But when *Æneas* arrived in those parts with fiftene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might bee imbarcked according to the rate which *Thucydides* allowes to the Vessells then vsed, about one thousand and two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Troians*, and moved with the great reputation of *Æneas*, which himselfe had heard of in the Warre of *Troy*, gaue his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*, who incensed herewith, sought to avenge himselfe by warre: which was soone ended with his owne death.

50 Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certaine, that were shee an *Italian*, shee could not have borne a Daughter marriageable at the arrivall of *Æneas*: vntill we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather giue the conduct of the *Cetes* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Sonne, who serued in the last yeare of the *Troian* Warre. But *Reynecius* holds her an *Asiaticque*, and thinks withall that *Latinus* was borne

* *Stechel* often calls the idols of the heathens *das stecken*; and hence it may be thought, that *Stechel* is the same as *Stechel*, which we read of in *Wolgand*, *Stechel*, which is interpreted *Stechel* *Stechel*; and it may be that after the *Saturne* became the name of an idol, *Stechel* was used for that in a like sense this name *Stechel* should thence vnto him. *Aristide* 7.

Suidas in the word *Latini*.

borne before *Telephus* came into *Italie*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnassus* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by *Varro*, who calleth her *Pulvis*: which name very well might be deriued from the Greeke name *Pallus*. *Amata*, which significeth beloued, or deere, was the name by which the High Priest called eury *Virgin*, whome hee tooke to serue as a Nunne of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easily to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discoure of her and *Ventia* her sister.

Lauius, the daughter of *Latinus*, being giuen in marriage to *Aeneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Countrey, was established in that race: wherein it continued vntill it was ouer-growne by the might and greatnesse of the *Romans*. 19

§. IIII.

Of *Aeneas*, and of the Kings and Gouernours of *Alba*.



Aeneas himselfe being of the royall blood of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Troians*. By his wife *Cressa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a sonne called *Ascanius*, whose surname was *Iulus*, hauing before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) beene surnamed *ilus*. But when *Aeneas* was dead, his wife *Lauius*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fledde into the Woods, where she was deliuered of a sonne, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of *Lauius* was so euill taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourably, and vying her as a Queene, did foster her young sonne, his halfe-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to auoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leauing to his mother in law the Citie *Latinium*, which *Aeneas* had built, and called after his new wiues name, founded the Citie *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his raigne was, according to some, eight and twentie yeares: *Virgil* giues him thirtie; others five and thirtie, and eight and thirtie. After his decease, there arose contention betweene *Sylvius*, the sonne of *Aeneas*, and *Iulus*, the sonne of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of *Lauius*, *Iulus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leauing the Kingdome to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posteritie were afterward called *Syluij*.

The raigne of the *Alban* Kings, with the continuance of each mans raigne, I finde thus set downe.

| | | |
|------------------------|----|--------|
| 1. Sylvius Posthumus. | 29 | 40 |
| 2. Sylvius Aeneas. | 31 | |
| 3. Sylvius Latinus. | 50 | |
| 4. Sylvius Alba. | 39 | |
| 5. Sylvius Atis. | 26 | |
| 6. Sylvius Capys. | 28 | |
| 7. Sylvius Capetus. | 13 | |
| 8. Sylvius Tiberinus. | 8 | years. |
| 9. Sylvius Agrippa. | 41 | |
| 10. Sylvius Alladius. | 19 | |
| 11. Sylvius Auentinus. | 37 | |
| 12. Sylvius Procas. | 23 | |
| 13. Sylvius Amulius. | 44 | |

Ilia, called also *Rhea* and *Sylvia*.
Romulus. *Remus*.

The

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthe of remembrance,

Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much vpon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Prisci Latini*. Of *Tiberius* some thinke that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Allula*: but *Virgil* giues it that denomination of another called *Tivris*, before the coming of *Aeneas* into *Italy*. The Mountaine *Auentinus* had name (as many write) from *Auentinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Iulius*, the brother of *Auentinus*, is named by *Eusebius* as father of another *Iulus*, and grandfather of *Iulius Proculus*; who leauing *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*. *Numitor*, the elder sonne of *Procas*, was deuiued of the Kingdome by his brother *Amulius*; by whome also his sonne *Aeglephus* was slaine, and *his* daughter made a Nunne of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceived two sonnes, either by her vnkle *Amulius* as some thinke, or by *Mars*, as the Poets saie; or perhaps by some man of warre. Both the children their vnkle commaunded to be drowned, and the mother buried quicke, according to the Law; which so ordained, when the Vestall Virgins brake their chastitie. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Antio*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preferred, who afterward reuenged the crueltie of their vnkle, with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long he reigned I finde not, neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were presently eclipsed by the swift encrease of *Rome*, vpon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdome of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male issue. *Romulus* chose rather to liue in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were gouerned by Magistrats; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Clauilius*, who in the dayes of *Tullius Hostilius*, King of the *Romanes*, making Warre vpon *Rome*, died in the Campe; and *Metius Sufferius*, the successor of *Clauilius*, who surrendred the Estate of *Alba* vnto the *Romanes*, hauing committed the hazard of both Signories to the successe of three men of each side, who decided the quarrell by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Toratis*, the Champions of the *Romanes*, preuailed against the *Curistij*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullius Hostilius* with the *Albane* forces against the *Venietes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leaue the *Romanes* to such an ouerthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deale with *Tullius*, who notwithstanding this falsehood obtained the victorie, did reward *Metius* with a cruell death, causing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torne in peeces. Then was *Alba* destroyed, and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patritians*; among which were the *Iulij*: of whome *C. Iulius Caesar* being descended, not onely gloried in his auncient, royall, and forgotten pedigree, in full assemblie of the *Romanes*, then gouerned by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and iudgement, obtained the Souerainetie of the *Roman* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himselfe and his posteritie; whereby the name of *Aeneas*, and honor of the *Troian* and *Alban* Race, was so reuiued, that seldom, if euer, any one Familie hath attained to a proportionable height of glorie.

p. V.

of the beginning of Rome, and of ROMULVS birth and death.



F Rome, which deuoured the Alban Kingdome, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat vncertaine) depend much vpon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betwene *Euphrates* and the Ocean were broken in peeces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in one place, hauing bene the worke of many Ages; wherof I now doe handle onely the first, as incident vnto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Portius Cato*, *Calpurnius Piso*, *Sempronius*, and others, seeke to deriue the *Romans* from *Ianus*: but *Hierodotus*, *Marcellus*, and many others of equall credit, giue the *Grecians* for their ancellors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth booke; *CAECILIUS rerum Romanorum scriptor* eo argumento colligit, *Romanos à Graecis esse conditam quod Romani Graeco ritu, antiquo instituto HERCVLI rem sacram faciunt, matrem quoque EVANDRI venerantur Romani*; *CAECILIUS* (saith he) a *Romane Historiographer*, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the *Greekes*, because the *Romans*, after *Greekish* fashion, by ancient Ordinance, doe sacrifice to *HERCVLES*: the *Romans* also worship the mother of *EVANDER*.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembers many founders of that Citie: as *Romanus* the sonne of *Vlysses* and *Circes*; *Romus* the sonne of *Emathion*, whome *Dionedes* sent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a *Tyrant* of the *Latines*, who draue the *Tuscan* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* bestowes the honour of building Rome vpon *Euander*, saying, That it was before times called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* giues the denomination to a captiue Ladie, brought thither by the *Grecians*: others say, That it was anciently called *Febria*, after the name of *Febvra*, the mother of *Mars*; witnesse *Saint Augustine* in his third Booke de *Ciuitate Dei*. But *Liue* will haue it to be the worke of *Romulus*, euen from the foundation: of whome and his 30 consorts *Iuuenal* to a *Roman* Citizen vaunting of their originall, answered in these Verbes:

Attamen ut longe repetas, longeq; reuoluas
Maorum quisquis primis fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedigree so farre;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepheard was, or else, that Ile forbear.
meaning either a Shepheard, or a Theefe.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, That hee had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* was supposed to be his father; that he was nursed by a Wolfe, found and taken away by *Fausfala*, a Shepheards wife. The same vnnatural nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like y enough that *Amulius* came couered with armor to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to me that he might haue two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he iniuriously held the Kingdome; the other to satishie his appetite, because shee 50 was faire and goodly. For shee being made a Nunne of the Goddess *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also made in *Fauschet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Mercur*, King of the *Franes*, was begotten by a monster of the Sea: but *Fauschet* sayes, *Let them belenee it that list; Il le croira qui vaudra*:
also

also of *Alexander*, and of *Septus African*, there are poeticall inventions: but to answer these imaginations in generall, it is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatrie, and when there were as many Gods as there were Kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues, then did many women greatly borrow such slips as they made, by pretending to be forced by more then humane power: so did *Genone* confesse to *Paius*, that wee had beene ravished by *Apollon*. And *Anchises* boasted that hee had knowne *Venus*. But *Athen* was made with child by some man of Warre, or other, and therefore called *Athen*, the God of battell, according to the sense of the time. *Genone* was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollon*. The Mother of *Mercurius* might fancie a Sea Captaine to bee gotten with yong by such a one: as the Daughter of *Isachius* fancied, according to *Licorolus*, *Aeneas* was a ballard and begotten vpon some faire Harlot, called for her beaurtie *Venus*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurit by a Wolfe, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*, for the Curtelans in those daies were called Wolfes, *que nunc* (saith *HALICARNASSAEVS*) *boni viri vocantur amicae appellatur*; Which are now by an honest name called friends. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken vp into heaven, or rather out of the world by his Father *Mars*, in a great storme of thunder, and lightning: so was it said that *Aeneas* vanished away by the Riuer *Nimetus*: but thereof *Lina* also speaketh modestly, for hee heareth the other opinion, that the storme was the iurie of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking vp; and many Authors agree that there was an vnnatural darkenesse, both at his birth and at his death, and that he might bee slaine by thunder or lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperour *Anastasius* was slaine with lightning, so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slaine with a thunder-bolt: so *Cornus* the Emperour (who succeeded *Prebus*) whilst he lodged with his Armie vpon the Riuer *Tigris*, was there slaine with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same kinde might end him that beganne him; for he was begotten by a man of Warre, and by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destiny followed most of the

30 *Roman* Emperours) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*: who was but the seventh King after him: who when he had murdered his father in law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (saith he) *Romulus* himselfe dyed and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassensis* end this dispute: whose words are these. They (saith he) who desire to see to the truth, say that he was slaine by his owne Citizens, and that his crueltie in punishments of offenders, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported that both when his mother was ravished, whether by some man, or by a God, the whole body of the sunne was eclipsed, and all the earth covered with darkenesse like vnto night, and that the same did happen at his death.

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historified by *Plutarch*, doth containe (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles which had soone beene forgotten, if the *Roman* greatnesse built vpon that foundation, had not given it memorie in all ages following, euen vnto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of trauell, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the vse of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition hee knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect reuenge of the death of *Tatius* his companion in the Kingdom, that he himselfe might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned seven and thirtie yeares: first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death single, till he was slaine, as is already shewed: after which time the Soueraignetie fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him vnknowne, and more Priest-like than King-like: wherein *Rome* it selfe in her later times hath somewhat resembled this King. For hauing long beene sole Gouvernesse till *Constantinople* shared with her: after wards, when as the Greeke Emperour was cruell by foraine enemies, and the Latines dispoiled of Imperiall power, these fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the

Sword, and therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driven from luxurie to defensive armes, and therein having beene vnfortunate, at length betakes her selfe againe to the Croisers staffe.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place by occasion of the storie of the times of King *Abaz*, during whose raigne in Iurie, the foundations of this famous Citie were laied.

CHAP. XXV.

Of *Ezekia*, and his Contemporaries.

§. I.

Of the beginning of *EZECHIAS*, and of the agreeing of *PTOLOMIES*,
NABONASSAR, *NABOPOLASSAR*, and *MARDOCH-*
PADEV, with the Historie of the Bible.



THE first year of *Abaz* his raigne was confounded with the last of his Father *Iotham*, so was the later end of his sixtene yeares taken vp in the three first of *Ezekias* his Sonne. This appeares by the raigne of *Hosea*, ouer *Israel*, which beganne in the twelfth of *Abaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Abaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hosea* was the first of *Ezekias*; so it followes, that *Ezekias* beganne to raigne in his Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hosea*, the same being the fourteenth of *Abaz*, was almost spent when

Ezekias beganne, and so the fifteenth year of *Abaz* may haue beene concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezekias*.

By supposing that *Hosea* beganne his Kingdome, when the twelfth year of *Abaz* was almost compleat, some would finde the meanes how to disioyne the first of *Ezekias* from the fifteenth of *Abaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year, *Abaz* may perhaps haue liued not many daies. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth yeares of *Ezekias*, may not be remoued out of their places; it is vaine labour to alter the first year.

In the fourteenth of *EZEKIA*, *SENACHERIB* invading *Iuda*, and the Countries adjoining, lost his Armie by a miraculous stroke from heauen, fled home, and was slaine. The year following it was that God added fifteene yeares to the life of *Ezekias*, when he had already reigned fourteene of his nine and twentie: and the same year was that miracle scene of the Sunnes going back; of which wonder (as I haue) one *Bartholomew Scutlet*, who is much commended for skill in Astronomie, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered vnto the twentie fifth of *April*, in the *Italian* year, being then *Thursday*. I haue not scene any workes of *Scutlet*; but surely to finde a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessarie that he produce some record of obseruation made at such a time. Howsoeuer it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezekias* is agreed vpon; and therefore wee may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is vsual in the like cases, that *Abaz* slept with his Fathers, and *EZEKIA* his Sonne reigned in his stead, it doth no more proue that *Ezekias* reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth inferre the like at the death of *Iehozaphat*,

Sabai, and succession of *Icheram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to raigne whilst his Father lived, we have already said enough.

Of this godly King *Ezekias*, we finde, that his very beginning testified his deuotion and zeale. For whether it were so that his vnfortunate and vngracious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gaue way to his Sonnes proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first year and first moneth of his raigne, wherein *Ezekias* opened the dores of the Temple, were to be understood as the beginning of his sole gouernement; we plainly finde it to haue bene his first worke, that he opened the dores of the house of the Lord, which *Achaz* had shut vp, cleansed the Citie and Kingdome of the Idolls, restored the Priests to their offices, and estates, commanded the Sacrifices to bee offered which had bene for many yeares neglected, and brake downe the brasen Serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, and hee called it *Nehustan*, which signifieth a lump of brasie. He did also celebrate the Passe-ouer with great magnificence, inuited thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes. Many there were, euen out of those Tribes, that came vp to *Ierusalem*, to this feast: but the general multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezekias* to scorne.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memoriall of their deliverance out of the *Egyptians* seruitude, fell into a new seruitude, out of which they neuer were deliuered. For in the fourth of *Ezekias* his raigne, *Salmansar* the Sonne of *Tiglath*, the Sonne of *Belochas*, hearing that *Hosea* King of *Israel* had practised with *Soe* King of *Egypt*, against him: invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaris*, and in the third year (after the Inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Affria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his Sonne of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Ninus*, in whose Seats and Places the *Affrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Assa*, *Hamah*, and *Sper-nans*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I haue formerly described in the Treatise of the holy Land.

The later *Affrian* Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first, of whom wee finde mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore serue most aptly to ioyn the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets haue written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of Historie. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we finde in the Bible the same names by which other Authors haue recorded them: but of *Phul* & *Salmansar*, with other *Affrian*, and *Chaldean* Kings, diueritie of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speake of *Salmansar*, King of *Assur*, who reigned in the time of *Achaz*, and *Ezekias*, Kings of *Iuda*, and of *Hosea* King of *Israel*, whom he carried into captiuitie: and whereas *Ptolomee* makes mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he liued; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmansar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it bee shewed of *Nebushadnezar*, that hee was the same, whom *Ptolomee* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholernus* hath well collected sufficient prooffe from the exact calculations of sundrie good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares that betweene *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seuen hundred fortie and sixe yeares: at which distance of time the raigne of *Salmansar* was. One great prooffe hercof is this, which the same *Bucholernus* allengeth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prontick* Tables. *Nisardemepadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolomee*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent Embassadors to *Ezekias*, King of *Iuda*. So that if wee reckon backwards to the difference of time, betweene *Merodach* and *Salmansar*, we shall finde it the same which is betweene *Nisardemepadus* and *Nabonassar*.

nassar. Like wise *Fundus* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samaris*, to the deuallation of *Ierusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirtie and three yeares: the selfe same distance of time is found in *Ptolomie*, betweene *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Ptolomie* seemes to differ from this accompt, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and fortie yeares, than the destruction of *Ierusalem*, we are to vnderstand that he tooke *Samaris* in the eighth yeare of his raigne; so that the seuen foregoing yeares added to these one hundred thirtie and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall euen with that of *Ptolomie*. *Ptolomies* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar* to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twentie and seuen yeares. Now if wee adde to these one hundred twentie seuen, the thirtie ensuing of *Nebuchadnezzars* yeares, before the Citie and Temple were destroyed, we haue the summe of one hundred and fortie yeares. In so plaine a case more proofes are needlesse, though many are brought, of which this may serue for all, that *Ptolomie* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twentie and two yeares, after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more sure than the authoritie of any Historie; and therefore I thinke it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall obseruations doe so thoroughly concurre.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest vnanswered, whereby he proved *baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to haue bene this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to loose a word or two in giuing the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next obseruations of the heauenly Bodies, which *Ptolomie* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the raigne of *Mardocempadus*; the second yeare of whose raigne, is, according to *Ptolomie* concurrent in part with the twentie seuen of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second yeare of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twentie seuen yeares, fteuente daies, and eleuen houres: the accompt from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high noone the first day of the *Egyptian* moneth *Thot*, than answering to the twentie sixt of *Februarie*; and this Eclipse being fiftie minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *Februarie*; so that the difference of time betweene the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomie*, according to the *Egyptian* yeares. But how does this proue, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the Sonne of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Successor, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himselfe did afterwards beleue *Mardocempadus* to haue bene rather the Nephew, than the Sonne of *baladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countre-man *Lidgate* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Tornicius*, who followes *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawne into forme of Chronologie, that learned worke, *De Emendatione Temporum*, doe hold vp the same assertion, confounding *baladan* with *Nabonassar*: I haue taken the paines to search, as farr as my leifure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might proue the Kindred or succession of these two. Yet can I finde in the *Almagest* (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or aduers to *Scaliger*; and other good authoritie, I know none, in this businesse) any sentence more nearely prouing the succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was Father to the other, than (that I may vse a like example) the as neare succession of *William the Conqueror*, declares him, to haue bene Sonne, or Grand-child to *Edward the Confessor*. T is considered, wee may safely goe on with our accompt from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be

Prod. Amg. l. 4.
c. 8.

be druen from our booke, when they finde something in it, agreeing with *Annals*, forasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon*, and *Affrica*, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolomie* are assigned to *Belsus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the rest: no good Historie naming any others, that reigned there in those ages, and all Astronomically observations, fitly concurring, with the yeares that are attributed to these, or numbered from them.

§. II.

Of the danger and deliuerance of *Iudaa* from *SENNACHERIB*.



When *Salmanassar* was dead, and his Sonne *Sennacherib* in possession of the Empire, in the fourteenth yeare of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him such Tribute as was agreed on at such time as *Tiglath*, the Grandfather of *Sennacherib*, and Father of *Salmanassar*, invited by *Ahas*, invaded *Rezen* King of *Damascus*, and deliuered him from the dangerous Warre which *Israel* had vnderaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when *Ezechias* denied, *Sennacherib*, hauing (as it seemes) a purpose to invade *Egypt*, sent one part of his Armie to lie before *Ierusalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (feeling this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirtie hundred talents of silver, and thirtie talents of gold: wherewith he presented *Sennacherib*, now let downe before *Iachuz* in *Iudaa*, yet vnder the colour of better assurance, and to force the King of *Iudaa* to deliuer hostages, the *Affirian* enuironed *Ierusalem* with a grosse Armie, and hauing his Sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his owne conditions.

Ezechias directed his three greatest Counsellors, to parlie with *Rabsaces*, ouer the Wall; and to receiue his demands: who vsed three principall arguments to perswade the people to yeeld themselves to his Master *Sennacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretarie, sent by *Ezechias* desired *Rabsaces* to speake vnto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Iewish*, yet hee with a more loud voice directed his speech to the multitude in their owne language. And for the first, hee made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, bee enforced to eate their owne dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of *Egypt*, from whom the *Iudaeans* hoped for succour; and compared him to a broken slaide, on which who so ever leaneeth pierceeth his owne hand: Thirdly, that the Gods who should helpe them, *Ezechias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brazen Serpent, which had beene preferred euer since *Aster* time: and withall he bad them remember the Gods of other Nations: whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and throwne downe; and for God himselfe, in whom they trusted, he perswaded them by no meane to relie on him; for he would decieve them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while when he had vnderstood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerfull Armie, he himselfe left the *Affirian* forces in charge to others, and fought *Sennacherib* at *Leban* in *Iudaa*, either to informe him of their resolution in *Ierusalem*, or to confere with him concerning the Armie of *Terhac* the *Arabian*. Soone vpon this there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly aduised, and partly threatned to submit himselfe: vnto the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerfull God, as before, But *Ezechias* sending those Counsellors to the Prophet *Eley*, which had lately bene sent to *Rabsaces*, receiued from him comfort, and assurance, that this Heathen Idolater should not preuaile; against whom the King also besought aide from almightie God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Sennacherib*s letter, before the

Alar

2. Kings 19.

Altar of God in the Temple, confetting this part thereof to be true. *That the King of Assyria had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their Gods, for they were no Gods, but the worke of mans hands, euen wood and stone, &c.*

Herod. 2. p. 69

The reason that moued Sennacherib to desire to possesse himselfe in harts of Ierusalem, was that he might thereinto haue retrained his Armie, which was departed, as it seemeth from the siege of Pelusium in Egypt, for feare of Terhaca: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these booke of the Kings, and of the Chronicles or Paralipomenon, speake but of the affaires of the Iewes in effect) yet the ancient Berosus, and out of him Iosephus, and S. Hierome, together with Herodotus, remember it as followeth. Herodotus calleth Sennacherib King of Arabia and Assyria: which he might iustly doe, because Tiglath his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from Pekah King of Israel: as Gilead ouer Jordan, and the rest of Arabia Petra adioyning: the same Herodotus also maketh Seton King of Egypt, to be Vulcan Priest, and reporteth that the reason of Sennacheribs returne from Pelusium in Egypt, which he all besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in funder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their weapons of that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of Terhaca, remembered by Iosephus and Berosus, was the more urgent.

Ioseph. 1. to 6. 1

Hier. Epist. 1. 1

S. Hierome vpon the seuen and thirtie of Esay, out of the same Berosus, as also in part out of Herodotus, whom Iosephus citeth somewhat otherwise than his wordes lie, reports Sennacherib retrain in these words. *Pugnasse autem SENNACHERIB Regem Assyriorum contra Egyptos, & obsidisse Pelusium, iamq; extructis aggeribus, turri capienda, venisse TARACHAM Regem Aethiopum in auxilium, & una nocte iuxta Ierusalem centum octoginta quinq; milia exercitus Assyry pestilentia corruisse narrat HERODOTVS: & plenissime Berosus Chaldaice scriptor Historie, quorum fides de proprijs libris petenda est; That SENNACHERIB King of the Assyrians sought againe the Egyptians, and besieged Pelusium, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the Citie, TARACHAS King of the Aethiopians came to helpe them, and that in one night neare Ierusalem one hundred eightie thousand of the Assyrian Armie perished by pestilence, of these things (saith Hierome) * HERODOTVS reports: and more at large Berosus a writer of Chaldaean storie, whose credit is to be taken from their owne booke.*

Berosus a writer of Chaldaean storie, whose credit is to be taken from their owne booke.

Out of Esay it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assyrian Armie was in this manner. Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a whirle-winde and a tempest, and a flame of denouncing fire. But Iosephus hath it more largely out of the same Berosus, an authoritie (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted, SENNACHERIBVS autem ab Egyptiaco bello reuertens, offendit his exercitum, quem sub RABASACIS Imperio reliquerat peste diuini iussu missa deletum, prima nocte postea quam Vrtem oppugnare ceperat, absumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis, centum octoginta quinq; milibus Militum, qua clade territus, &c. de reliquis cepis sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam qua Nitinus dicitur. Vbi paulo post per insidias Seniorum, & filijs suis, ADRA MELECHI, & SELENNARI, vitam amisit. occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur ARASCI, quem precipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ab patricidiana & popularibus pulsus & in Armeniam fugiens, ASARACOLDAS minor filius in Regnum successit; SENNACHERIB (saith Berosus) returning from the Egyptian Warre, found here his Armie, which he had left vnder the command of RABASACES, destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begonne to assault the Towne: one hundred foure score and five thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftaines and Coronells. With which destruction being terrified, and with bad afraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, he made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sonnes, ADRA MELECH and SELENNAR or SHAREZER, he lost his life in the Temple dedicated to ARASACE, or NES-ROCH: whom he especially worshipped. These his sonnes being for their parricide chased away by the people and flying into Armenia, ASARACOLDAS his younger Sonne succeeded

Herod. 2. p. 69.

Herod. 2. p. 69.

2. Kings 19. 37.
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dead in the Kingdome. Whoin the beginning of his raigne sent new troupes out of Assyria and Samaria, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his grandfather *Salmassar*. What this *Nesroch* was, it is vncertaine: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing politively. It is certaine, that *Venus Vrania* was worshipped by the *Assyrians*; and so was *Iupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Enchirius*, and *Cyrtillus* witness. Many fancies there are, what cause his sonne had to murder him; but the most likely is, that he had formerly disinherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Assarhaddon*. *Tobit* tells vs, That it was fiftie yee after *Senacherib* returne, ere he was murdered by his sonnes; during which time he flew great numbers of the *Israelites* in *Nimue*, till the most iust God turned the Sword against his owne breast.

§. III.

Of *Ezekias* his sickness and recoverie; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.

fter this marvellous deliuerie, *Ezekias* sickened, and was told by *Isaiah*, that he must die: but after he had besought God with teares for his deliuerie, *Isaiah* as he was going from him returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recoverie after three dayes, and a prolongation of his life for fiftene yeares. But *Ezekias* somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth a signe to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiah*, the shadow of the Sunne cast it selfe the contrarie way, and went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cause that moued *Ezekias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despair that the *Messias* should come out of the house of *Dauid*, or at least of his Seede. His disease seemeth to be the Pestilence, by the medicine giuen him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figges, layed to the Botch or Soare.

This wonder when the Wife men of *Chaldea* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the first of that house, he sent to *Ezekias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezekias* shewed him all the Treasure hee had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Isaiah*, who tolde him; *The dayes are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatsoever thy fathers haue layed vp in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel; nothing shall be left, sayth the Lord.* It may seeme strange, how *Ezekias* should haue got any treasure worth the weying: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the yeare before. But the spoyle of the same *Senacherib* his Campe repayed all with aduantage, and made *Ezekias* richer vpon the suddaine then euer he had bene: which vnexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time *Ezekias* had reit, and spending without noyse that addition which God had made vnto his life, he died, hauing reigned nine and twentie yeares. One onely offense hee warre he made, which was against the *Philistines* with good successe. Among his other acts (shortly remembered in *Ecclesiasticus*) hee deuised to bring water to *Ierusalem*.

In two respects they say that hee offended God: the one, that hee rejoyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemies; the other, that hee so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moued *Ezekias* (speaking humanely) to entertaine the Embassadors of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recoverie of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakened the house of *Senacherib*, his fearefull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant vnder *Senacherib* in *Babylon*, vsurped that State him selfe, in the last yeare of that King, and held it by strong hand against his sonne *Assarhaddon*; who was not onely simple, but impaired in strength,



by the molestation of his brothers. This advantage *Merodach* espied, and remembering; that their ancestor *Phul Belochus* had set his owne maller *Sardanapalus* besides the cushion, thought it as lawfull for himselfe to take the opportunite which this Kings weaknesse did offer, as it had bene for *Belochus* to make vse of the others wickednesse: and so, finding himselfe beloued of the *Babylonians*, and sufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazard, and preuailed. The asserion of this historie is made by the same arguments that were vsed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here againe rehearse. So of this new Race, which cut asunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were onely five Kings.

| | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Phul Belochus.</i> | } who reigned | } years. |
| <i>Tiglath Philassar.</i> | | |
| <i>Salmansassar.</i> | | |
| <i>Senacherib.</i> | | |
| <i>Assarhaddon.</i> | | |
| | | 48.
27.
10.
7.
10. |

But forasmuch as the last year of *Salmansassar* was also the first of *Senacherib* his sonne, we reckon the time, wherein the house of *Phul* held the *Assyrian* Kingdome, to haue bene an hundred and one years; of which, the last five and twentie were spent with *Ezekia*, vnder *Salmansassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Assarhaddon*.

§. IIII.

The Kings that were in *Media* during the raigne of *Ezekia*: Of the difference found betwene sundrie Authors, in rehearsing the *Median* Kings.

Other contemporaries of *Ezekia*: of *CANDACE*,
LES, *GYGES*, and the Kings descended from *HERCVLES*.

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medius*, and after him *Cardiceus*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were so, that varietie of names, by which these Kings were called in seuerall Histories, hath caused them to seeme more than indeed they were; or whether the sonnes reigning with the fathers, haue caused not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they gouerned *Media*, to exceede the due proportion: or whether the Copies themselves, of *Ctesias* and *Annius* his *Metastibenes*, haue bene faultie, as neither of these two Authors is ouer-highly commended of trustinesse: so it is, that the names, number, and length of raigne, are all very diuersly reported of these *Median* Kings, that followed *Arbaces*: Therefore it neede not seeme strange, that I reckon *Medius* and *Cardiceus* as contemporaries with *Ezekia*. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those Writers that varie from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare vndertake. I will onely here set downe the roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, according as sundrie Authors haue deliuered it.

Annius his *Metastibenes* orders them and their raignes thus:

| | | |
|--|---------------|--|
| <i>Arbaces.</i> | } who reigned | } years. |
| <i>Mandane.</i> | | |
| <i>Sosarmen.</i> | | |
| <i>Articarmin.</i> | | |
| <i>Arbices.</i> | | |
| <i>Artax.</i> | | |
| <i>Attines.</i> | | |
| <i>Asybarus</i> , with his
sonne <i>Apanda.</i> | | |
| <i>Apanda</i> alone. | | |
| <i>Darius</i> with <i>Cyrus.</i> | | |
| | | 28.
50.
30.
50.
22.
40.
22.
20.
30.
36. |

Diodorus

Diodorus Siculus following Ctesias (as perhaps Ammian made his Metasthenes follow Diodore, with some little variation, that he might not seeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

| | | | |
|------------|---------------|----------|-----|
| Arbaces. | } who reigned | } years. | 28. |
| Mandanes. | | | 50. |
| Sosarmus. | | | 30. |
| Artaxes. | | | 50. |
| Arbaces. | | | 22. |
| Arfau. | | | 40. |
| Artynes. | | | 22. |
| Artabanus. | | | 40. |

Astybara. }
Astyages. } the continuance of these two he doth not mention.

Merestor hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with Eusebius. But forasmuch as it seemes to me an impossible matter, to attaine vnto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures founded vpon Ctesias and Metasthenes, I will lay the burthen vpon Eusebius, who liued in an age better furnished than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I haue reckoned as contemporaries with Ezekia) Medius and Cardaces, are found in Eusebius: for whether Cardaces were Diodorus his Arbaces, I will not stay to search. The Kings of Media, according to Eusebius, reigned in this order.

| | | | |
|------------|-----------|----------|-----|
| Arbaces. | } reigned | } years. | 28. |
| Sosarmus. | | | 30. |
| Medius. | | | 40. |
| Cardaces. | | | 15. |
| Deoces. | | | 54. |
| Phraortes. | | | 24. |
| Cyaxares. | | | 32. |
| Astyages. | | | 38. |

These names, and this course of succession I retaine; but adde vnto these, Cyaxares the sonne of Astyages, according to Xenophon, and sometimes follow Herodotus, in setting downe the length of a Kings reigne, otherwise than Eusebius hath it: of which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twentie nine years of Ezekia were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the foure first that were chosen Governours of Athens for ten years; that is, of Charops, Aristedes, Elitius, and Hippones. Touching the first of these I heare nothing, save that Rome was built in his first year; of which perhaps himselfe did not heare. Of the second and third I finde only the names. The fourth made himselfe knowne by a strange example of iustice, or rather of crueltie, that hee shewed vpon his owne Daughter. For he finding that shee had offended in vnchastitie, caused her to be lockt vp with an Horse, giuing to neither of them any foode: for the Horse, constrained by hunger, deuoured the vnhappy Woman.

In Rome, the first King, and Founder of that Citie Romulus, did reigne both before, and somewhat after Ezekia.

In Lydia, Candaules the last King, ruled in the same age.

This

This Region was first called *Meonia*. *Lydis* the sonne of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we beleue such authoritie as we finde. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred vpon *Argem*, who came of *Alcaus* the sonne of *Hercules* by *Jordana*, a bond-woman. The race of these *Heraclidae* continued reigning fiftie five yeares (in which two and twentie Generations passed) the sonne continually succeeding the father. *Candaules* the sonne of *Atysus* was the last of this race, who doated so much vpon the beautie of his owne Wife, that hee could not bee content to enjoy her, but would needes enforce one *Gyges*, the sonne of *Dasyllus*, to behold her naked bodie; and placed the vnwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queene perceiued *Gyges* at his going forth, and understanding the matter, tooke it in such high disdain, that shee forced him the next day to requite the Kings follie with treason. So *Gyges*, being brought againe into the same chamber by the Queene, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of *Lydia*. He reigned thirtie eight yeares, beginning in the last of *Ezekia*, one yeare before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his sonne *Ardis* reigned nine and fortie yeares; then *Sadyattes*, twelue; *Halyattes*, fiftie seuen; and finally *Cresus*, the sonne of *Halyattes*, fourteene yeares: who lost the Kingdome, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Persia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* Kings, whom *Cresus* his Progenitor dispossest are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Litercules* there sprang many other Kings, which governed severall Countries very long, as in *Asia*, the *Mysians*; in *Greece*, the *Lacedamonians*, *Messenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*; as likewise from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracusanes*: besides many great and famous, though private,

Families.

But of the *Heraclidae* that reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled my selfe to take notice in the times of their severall reignes: for little is found of them, beside the bare names, and the follie of this last

King *Candaules*.

(*)

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in *Aegypt*, betweene the deliuerance of *ISRAEL* from thence, and the raigne of *EZEKIA* in *Juda*, when *Aegypt* and *Juda* made a league against the *Assyrians*.

§. I.

That many names of *Aegyptian* Kings, found in Historie, are like to haue belonged only to Viceroyes. An example prouing this out of *WILLIAM* of *Tyre* his Historie of the holy Warre.



He emulation and quarrells arising in these times, betweene the mightie Kingdomes of *Aegypt* and *Assyria*, doe require our paines, in collecting the most memorablie things in *Aegypt*, and setting downe briefly the state of that Countrey, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Assyria* for the *Mediterranean*. Of *Cham*, the sonne of *Noah*, who first planted that Countrey, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, vntill the *Israelites* were thence deliuered, more hath bene said already than

I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to faile in such conjectures. That which I haue deliuered, in speaking mine opinion of the *Aegyptian* Dynasties, mult here againe helpe me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to haue reigned in *Aegypt*, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as *Ioseph* was, and such as were the *Soldanes* in later ages. Therefore, I will not only forbear to seeke after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* haue reckoned vp, from the mouthes of *Aegyptian* Priests, deliuering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will saue the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the yeares of their reignes, and other circumstances, prouing them to haue bene Kings in deede, being not recorded.

But that I may not seeme before hand, to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amiss, to giue vnto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of Historie doth afford. First therefore, wee ought not to beleue those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests haue reckoned vp, to magnifie their Antiquities. For wee know, that from *Abraham*, our Saviour Christ was removed only forie two descents, which makes it euident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the *Persian* Empire: there could not haue passed away twice as many successions in *Aegypt*: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, haue reigned longer than fortie yeares. It followes that we should square the number of the *Aegyptian* Kings, in some euen proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countreies. As for the rest, whose names wee finde scattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the nineteenth booke of the holy Warre, written by *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily perswade himselfe, that it is not hard to find names enough, of such as might be thought to haue reigned in *Aegypt*, being none other

than Regents or Viceroies. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, somethings making to that purpose, for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trouble themselves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elhadach* the *Caliph* ruled in *Aegypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a subtle man, made himselfe *Soldan*, by force and cunning, chaling away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was *Soldan* before and after him. This *Dargan* minished matter of quarrell to *Amalricke* King of *Ierusalem*; and sustained, with little losse, an invasion, which *Amalricke* made vpon *Aegypt*. Hereupon hee grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former *Soldan* hoped to make his partie good against him, if hee could get any forces wherewith to enter *Aegypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for aide, who sends an Armie of his *Turkes*, vnder the command of *Syrazon*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The Victorie was *Dargans*; but he enjoyed it not: for in few dayes after, he was slaine by treason, whereby *Sanar* did recouer his Dignitie: which to establish he slew all the Kindred and Friends of *Dargan*, that he could finde in the great Citie of *Caire*.

To all these doings, the *Caliph Elhadach* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the administration of the Kingdome, whilist hee might haue the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) doe nearly touch the *Caliph* himselfe. *Syrazon* with his *Turkes*, whom *Sanar* hath gotten to come into *Aegypt*, will not now be intreated there to leaue him, and quietly goe their way home. They seize vpon the Towne of *Belkeis*, which they torturie, and there attend the arrivall of more Companie from *Damasco*, for the conquest of all *Aegypt*. The *Soldan* perceiues their intent, and finds himselfe not strong enough to expell them, much lesse to repell the *Turkish* Armie, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends Messengers to King *Amalricke* of *Ierusalem*, whom with large promises, hee gets to bring him aide, and so driues out the *Turkes*. Of all this trouble, the great *Caliph* heares nothing, or not so much, as should make him looke to the playing of his owne game.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadach* particularly, in his owne Title. *Syrazon*, Captain of the *Turkes*, that had beene in *Aegypt*, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (who was opposit to him of *Aegypt*, each of them claiming as heire to *Mahomet*, that false Prophet, the Soueraignetie ouer all that were of the *Saracen* Law) and tells him the weaknesse of the *Aegyptian*, with his owne abilitie of doing seruice in those parts, offering his best meanes for the extirpation of the Schismaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Aegypt*, with the Westerne parts, vnder the subjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Easterne Provinces are vpin Armes; and *Syrazon*, with a mightie power, descendeth into *Aegypt*. The noise of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Amalricke*, that with all his forces hee hasteth into *Aegypt*: well knowing how nearly it concerned him and his Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, to keep the *Saracens* from joyning all vnder one head. *Sanar* the *Soldan* perceiving the faithfull care of the *Christians* his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giuing them all manner of content, as it behooued him: for by their admirable valour, he finally draue the enemies out of the Countrey. But this victorie was not so soone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, seems to know nothing. May we not thinke him to haue beene King in title only, who medled so little in the Government? The *Soldan*, finding that the *Christians* (without whose helpe, all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required; makes large offers to King *Amalricke*, vpon condition, that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the *Saracens*, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Ierusalem* should receive out of *Aegypt*, for this behouefull assistance. But the *Christians* vnderstanding that the *Soldan* (how much fouler he tooke vpon him) was subject to an higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance, with any other than the

the Caliph himfelfe. Hereupon Hugh Earle of *Cefarea*, and a Knight of the Templars, are fent vnto *Elhadeth*, to ratifie the covenants. Now fhall wee fee the greatneffe of the Caliph and his eftate.

1 These Embaffadors were conueighed by the *Soldan* to *Caire*; where arriuing at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The firft entrance was through darke Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopians*, which, with all diligence, did reuerence vnto the *Soldan*, as he paffed along. Through thefe ftrights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of fuch beautie and riches, that they could not retaine the grauitie of Embaffadors, but were enforced
2 to admire the things which detained their eies. For there they faw goodly marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all wrought ouer with embossed works, curious pavement, fith-ponds of marble with cleare waters, and many forts of ftrange Birds, vnkowne in thefe parts of the world, as coming perhaps from the *Eaft Indies*, which then were vndifcouered. The further they went the greater was the magnificence; for the Caliph his *Eunuches* conueighed them into other Courts within thefe; as farre excellling the former, as the former did furpaffe ordinarie houfes. It were tedious perhaps to rehearfe, how, the further they entred, the more high ftate they found, and caufe of meruaile; fuffice it that the good Archbifhop, who wrote thefe things, was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally, they were brought into the Caliph owne lodgings, which were yet more ftately, and better guarded, where entering the Pre-
3 fence, the *Soldan*, having twice proftituted himfelfe, did the third time caft off his Sword, that he ware about his neck, and throw himfelfe on the ground, before the curtaine, behind which the Caliph fate. Prefently the traufere, wrought with gold and pearles, was opened, and the Caliph himfelfe difcouered, fitting with great Majeftie on a throne of gold, hauing very few of his moft inward feruants and *Eunuches* about him. When the *Soldan* had humbly kifled his Mafters feet, he briefly told the caufe of his coming, the danger wherein the land flood, and the offers that he had made vnto King *Almaricke*, defiring the Caliph himfelfe to ratifie them, in prefence of the Embaffadors. The Caliph answered, That he would thoroughly performe all
4 which was promifed. But this contented not the Embaffadors: They would haue him to giue his hand vpon the bargaine; which the *Egyptians*, that flood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatneffe condefcended at length, after much deliberation, at the earneft request of the *Soldan*, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of *Cefarea* faw that the Caliph gaue his hand, neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effeet. Sir, Truth feekes no holes to hide it felfe; Princes, that will hold covenant, muft deale openly, nakedly, and fincerely; Giue vs therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we fhall truft you, for wee will make no bargaines with your Gloue. Much adoe there was about this: for it feemed againft the Majeftie of fuch a Prince to yeeld fo farre. But, when it would none o-
5 therwife be, with a fmiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his Seruants) hee vouchsafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and fo rehearfing the covenants word by word, as the Earle fpake them, he ratified all; difmiffing finally the Embaffadors, with fuch rewards as testified his Greatneffe.

In this Caliph and his *Sultan*, wee may difcerne the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his *Viceroy*: wee fee a Prince of great eftate, fitting in his Palace, and not vexing himfelfe with the great preparations made againft him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: wee fee his *Viceroy*, in the meane feafon, vjing all Roiall power, making warre and peace, entertaining, and expelling Armies of ftrangers; yea, making the Land of *Egypt* tributarie to a forraigne Prince. What greater authoritie was giuen to *Iofeph*, when *Pharaoh* faid vnto him, Thou fhalt be ouer mine houfe, and at thy word fhall all my people be armed; only in the Kings Throne will I be about thee, Behold, I haue fet thee ouer all the Land of *Egypt*?

I doe not commend this forme of Gouernment; neither can I approoue the conjecture of mine Author, where hee thinks, that the *Egyptians*, euer fince

In Josephs time, haue felt the burthen of that seruitude, which he brought vpon them, when he bought them, and their Lands, for *Pharaoh*. Herein I finde his iudgement good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, in taking their care, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we finde, that euen the *Ptolemies* (excepting *Ptolomaeus Lagi*, and his sonne *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were giuen, all of them, wholly to please their owne appetites, leauing the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuchs, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Countrey afforded, were indeede sufficient, to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their Princes, gaue them securitie, whereby they might the better truit their Officers, with so ample Commission. But of this matter I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to haue shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroies governing *Egypt*, is let downe by *Moses*, and that a liuely example of the same is found in *William of Tyre*, who liued in the same ages was, in few years after, Chancellor of the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*; and had full discourtse with *Hugh Earle of Cesarea*, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that wee bee not carried away with a vaine opinion, to beleuee that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians*, haue honored with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as wee finde by circumstance, likely to haue raigned in that Countrey; after whom it followes that we should make enquire.

§. II.

Of *ACHERRES*; whether he were *VCHOREVS* that was the eighth from *OSMANDYAS*. Of *OSMANDYAS* and his Tombe.

IN this businesse I hold it vaine to be too curious. For who can hope to attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius*, from both of them; and late Writers, that haue sought to gather the truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree. In this case *Annius* would doe good seruice, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to bee beholding to him, when others doe either say nothing, or that which may iustly bee suspected. I will therefore hold my selfe contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquities removed so farre out of sight; as for the Kings following the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, haue not beene silent, and that *Reinecius* hath taken paines, to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, vnto the raigne of *Thooris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the *Greekes* call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the *Egyptian* Kings. Wherefore I set downe the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and giue to euery one the same length of raigne.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded vnto *Chenchres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seemes to *Reinecius* to bee the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Vchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King, named *Osmandyas*, from whom *Vchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reinecius* conjectures) was the great *Osmandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Vchoreus*: for the distance betwene them was more than eight generations. Mercator judgeth *Osmandyas* to haue bene the husband of *Acherres*, *Orus* the second his Daughter; thinking that *Manetho* (cited

(cited by *Iosephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wives, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wives right. As for *Vehoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to finde him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that *Greek* word else doth) the eighth, but to be an *Egyptian* name, belonging also to *Vehoreus*, who might haue had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my braines in the vnprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandyas*, was wrought vpon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I thinke the *Egyptians* did fabulously expound. For whereas there was pourtraied a great Armie, with the siege of a Towne, the captiuitie of the People, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the *Egyptians* laid to denote the conquest of *Bactria* made by that King; which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly peece of worke, which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to haue beene erected for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of *Egypt*, and to their Viceroies; which yet they were not so ambitious, as euery one to haue his owne particular monument, siting therein to exceede all others. This appears by the many statues, thein placed, by the Watter, the iudgement Seate, the receiuing of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the accompt of Reuenues, and plentie of all Cattail and Foode; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the 20 severall Offices of a Gouernour. On the Tombe of *Osymandyas* was this inscription. I am *Osymandyas* King of Kings; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceede some of my workes. Let them, that hope to exceede his workes, labour to know what he was. But since by those wordes, Or where I lie, it should seeme that hee lay not there interred, wee may lawfully suspect that it was *Ioseph*, whose bodie was prefixed among the *Hebrewes*, to be buried in the Land of *Canaan*, and this empty Monument might King *Orus*, who out-liued him, erect in honor of his high deserts, among the royall Sepulchers. To which purpose, the plentie of Cattail, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name *Osymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; seeing *Ioseph* had one new name giuen to 30 him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dreame, and might, vpon further occasions, haue another, to his encrease of honor. As for that stile, King of Kings, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkish* *Bassas* are called, that is, Great about the Great.

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, betweene the times of *Ioseph* and *Acherres*, (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose Viceroy *Ioseph* was) yet will I hereby seeke, neither to fortifie mine owne conjecture, as touching *Ioseph*, nor to infetere any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Vehoreus*. For it might well bee, that *Memphis* was built by some Master King as was *Gehor*, Lieutenant vnto the *Caliph Elcain*, who hauing to his Masters 40 vlc, conquered *Egypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not farr from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistresse, though hee him selfe were a *Dalmatian* Slave.

John Leo Hist.
Africa. & Lib.

p. III.

of *CHERAEES*, *ARMEVS*, *RAMESSES*, and *AMENOPHIS*. Of *MYRIS*,
and the Lake that beares his name.

When *Acherres* had reigned eight yeares, *Cherres* succeeded, and held the Kingdome fiftene yeares: then reigned *Armeus* five yeares, and after him *Rameſſes*, threſcore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameſſes* is that Hiſtorie vnderſtood by *Eufebius*, which is common among the *Greekes*, vnder the names of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*. For it is ſaid that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his Brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdome of *Argos*: that he had ſiftie Daughters, whom vpon ſeeming reconciliation, hee gaue in marriage to his Brothers ſiftie Sonnes, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the firſt night; that only *Hypermeſtra*, one of his Daughters, did ſaue her husband *Lyncus*, and ſuffered him to eſcape; finally, That for this faſt, all the bloudie ſiſters, when they died, were enioyned this ſoiliſh puniſhment in Hell, to fill a leaking Veſſell with water.

The raigne of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeede in this age; but that *Armeus*, was *Danaus*; and *Rameſſes*, *Egyptus*; is more then *Reineccus* beleueus: hee rather takes *Armeus* to haue bene *Myris*, or *Meris*, who cauſed the great Lake to be made which beares his name. For my owne part, as I can ſealiſly beleue, that he which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of ſuch qualitie as the *Soldan Sanaar*, of whom wee ſpake before; ſo doe I not finde how in ſo ſhort a raigne, as five yeates, a worke of that labour could be finiſhed, which was required vnto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his owne Sepulchre and his Wiues being ſome part, it is manifeſt that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whoſe age is vncertaine, and of whoſe raignes we haue no aſſurance, I may truly ſay, that their great workes are not enough to proue them of the houſe of *Pharaoh*; ſeeing that greater deedes, or more abſolute, then were thoſe of *Ioseph*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bond-men, and all their Land for bread; of *Gehaar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanaar*, who made the Countrey Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It ſhall therefore be enough to ſet downe the length of their raignes, whom we finde to haue followed one another in order of ſucceſſion: but in rehearſing the great acts which were performed, I will not ſtand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris* is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thouſand ſixe hundred furlongs in compaſſe, and ſiftie ſidomes deepe. It ſerued to recue the waters of *Nilus*, when the ouer-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Countrey, and to ſupply the defect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Riuer did not riſe high enough. In opening the ſluices of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were ſpent ſiftie talents; but the Lake it ſelfe defraied that coſt; ſeeing the tribute impoſed vpon Fiſh taken therein, was euery day one talent, which *Myris* gaue to his Wife to buy ſweet ointments, and other ornaments for her bodie. In the middle of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchets of *Myris* and his Wife, and ouer each of them a Pyramid, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) ſiftie paces high; hauing on the tops their ſtatues, ſitting in Thrones. I hide not the deſcription of this Lake in Maps, anſwerable to the report of Hiſtorians: yet is it very great. The yeates of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* diuided, by inserting one *Armeſti* (whom *Eufebius* omits) that ſhould haue reigned one yeare and odde moneths of the time; but I hold not this difference worthe of examination.

After *Rameſſes*, his ſonne *Amenophis* held the Kingdome fortie yeares. Some giue him only nineteene yeares; and *Mercator* thinks him to haue bene the King

King that was drowned in the Red Sea : whereof I haue already spoken in the first Booke.

§. IIIL.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynastie of the Larties.

- 10 **S**ETHOSIS, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fiftie five years. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient *Sesoftris*. But the state of the World was not such in these times, that so great an expedition, as the old *Sesoftris* made, could haue beene either easily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he passed, had it now beene performed, as any man will perceiue if hee looke vpon my Chronologicall Table, and consider who liued with this *Zethus*. With this King beganne the Dynastie of the *Larties*; which *Reineccius* conjectures to haue had the same signification, wherein the old Kings of *Ecturia*, were called *Lartes*, (the *Ecturians* being issued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Aegypt*) and to haue signified as much as *Imperator* or *Generall*. The Warres in which these Kings were Generalls,
- 20 I take to haue beene against the *Aethiopians*: for sure I am, that they troubled not the Countrey of *Palestina*, that lay next vnto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they traualled ouer the desert lands, on the other hand; to seeke matter of conquest, in the poore Countries of *Africa*. But these Generalls (if the *Larties* were such) were not many. Five only had that title; and the last of these tooke it, perhaps, as hereditarie from the first; in such fort as the *Roman* Emperors were proud for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the most vnfortunate conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his Successors forbear the name.

- Here it may be objected, that the *Dynasties* (as appeares by this particular) tooke name from the Kings, that the Kings also did administer the gouernment themselves; and that therefore I am deceiued in ascribing so much vnto the Viceroyes.
- 30 But it is to be considered, that what is said of these *Larties*, depends only vpon conjecture, and that the authoritie of the Regents, or Viceroyes, might be great enough, though some few Kings tooke the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For so we finde in *Iohn Lee*, that the *Soldan* of *Aegypt* (after such time as the *Soldan Saladine*, murdering the *Caliph*, got the Soueraignerie to himselfe) had vnder him a Viceroy, stiled *Eddagnadere*, who had authoritie to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almost as great, as the *Soldans* owne. Yet was there also the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord Generall of the *Soldans* forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good spend of the *Soldans* Treasure. So might the Office of the Viceroyes continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generalls vpon them, did somewhat abridge the greatnesse of that second place. As for the names of the *Dynasties*, it skills not whence they were drawne; whether from their Countrey, as those of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*, or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time, as many thinke, that the seuenteenth *Dynastie* was called of the *Sheep*-heards, because *Iseph* gouerned in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the *Larties* or Generalls. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius his Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larties* or Generalls, yet was it not without Kings, forasmuch as *Paphres*, and *Sesae*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let vs
- 40 so now returne to the business which we left.

Ramses was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethosis*, threecore and sixe years. He is mistaken for that second *Sesoftris*, of whom I haue spoken in the first Booke. I finde nothing worth rehearfall of this *Ramses*, or of *Amenophis*, and *Annenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned fortie, the later sixe and twentie years.

to me, in giuing to this King such profound antiquitie of raigne. Indee the very name of that Booke, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspicion of some impollure: but the frierly flusie that hee alledged out of it, is such as would serue to discredit himselfe, were it not otherwise apparant, that he was a man both deuout, and of good iudgement, in matters that fell within his compasse. I will here set downe the List of olde *Egyptian* Kings deliuered by him, and leaue the censure to others.

- The first King of *Egypt* that he sets downe is *Atizraim*, the sonne of *Cham*. After him hee findes many of a new race, deriuing their pedegree thus: *Nimrod*, the sonne of *Chus*, was also called *Orion*; and further, tooke vpon him the name of the Planet *Saturnus*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his owne Linage, and by her three sonnés; *Picus*, surnamed *Iupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chasling his father out of *Assyria* into *Italie*, raigned in his head thirtie yeares, and then gaue vp that Kingdome to *Iuno*, his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his sonne: after which *Belus*, who raigned onely two yeares, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italie*, to visite his olde father *Saturne*; *Saturne* forthwith reigned the Kingdome to him. *Picus Iupiter* raigned in *Italie* threescore and two yeares, had threescore and tenne Wives or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the Ile of *Crete*. The principall of *Iupiter* sonnes were *Fannus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Fannus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurie*: hee raigned in *Italie*, after his father, sixe and thirtie yeares: and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of *Atizraim*, hee got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirtie yeares. After *Mercurie*, *Vulcan* raigned in *Egypt* foure yeares and a halfe. Then *Sol*, the sonne of *Vulcan*, raigned twentie yeares and a halfe. There followed in order *Sosis*, *Ofris*, *Orius*, and *Thules*, of whome we spake before: the length of their severall raignes is not set downe. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesoftris* King twentie yeares. His successor was *Pharao*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crowne fiftie yeares, with which there passed from him the surname of
- 30 *Pharao*, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set downe as I finde them: let their credit rest vpon the Author.

Others yet we finde, that are said to haue raigned in *Egypt*, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whome I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curiositie, in the search made after these already rehearsed, then of negligence, in omitting such as might haue bene added.

- Raphres*, the father in law to *Salomon*; and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, leade vs againe into faire way, but not farre. The name of *Raphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but wee are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrianus* and *Eusebius* for it. These giue vs not the length of his raigne; but we know, that he liued in the times of *Dauid* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Armie, tooke *Gaza* from the *Canaanites*, and gaue it to his daughter, *Salomons* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his sonne did fauour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wives and Concubines, besides this *Egyptian* Princesse. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath bene written that I finde of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his raigne, which must haue bene sixe and twentie yeares, if he were that *Smendis* with whome *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth Dynastie.
- 40

- Now so farre as it would serue to no great purpose, that wee knew the length of *Sesac* his raigne, and of theirs that followed him, vnlesse therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, vpon which the rest haue dependance; this course I take. From the fourth yeare of *Iehoaikim*, King of *Iuda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was slaine, I reckon vpwards the yeares of the same *Neco*, and of his predecessors, vnto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which account, the first yeare of *Sesac* is found, concurrent

with

with the twentieth of *Salomons* raigne, and the twentic sixt of *Sesac* with the sixt of *Rehoboam*: wherein *Sesac* spoyled the Temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, then *Ioni* the *Isracite* and *Craffus* the *Romme* did; who, after him, spoyled the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

To fill vp the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I have rather taken those Kings that I finde in the *Greece* Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of these that are deliuered by *Eusebius*, wee finde no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, saue onely of *Bochoris*, who is remembered by *Diodore*, *Platare*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appeare to haue bene a King. Hercunto I may adde, that the succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Aethiopians*, which got the Kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appeares by the Prophet *Ezay*, that the Councillors of *Pharao* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, in somuch, that they said of *Pharaoh*, *I am the Sonne of the Wife, I am the Sonne of the ancient King*. But that which overthrowes the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is, the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it please him well to see how the raignes of *Iosias* and *Xeco* meete by his computation, yet this indeede marres all; the raigne of *Iosias* being misplaced. This error grows from his omitting, to compare the raignes of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion, *Torani*, King of *Israel*, is made to raigne three yeares after *Ahasia* of *Juda*; *Samaris* is taken by *Salmansassar* before *Hesekia* was King: and in a word, all, or most of the Kings, haue their beginnings placed in some other yeare of their collateralls than the Scriptures haue determined.

¶ 19. 11.

¶ VI.

of *CHEMMIS*, *CHEOPS*, *CEPHRENES*, and other Kings recited by
HERODOTVS and DIODORVS SICVLVS, which
raigned betweene the times of REHO-
BOAM and EZEKIA.

30

Following therefore the *Greece* Historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chemmis*, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. Hee reigned fiftie yeares, and built the greatest of the three *Pyramides*, which was accompted one of this worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottome vpwards, narrower and narrower to the toppe. This of *Chemmis* being foure-square, had a Base of seuen akers euery way, and was about six akers high. It was of a very hard and durable Stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand yeares, without complaining of any iniurie that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the raigne of *Chemmis*, vnto the age of *Augustus Caesar*, wherein *Diodore* liued, are indeede a thousand yeares; which giues the better likelihood vnto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramides*, late Writers testifie, that they haue scene them yet standing.

After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and ending rather to the opinion, that his sonne *Chabrens* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might bee *Chabrens*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to haue bene brethren; but the length of their raignes may argue the later to haue bene sonne to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fiftie yeares, *Cephrenes* fiftie fixe. These were, as *Chemmis* had bene, builders of *Pyramides*, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who alreadie had ouer-laboured themselves in erecting the first. These *Pyramides* were ordained to be Tombs, for those that raised them;

but

Diodor. l. i.
Herod. l. ii.

4206
178.194 302.347 35.756 7116.912 960.783 518.399 89.025
46.647 671 32.3 369 370 7 382. 466 492 on 7.728

X but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to haue caſt out their bodies; and to laide called their Monuments by the name of an Herdſman, that kept his Beatts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entitling a poore fellow to their workes, was held to be the calling out of their bodies: otherwiſe, it is hard to conceiue, how it might bee, that they, who had not power to auoide the like ſlaucerie, laid vpon them by the yonger brother, or ſonne, ſhould haue power or leiſure to take ſuch reuenge vpon his Predeceſſor. To o the like malice may be aſcribed the tale deuifed againſt *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father, wanting monie, did prostitute her, and that ſhee, getting of euery man that accompanied her, one
 10 ſtone, did build with them a fourth *Pyramis*, that ſtood in the middeſt of the other three. Belike ſhee was an inſolent Ladie, and made them follow their drudgerie, for her ſake, longer a while than they thought to haue done, in railing a Monument, with the ſuperfluitie of her Fathers prouitions.

Mycerinus, the ſonne of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his Father ſixe yeares. He would haue built as his foregoers did, but preuented by death, finiſhed not what hee had begunne. The people thought him a good King, for that he did ſet open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept ſhut. But an Oracle threatened him with a ſhort life: of ſixe yeares only, becauſe of this his deuotion; For (ſaid the Oracle) *Egypt* ſhould haue bene aſſiſſed an hundred and fiſtie yeares, which thy Predeceſſors
 20 knew, and performed for their parts, but thou haſt releaſed it, there ore ſhalt thou liue but ſixe yeares. It is very ſtrange, that the Gods ſhould bee offended with a King, for his pietie; or that they ſhould decree to make a Countrie impious, when the people were deſirous to ſerue them; or that they hauing ſo decreed, it ſhould lie in the power of a King, to alter delictie, and make the ordinance of the Gods, to faile in taking full effect. But theſe were *Egyptian* Gods. The true God was, doubtleſſe, more offended with the reſtitution of ſuch Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knows, whether *Cheneſis* did not learne ſomewhat at *Jeruſalem*, in the laſt yeare of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceiue, and deliuer to thoſe that followed him, the vanitie of his *Egyptian* ſuperſtition? Sure it is that his raigne, and the raignes of *Cheops*, and *Cephrenes*, were more long and more happie, than that of
 30 *Mycerinus*, who, to delude the Oracle, reuelled away both daies and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, hee had changed his nights into daies, and ſo doubled the time appointed: a ſeruite more pleaſing to the Deuill, than the reſtitution of Idolatrie durſt then ſeeme, when it could ſpeede no better. I finde in *Reinecius* fiſtie yeares aſſigned to this King; which I verily beleue to haue bene ſome error of the print, though I finde it not corrected among other ſuch ouerſights: for I know no Author that giues him ſo many yeares, and *Reinecius* himſelfe takes notice of the Oracle, that threatened *Mycerinus* with a ſhort life, as is before ſhewed.

Bocchorus is placed next vnto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who ſpeakes no more of him than this, that he was a ſtrong man of body, and excelling his Predeceſſors in wit. He is ſpoken of by diuers Authors, as one that loued juſtice; and may be taken for that *Banchyrus*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kinde: *Enſebius* reckons four and forti yeares of his raigne.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Aethiopian* ſollowes, in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certaine ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Aſychis*; who made a ſharpe law (as it was then held) againſt bad debtors, that their dead bodies ſhould be in the creditors diſpoſition, till the debt were paid. This *Aſychis* made a
 50 *Pyramis* of brick, more colliſy and faire, in his owne judgement, than any of thoſe that the former Kings had raiſed. Beſides this *Aſychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Amſis*, a blinde man, before the *Aethiopian*. The raignes of theſe two are perhappes thoſe many ages, which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted betweene *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but ſixe yeares; and ſo long doth *Fanſtus*, ſo long doth *Reinecius* hold, that theſe two Kings, betwene them both, did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it vnprobable;

bable, that the raignes of two Kings should have bene so soone spent; he may doe it by taking some yeares from *Sethon* or *Pſammeticus*, and adding them to either of these. To adde vnto these, without subſtracſing from ſome other, would breede a manifest inconuenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his raigne, mult have bene in the first of *Rehoboam*; as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine owne part I like it better to allow fixe yeares only to these two Kings, than to loose the witness of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speake of *Senacherib* warre: at which time *Sethon* was King of *Aegypt*. I will not therefore adde yeares vnto these obscure names; for by adding vnto these men three yeares, wee shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Senacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Aegyptian* Kings. Otherwile it were a matter of no great enuie, to leaue both *Ajehia* and *Amyſis* out of the roll; which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet fixe yeares further, or more, (if the like abridgement shall be required of *Pſammeticus* his raigne) into the yeares of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Aethiopian*, who tooke the Kingdome from *Amyſis*, it is agreed by the most, that he raigned fifty yeares. He was a mercifull Prince, not punishing all capital offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour vpon malefactors; by whose toyle he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out their seruice to hire, and performed many workes, of more vse than pompe, to the singular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonaras* calls this King *Sua*, the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last King of *Israel*, made a League with him against *Salmansar*, little to his good: for the *Aegyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preferre the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seemes, that the enroching power of the *Aſſyrian*, grew terrible to *Aegypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Phalsar*, and *Salmansar*, hauing eaten ſo farre into *Syria*, in the raigne of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his daies (for his raigne beganne in the fourth of *Meneſem*) that *Phul* himſelfe did make the first entrance into *Palastina*. This caused *So* to animate the halfe ſubdued people, against their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Succesor gaue them was ſo faint, that *Senacherib* Embaſſador compared the *Aegyptian* ſuccour to a broken ſtaffe of Reede. Such indeede had *Hosea* found it, and ſuch *Ezekia* might haue found it, had hee not bene ſupported by the ſtronger ſtaffe of Him, that rules all Nations with a rod of yron. It appeares by the words of *Rabſake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Aegyptian* forces, for *Charrats* and *Horse-men*; but this power, what ſooner it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of *Aegypt* it ſelfe, which *So* left vnto *Sethon* his Succesor, hauing now fulfilled the fifty yeares of his raigne. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* haue both one tale, from the relation of *Aegyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; ſaying, that he left the Countrey, and willingly retired into *Aethiopia*, becauſe it was often ſignified vnto him in his dreames, by the God which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his raigne ſhould be neither long nor proſperous, vneſſe he ſlew all the Priests in *Aegypt*; which rather than to doe, he reſigned his Kingdome. Surely, these *Aegyptian* Gods were of a ſtrange qualitie, that ſo ill rewarded their Seruants, and invited Kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Aegyptians* (as they likewiſe did) worſhip Dogs as Gods, when their chiefe Gods had the propertie of Dogs, which loue their Maſters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests ſhould haue ſained this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be ſome deuile, of the fearefull old man, who ſeeing his Realme in danger of an inuaſion, ſought an honeſt excuſe for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himſelfe into *Aethiopia*, where he had bene bred in his youth. What if one ſhould ſay, that the *Aethiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the inſtigatiſon of this man) raiſed an Armie againſt *Senacherib*, when hee meant

meant to invade *Egypt*, within two or three yeares after ? But I will not trouble my selfe with such enquire. This I hold, that *Ses*, or *Sabacus*, was not indeede an *Ethiopian* (for in his time liued the Prophet *Esay*, who mentioneth the antiquitie of *Pharaohs* house) but only so furnamed for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the Kingdome from *Assis*, who was his opposit. The quiet and milde forme of his Governement; his holding the Kingdome so long without an Armie; and many other circumstances argue no lesse. But whether finally hee betooke to a priuate life, or whether hee fore-went his Life and Kingdome at once, being now very old, it is time that we leaue him, and speake of *Sethon* his next Successor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembered by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his hauing bene King.

p. VII.

Of *SETHON* who reigned with *EZEKIA*, and sided with him against *SENACHERIB*.

20 **T**He first yeare of *Sethons* raigne falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the fift of *Senacherib*. It was a troublefome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of *Assyria* and *Egypt*, being then engaged in a Warre, the issue whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serue. The *Assyrian* had the better men of warre; the *Egyptian*, better prouision of necessaries: the *Assyrian*, more Subjects; the *Egyptian*, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of *Assur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Assyrian* in outward shew.

Of this last sort were *Ezekia*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them against his owne great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so neare and mightie a Neighbour, before the seruice of a terrible, yet farre removed King. But herein was great difference, betwene *Ezekia* and his Subjects, For the good King, fixing his speciall confidence in God, held that course of policie, which hee thought most likely to turne to the benefit of his Countrey: the multitude of *Judea*, looking into the faire hopes which this *Egyptian* league promised, were puffed vp with vaine conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not neede to feare any more of those injuries, which they had suffered by the *Assyrians*, and so became forgetfull of God, taking consaile but not of him. 25
The Prophet *Esay* complained much of this presumption; giuing the people of *Juda* to vnderstand, That the *Egyptians* were men, and not God, and their Horses flesh, and not Spirit; that God himselfe should defend *Israel* vpon repentance, and that As *ssur* should fall by the sword, but not of man. As for the *Egyptians* (saide the Prophet) they are vanitie, and they shall helpe in vanitie, their strength is to sit still. 30

According to the Prophets words it came to passe. For in the treatie of Confederacie that was held at *Zaan*, all manner of contentment and assurance was giuen to the *Jewes*, by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of Horses and Charracts, that they did not looke (as *Esay* saith) vnto the holy one of *Israel*, nor seeke vnto the Lord. But he yet is wisest.

After a while came *Senacherib* with his Armie, and wakened them out of these dreames, for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as neare as he was, did seeme faire off, 35 being vnreadie, when his helpe was most needfull. It may seeme that he purposed, rather to make *Palestina* than *Egypt* the stage, whereon this great Warre should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Assyrians* and *Jewes*, weakening one another, should yeeld vnto him a faire aduantage ouer both. Yet he fought with mortie; for he sent Horses and Camells laden with treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom

Eſay 30. 6. *Eſay* calleth a people that cannot profit. Theſe *Arabians* did not profit indeede; for (beſides that it ſeemes by the ſame place of *Eſay*, that the rich treaſures miſcaried, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from *Tirhaca*;) all the ſtrong Cities of *Inda* were taken by *Senacherib*, except *Libna*; *Lathiſ*, and *Jeruſalem* it ſelfe, which were in ſore diſtreſſe, till the ſword of God; and not of Man, defeated the *Aſſyrian*, who did goe for ſeaſe, to his *Tower*, that is, he fled to *Ninive*, where he was ſlaine.

Eſay 31. 9.

Concerning this expedition of *Senacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it; That it was purpoſed againſt *Egypt*, where the men of warre, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refuſed to beare armes in defence of him and the Countrey: that *Sethon* being *Puleans* Prieſt, bemoaned himſelfe to his God, who by dreame promiſed to ſend him helpers: that hereupon *Sethon*, with ſuch as would follow him, (which were crafts-men, ſhop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Peluſium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Campe of *Senacherib* by night, did ſo know the bowes, quiuers, and ſtraps of his mens armour, that they were ſaine the next day to flee away in all haſte, finding themſelves diſarmed. In memorie hereof (ſaith *Herodotus*) the ſtatue of this King is ſet vp in the Temple of *Pulean*, holding a Mouſe in his hand, with this inſcription. *Let him, that beholds me, ſerue God*. Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, wherein how farre they ſwarred from the truth, being deſirous to magnifie their owne King, it may eaſily be perceived. It ſeemes that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen downe, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or elſe perhaps, the Prieſts did forbear to tell him (which cauſed him to omit it) for that the Nation of the *Iewes* was then well knowne to the world, whereof euery child could haue told, how much falſehood had beene mingled with the truth.

We finde this hiſtorie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That *Senacherib* King of the *Aſſyrians*, and *Arabians*, (ſo *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians* or peraduenture ſome borderers vpon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) liued in this age, made Warre vpon *Egypt*, and was miraculoſly driuen home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleaſure that *Pulean* did vnto his Prieſt; happy it was (if *Sethon* were a Prieſt) that he tooke his God now in ſo good a moode. For within three or foure yeares before this, all the Prieſts in *Egypt* ſhould haue bene ſlaine, if a mercifull King had not ſpared their liues, as it were halfe againſt the Gods will. Therefore this laſt good turne was not enough to ſerue as an example, that might ſtirre vp the *Egyptians* to pietie, ſeeing that their deuotion, which had laſted ſo long before, did bring all the Prieſts into danger of ſuch a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did repreſent *Senacherib* himſelfe, and that the Mouſe in his hand, ſignified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expreſſing things) the ſhamefull iſſue of his terrible expedition, or the deſtruction of his Armie, by meanes which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, ſhewed vpon this vngodly King, was indeede a very good motiue to pietie. But the embleame, together with the Temple of *Pulean* (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might giue occaſion to ſuch a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon*, finding himſelfe in danger, did call vpon his Gods, that is, vpon *Pulean*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had moſt deuotion. But ſo had other of his Predeceſſors done in the like neede: yet which of them had obtained ſuccour by the like miracle? Surely the *Iewes* (euen ſuch of them as moſt were giuen to Idolatrie) would haue bene aſhamed of the confidence which they repoſed, in the Charretts of *Egypt*, becauſe they were many, and in the Horſe-men, becauſe they were very ſtrong; had it bene told them, that *Sethon*, in ſtead of ſending thoſe Horſe-men and Charretts, was beſeeching *Pulean*, to ſend him and them good luck, or elſe (for theſe alſo were *Egyptian* Gods) addreſſing his prayers to ſome Onyon or Cat. How ſoouer it was, doubtleſſe

Eſay 31. 3.

lesse the prophetic of *Ezay* tooke effect, which said, *They shall be ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor helpe, nor doe them good, but shall be a shame and also a reproch.* Such is commonly the illue of humane wisdom, when relying secure vpon prouision that it selfe hath made, it will no longer seeme to stand in neede of God.

Some there are who take *Setbon* to haue beene set downe by *Eusebius*, vnder the name of *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian*; and therefore the twentie yeares which are ginen to *Tarachus*, they allow to the raigne of *Setbon*. These haue well obserued, that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Countre, or at least anemie to *Senacherib*, in the warre last spoken of: the *Ethiopian* (as they are englished) ouer which hee reigned, being in deede *Chusites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they thinke, that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka*, is placed in the roome of *Setbon*, and therefore giue to *Setbon* the twentie yeares of *Tarachus*, I hold them to haue erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) beganne his raigne ouer *Egypt*, by *Eusebius* his accompt, after the death of *Senacherib* and of *Ezekias*, in the first yeare of *Manasses* King of *Iuda*. Therefore he, or his yeares, haue no reference to *Setbon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Setbon* reigned; *Fanilius* preceptorily, citing no Author, nor alleaging reason for it, sets him downe thirtie three yeares; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded vnto my selfe at the first, for measuring the raignes of these *Egyptian* Kings. The yeares which passed from the fist of *Rehoboam*, vnto the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, I so diuide among the *Egyptians*, that giuing to euery one the proportion allowed vnto him by the Author in whom hee is found, the rest is to bee conferred vpon him whose length of raigne is vncertaine; that is vpon this *Setbon*. By this accompt I finde the thirtie three yeares, that are set downe by *Fanilius*, to agree very nearely, if not precisely, with the time of *Setbons* raigne; therefore I conforme my owne reckoning to his, though I could

be content to haue it one yeare lesse. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arriue at the time of *Psanmitticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance; and whereinto the course of this Historie will shortly bring me; the *Egyptian* affaires growing now to bee entlerled with the matters of *Iuda*, to which is meete that I returne.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of MANASSE and his Contemporaries.

p. I.

The wickednesse of MANASSE. His imprisonment, Repentance,
and Death.

MANASSE, the Sonne of *Ezechias*, forgetting the pietie of his Father, and the prosperitie which followed him, set vp, repaired, adorned, and furnished, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Deuill was by the *Heathen* worshipped. Besides, hee himselfe esteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the host of Heauen, as Gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his Sonnes for a Sacrifice to the Deuill *Moloch*, or *Atelchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhennon*: wherein was kindled

the fire of Sacrifice to the Deuills.

He also gaue himselfe to all kinde of Witch-craft and Sorcerie, accompanied and maintayned those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as *Ierusalem* was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reuerent Prophet *Esay* (who was also of the Kings race, and as the *Iewes* affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet neare vnto the Fountaine of *Silo* to be sawne in sunder, with a wooden saw, in the eightieth yeare of his life: a cruel more barbarous and monstrous then hath bene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are silent hercof, yet the same is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord brought vpon them the Captaiues of the Host of the Kings of *Assyria*, which tooke MANASSE, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chaines, and carried him to *Babel*: Where after he had lien twentie yeare as a captiue, and dispoiled of all honour and hope; yet to his heartie repentance and continuall praier, the God of infinite mercie had respect, and moued the *Assyrians* heart to deliuer him.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loued his father *Ezechias*, was the enslier perswaded to restore *Manasse* to his libertie & estate. After which and when he was againe established, remembering the miseries which followed his wickednesse, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detested his former foolish and deuillish Idolatrie, and cast downe the Idolls of his owne erection, prepared the Altar of God, and sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Ierusalem*: and dyed after the long raigne of fiftie fve yeares. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manasse* was held in a cask of yron by the *Assyrians*: and therein fedde with bread of branne and water, which men may beleue as it shall please their fancies.

p. II.

§. II.

of troubles in *Ægypt* following the death of *SETHON*. The raigne of
PSAMMETICVS.

THat the wickednesse of King *Manasser* was the cause of the euill, which fell vpon his Kingdome and Perlon, any Christian must needs beleue: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would haue inuited any Prince (and did perhaps inuite *Merodach*, who falsified Gods pleasure, vpon respect borne to his owne ends) desirous of enlarging his Empire, to make attempt vpon *Iuda*. For the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of *Iuda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with ciuill dissention, and after two yeares, ill amended by a diuision of the government betwene twelve Princes. After some good agreement betwene these, eleuen of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himselfe absolute King of all. This *inter-regnum*, or mere *Anarchie*, that was in *Ægypt*, with the diuision of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, betwene the raignes of *Sabacus*, and *Psammeticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the *Aristocratie*, or twelve *Gouernours*, immediately before *Psammeticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this dissention seemes to haue bene the vncertainetie of title to that Kingdome (for that the Crowne of *Ægypt* passed by succession of blood, I haue often shewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelue, though things were not settled, vntill one had obtained the Soueraignetie.

These twelue Rulers gouerned fifteene yeares, in good seeming agreement, which to preferue, they made strait couenants and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drinke offering, in *Vulcans* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilst this vnicie lasted, they ioyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, buile neare vnto the Lake of *Mari*; a worke so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beheld it, affirms) no wordes could giue it commendation, answerable to the stateliness of the worke it selfe. I will not here set downe that vnperfect description, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but thinke enough to say, that he prefers it faire before the Pyramides, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest workes in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to haue bene the worke of *Morus*, or *Menides*, a King which liued five generations before *Protem*, that is, before the Warre of *Troy*, and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Dadalus* tooke the patterne of that which he made for *Minos* in *Cree*. Who this *Morus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reinecius* takes him to haue bene *Amnemes*, which reigned immediately before *Thuris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dadalus* and *Minos* were both dead long before *Amnemes* was King. Belike *Reinecius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Characmen*, and others; that are found in *Iosephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the storie of *Amasis*, and *Astisanes* the *Ethiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had conjectured *Manethon* *Amenophis*, to be *Diodor*'s *Amasis*, that *Sethon* should be *Astisanes*, and that *Amnemes* should be *Morus*. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture; the times which we now handle, are those, about which *Reinecius* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Anysis*, *Astisanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Morus* was one of these twelue Princes, to whom *Herodotus* giues the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Astisanes* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Amasis*; *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Anysis*; *Astisanes* gouerned well, and was milde in punishing offenders;

offendors; so likewise was *Sabacus*; *Marmus* the next King after *Atifanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (sauiug *Seibon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as hauing not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same worke, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to heare the truth, as liuing nearer to the Age wherin it was performed. The varietie of names, and difference of times, wherein *Diodore* beleued the Priests, might bee a part of the *Egyptian* vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelue great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances remembered by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building, doe helpe to proue, that it was the worke of these twelue Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemne feast in *Pulcrans* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleuen Cups. Herupon *Psammiticus*, who standing last, had not a Cup, tooke off his brasse Helmet, and there with supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him vpon set purpose, or ill intent, they forbore to kill him, but, being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marsh Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the event, is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I beleue to haue bene none other: In the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying, that *Psammiticus* hyred Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whose aide he vanquished his Companions, and made himselfe sole King.

The yeares of his raigne, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie foure; according to *Eusebius*, fortie foure; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, giues fortie foure yeares to his single raigne, and ten to his ruling, ioyntlie with the Princes before spoken of. Indeede, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for hee cannot in reason bee supposed to haue bene then a yong fellow) into the number of the twelue Gouvernours, must be thought to haue liued vnto extreme old age, if hee ruled partly with others, partly alone, threcore and nine yeares. I therefore yeeld rather to *Eusebius*; but will not aduenture to cut five yeares from the *Aristocrate*: though peraduenture *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelue, but succeeded (either by election, or as next of bloud) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and was ten yeares companion in that government.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeares of these *Aegyptians*, as we finde them set downe, are more by one, than serue to fill vp the time, betwene the fift of *Rehoam*, and the fourth of *Iehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeare from *Seibons* raigne; that was of vncertaine length; or else (which I had rather doe; because *Eusebius* may haue followed better authoritie than I know, or than himselfe altogether, in giuing to *Seibon* a time so nearly agreeing with the truth) wee must confound the last yeare of one raigne, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set downe in Chronologicall tables, reigned precisely so many yeares as are ascribed vnto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke, that the surplusage of one mans time, supplied the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the last yeare of those fiftene, wherein the twelue Princes ruled, with the first of *Psammiticus*; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himselfe Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt*, who entertained any strait amitie with the *Greekes*; that he retayned in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom hee gaue large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whilst his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honorable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Vpon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsooke their naturall Countre

Countrie of *Egypt*, and went into *Ethiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be rayked by kinde Messengers, nor by the King himselfe, who ouer-rooke them on the way; but when hee told them of their Countrie, their Wiues, and Children, they unswayed, that their weapons should get them a Countrie, and that nature had enabled them to get other wiues and children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to bee brought vp in such sort as they might not heare any word spoken; by which means, he hoped to find out, what Nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speake that language, which men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cried, *Becum, Becum*, which word being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, serued greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquitie. *Goropius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low Dutch*; in which the word *Beker*, signifies (as *Baker* in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne ouer any part of *Goropius* his works, may finde enough of this kinde, to perswade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarchs, vied none other tongue than the *Low Dutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*; the name it selfe of *Babel*, being also *Dutch*, and giuen by occasion of this confusion; for that there they beganne to bable, and talke, one knew not what.

But I will not insult vpon all that is written of *Psammetichus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palestina*, about which he spent nine and twentie yeares. Neuer haue we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any Citie endured so long a siege as this; yet *Psammetichus* carried it at the last. This Towne of *Azotus* had bene wonne by *Tartan*, a Captaine of *Senacherib*, and was now, as it seemeth releued, but in vaine, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out so well.

§. III.

- 30 What reference these *Egyptian* matters might haue to the imprisonment and enlargement of *MANASSES*. In what part of his raigne *MANASSES* was taken prisoner.

Were it certainly knowne, in what yeare of his raigne *Manasses* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before hee obtayned libertie; I thinke wee should finde these *Egyptian* troubles to haue bene no small occasion, both of his captiuitie and enlargement: God so disposing of humane actions, that euen they, who intended only their owne businesse, fulfilled only his high pleasure. For either the ciuill warres in *Egypt* that followed vpon the death of *Setbon*; or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were into twelue peeces; or the warre betwene *Psammetichus* and his Colleagues; or the expedition of *Psammetichus* into *Syria*, and the siege of *Azotus*, might minister vnto the *Babylonian*, either such cause of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or such necessitie of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make sure worke with the King of *Juda*. The same occasions sufficed also, to procure the deliuerie of *Manasses*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Iosephus* hath it) by subtiltie, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrie, but only wast it. So that the *Seues*, hauing learned wit, by the ill success of their folly, in redeeming *Amazons*, were like to be more circumspect, in making their bargain vpon such another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters presented more weightie arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of *Juda* could afford, had no reason, to spend his forces, in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficultie as a greater, whereby hee should compell his mightiest enemies to cometo some good agreement;

ment; when by quitting his present advantage ouer the *Iewes*, hee might make his way the fairer into *Aegypt*.

Now concerning the yeare of *Manasses* his raigne, wherein hee was taken prisoner; or concerning his captiuitie it selfe, how long it lasted; the Scriptures are silent, and *Iosephus* giues no information. Yet I finde cited by *Tornellus* three opinions, the one of *Bellarmino*, who thinks that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth yeare of his raigne; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronologie*, who affirms, that it was in his twentic seuenth yeare; the third, of *Rabbi Kimbi* vpon *Ezekiel*, who saith, that he was fortie yeares an Idolater, and liued fifteene yeares after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is vpheld by *Tornellus*, who rejects the second, as more vnprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons allcaged by *Tornellus* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather proue him to fauour the *Casimell*, as farre as he may, (for where need requires, hee doth freely dissent from him) than to haue vsed his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gaue his judgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of *Bellarmino*: the one, that *Ammon* the Sonne of *Manasses*, is said by *Iosephus*, to haue followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasses* growne old in his finnes, it is not like that hee shou'd haue continued, as hee did, in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason, why the finnes of *Manasses*, might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them workes of his youth, which appeared when he was twelue yeares old; though it were granted that hee continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimbi*) vntill hee was but fifteene yeares from death. Touching the second; how looser it be a fearefull thing to cast off vnto the last those good motions vnto repentance, which we know not whether euer God will offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, that the finnes, which are not forsaken before the age of two and fiftie yeares, shall be punished with finall impenitencie. But against these two collections of *Tornellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlikely, that *Manasses* continued longer in this wickednesse, than *Bellarmino* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimbi* hath affirmed. In the second Booke of Kings, the euill which *Manasses* did is remembered at large, and his repentance vtterly omitted; so that his amendment may seeme to haue taken vp no great part of his life, the storie of him being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter. Concerning the rest of the acts of *MANASSES*, and all that hee did, and his sinne that hee sinned, are they not written in the booke of the Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda. The other place is in the foure and twenticth Chapter of the same Booke, where in rehearsing the calamities, with which that Nation was punished in the time of *Iehoukim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said; Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this vpon Iuda, that he might put them out of his sight, for the finnes of *MANASSE*, according to all that hee did, and for the innocent blood that hee shed (for he filled Ierusalem with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Who so considers well these places, may finde small cause to pronounce it most false, that the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier than fifteene yeares before his death; or most probable, that when he was twentic feuen yeares old, he repented, and becoming a new man, liued in the feare of God fortie yeares after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth can not be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeares of cruell dissension in *Aegypt*, fourteene or fifteene yeares following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened, by partition of the Soueraignetic; the warre of *Pisanmiticu* against his Associates; and foure and twentic yeares, of the nine and twentic, wherein the siege of *Azazel* continued, being all within the time of *Manasses*, did leaue no one part of his raigne (after the first fifteene yeares) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonians*, whose men of warre had continuall occasions of visting his Countrie. All which I will adde hereto is this; that the fifteenth of

Manasses

Manasse, was the last yeare of *Seton* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his raigne, or (accounting from the death of *Asarhaddon*) the twentieth: The seuen and twentieth of *Manasse* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twentie third of *Psammetichus*, and the fift of *Nabulassar*, the sonne of *Merodach* in *Babylon*; but which of these was the yeare of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbear to shew mine opinion, least I should thereby seeme to draw all matters ouer violently to mine owne computation.

This was the first great matrie that the *Babylonians* had of the Kingdome of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmansar*, yet *Ezechias* neuer payed it. True it is, that hee hoped to slay *Sennacherib* enterprile against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of silver, and thirtie of gold, besides the plate which covered the dores and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manasse* being pressed with greater necessity, could refuse no tollerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose vpon him; among which it seemes, that this was one, (which was indeede a point of seruitude) that hee might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilst they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appeares not only by his fortifying with men of warre all the strong Cities of *Juda* after his returne (which was rather against *Psammetichus*, whose partie hee had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom hee had thenceforth no more controuersie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Iosias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in fauour of *Nabulassar*, which had bene against all reason and policie, if it had not bene his dutie by couenant. Of this I will speake more in conuenient place.

§. IIII.

Of the first and second *Messenian* Warres, which were in the raignes of *Ezekia*, and *Manasse* Kings of *Juda*.

30



OW concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of *Manasse*, the most remarkable were the *Messenian* Warres; which happening in this age, and being the greatest action performed in *Greece*, betwene the *Troian* and *Persian* Warres, deserue not to be passed ouer with silence.

The first *Messenian* Warre beganne and ended in the daies of *Ezekia*; the second in the raigne of *Manasse*: but to auoide the trouble of interrupting our Historie, I haue thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needlesse, than to say, that the posteritie of *Hercules*, diuining the issue of *Pelops*, and the *Achaens*, out of their seates, diuided their lands betwene themselves, and erected the Kingdomes of *Lacedamon*, *Argos*, *Messene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of Kindred, and sought one anothers ruine with bloudie Warres; whereof these *Messenian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian* Warre, are scarce worth remembrance; they were so sleight. Ambition was the true cause of it; wherewith the *Lacedamonians* were so transported, that any thing serued them as a colour, to accomplish their greedie desires. Yet other matter was alleged; namely, that one *Polycharis* a *Messenian* had slaine many *Lacedamonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to haue him yeelded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polycharis*, for that he was growne frantick, through injuries receiued from *Euphemes* a *Lacedamonian*. This *Euphemes* had bargained to giue pasture to the Cattell of *Polycharis*, and was therefore to receiue part of the increase: but

but not contented with the gaine appointed, heefold the Cattaille, and slaues that kept them, to Merchants, which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilest the y^e was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaues that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedæmonian* being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receiue, hee carried the Sonne of *Polysares* home with him; but hauing him at home, hee vilanously slew him. Wherefore, the *Lacedæmonians* hauing refused, after long sute made by the wretched Father, to doe him right against this Theefe and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrell, out of those things, which he did in that madnesse, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand vnto the iudgement of the *Ampliciſtones*, who were as the generall Counsaile of Greece, or to any other faire course. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who had a great desire to occupy the faire Countie of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough, to haue some shew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned vp many old injuries, and so without sending any defiance, secretly tooke an oath, to hold warre with *Messene*, till they had mainered it: which done, they seized vpon *Amphias*, a frontier Towne of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercie, very few escaping.

Hereupon the *Messenians* tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemie. A furious battaile was fought betweene them, which ended not vntill darke night, with vncertaine victorie. The *Messenians* did strongly encampe themselves; The *Lacedæmonians*, vnable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre beganne in the second year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, hauing lasted twentie yeares. The two enemie Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the *Lacedæmonians* waſting the inland parts of *Messene*, and the *Messenians*, the Sea coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argines*, and *Sicyonians*, tooke part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subjects of their owne, aide from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third, and fourth battaile were fought, with as great obſtinacie as the first; suing that, in the fourth battaile, the *Lacedæmonians* were enforced to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victorie was still vncertaine, though in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Euphrates* their King, in whose stead they chose *Arifodemus*.

Many yeares were spent, ere all this blood was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of monie to entertaine Souldiers, caused the Warre to linger. And for the same reasons, did the *Messenians*, forſake all their inland Townes, excepting *Thome*, which was a mountaine with a Towne vpon it, able to endure more, than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as some Authors tell vs, the *Lacedæmonians* were so obſtinate, in this Warre, because of their vow, that hauing absented themselves ten yeares from *Sparta*, their wiues sent them word, that their Cite would grow vnpeopled, by reason that no children had bene borne them in all that time: Wherevpon they sent back all their ablest young men, promiscuously to accompanie the young women, who got so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diadorus* referres the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in proceſſe of this *Messenian* Warre, when the Devil in an Oracle had aduised the *Messenians* to Sacrifice a Virgin of the flock of *Aegyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the *Lacedæmonians*; the lot falling vpon the Daughter of one *Lyeisus*, *Epibolus* the Priest, willing to saue her, said, shee was only a fostered child, and not borne of the wife of *Lyeisus*: which answer giuing delay to the execution of the Maide, *Lyeisus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Arifodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his owne Daughter: but a young Noble man, being in loue with the Maide, when otherwise he could not preuaile, said openly that shee was no Virgin, but that he had de-

floured

Strabo l. 6.
Orif. l. 1. c. 11.

Strabo l. 1. c. 11.
This Egyptus was the youngest Sonne of Croſon by Merope, the daughter of Epheſus, King of Arcadia; of which Croſon the cleaue nobility of the *Messenians* was descended.

Warr. 585. 0. 590. 611. 620. 1. 21. 6. 635. 640. 1. 662. 677. 682. 695. 96. 716. 722. 3. 57. 8. 1066.
731. 6. 740. 6. 779. 785. 18. 17. 11. 56. 6. 801. 827. 2. 97. 6. 958. 6. 994. 6. 1066.
145. 453. 509. 561. 744. 807

floured her, and got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped vp his innocent Daughters belly, to disproue the Louers slander: at the graue of which Daughter of his, afterward falling by other superstitions into despaire of preuailing against the *Lacedemonians*, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Countrey, which he loued most dearly. For after his death the *Messenians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craued peace; which they obtained vnder most rigorous conditions. Halfe the yearly fruits of their Land. they were bound to send vnto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wiues, to make sollemne lamentations, at the death of every *Spartan* King; they were also sworne to liue in true subjection to the *Lacedemonians*; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was giuen to the *Afinai*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this Warre.

This peace being made vpon so vneuen termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirtie yeares it continued (the *Messenians* not finding how to help themselves) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able yong men, that were growne vp in the roome of those *Messenians*, whom the former Warre had consumed, beganne to consider their owne strength and multitude, thinking themselves equall to the *Lacedemonians*, and therefore scorned to serue such Masters, as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe
 20 of these was *Aristomenes*, a noble Gentleman, of the house of *Aegyus*, who perceiving the vniforme desires of his Countrey-men, aduentured to become their Leader. He therefore founding the affections of the *Argines*, and *Arcadians*, which he found thoroughly answerable to his purpose, beganne open warre vpon the State of *Lacedemon*. This was in the fourth ycare of the three and twentith *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedemonians*, hasted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their owne, without troubling their Friends, to deale with their Enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battaile was fought betwene them, and a doubtfull; saue that the *Messenians* were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords,
 30 to thinke them their equalls. Particularly, the valour of *Aristomenes* appeared such in this fight, that his people would haue made him their King: but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one ycare another battaile was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedemonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to helpe: the *Messenians* had the *Argines*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloudie fight; but *Aristomenes* did so behaue himselfe, that finally hee made the Enemies runne for their liues. Of such importance was this victorie, that the *Lacedemonians* beganne to bethinke themselves, of making some good agreement. But one *Tyrtaeus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, reenforced their Spirits with his Verses. After this
 40 *Aristomenes* tooke by surpris a Towne in *Laconia*, and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did set vpon him, in hope to haue recovered the bootie.

But all these victories of *Aristomenes* perished, in the losse of one battaile, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell vnto the *Lacedemonians*, through the treason of *Aristocrates*, King of *Aradus*, who being corrupted by the enemies with monie, fled away, and left the *Messenians* exposed to a cruell butcherie. The losse was so great, that all *Aradus* their principall Citie, and the Townes in *Messene*, standing too farre from the Sea, were abandoned, for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not bee
 50 safe abroade, was conuied, as into a place of safetie. Here the *Lacedemonians* found a tedious worke, that held them cleuen yeares. For besides that *Era* it selfe was a strong peece, *Aristomenes* with three hundred stout Souldiers did many incredible exploits that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the siege. He waited all the fields of *Messene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking

king away Corne, Wine, Cattaile, and all prouisions, necessarie for his owne people; the slaues and houlhold stuffe he changed into monie, suifering the owners to redeeme them. To remedie this mischiefe the *Lacedamonians* made an Edict, that neither *Messene*, nor the adioyning parts of their owne Countre, should bee tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among priuate men, that were almost vndone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtæus* appeald this vproare with pleasing Songs. But *Arifomenes* grew so bold, that hee not only ranged ouer all the fields, but aduentured vpon the Townes, surpris'd, and sackt *Amycla*, and finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelyhood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other seruices, thrice *Arifomenes* was taken prisoner; yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to bee remembred, as a thing very strange and meruailous. Hee had with too much courage aduentured to set vpon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and filled to the ground, was taken vp senselesse, and carried away prisoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deepe naturall Caue into which the *Spartans* vsed to cast head-long, such as were condemned to die for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Arifomenes* and his Companions adjudged. All the rest of these poore men dyed with their falls; *Arifomenes* (howloer it came to passe) took no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be imprisoned in a deepe Dungeon, among 20 dead carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while hee perceiued by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the toppe) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead bodie. Hereupon hee bethought himselfe, that this beast must needs know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, saued himselfe from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loose, ranne through an hole, at which came in a little light; and there did *Arifomenes* delue so long with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. 30 When some fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Arifomenes* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was reuiued. But when the *Corinthian* forces, that came to helpe the *Lacedamonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in pecces, their Captaines slaine, and their Campe taken; then was it easily beleued, that *Arifomenes* was aliue indeede.

Thus cleuen yeares passed whilst the enemies houering about *Era*, saw no likelyhood of getting it; and *Arifomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slaue, that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a *Messenian*, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a raie- 40 nie-winter-night, that the husband came home vnlooked for, whilst the Adulterer was within. The Woman hidde her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him, by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the storme of foule weather was such, as had made all his fellowes leaue their Stations. and that himselfe had done as the rest did; as for *Arifomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not looke abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stirre, in such adarke-rainie-night, as this was. The slaue that heard these tidings, role vp secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedemonian* Campe with the newes. There hee found *Emperamus* his Master, commanding in the Kings absence. To him he vttered all; and obtaining pardon 50 for his running away, guided the Armie into the Towne. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was presently taken; and the extreme darkness, together with the noise of winde and raine, hindred all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight; one part being incited, by neare hope of ending

ending a long worke; the other maged by more desperation. The great advantage that the *Spartians* had in numbers, was accompanied partly by the assistance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of *feruitude* had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrownesse of the streets and other passages, which admitted not manie hands to fight at once. But the *Messenians* were in continuall toile; their enemies fought in course refreshing themselves with meat and sleepe, and then returning supplied the places of their wearie followes, with fresh Companies. *Aristomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men, for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as hauing bene three

10 dayes, and three nights, vexed with all miseries, of labour, watching, fighting, hunger, and thirst, besides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker fort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to breake out through the midst of the enemies. *Emperamus* General of the *Lacedemonians* was glad of this: and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to giue an open way, leaving a faire passage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and arrived safe in *Acadia*, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Vpon the first bruite of the taking of *Era*, the *Acadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Aristocrates*, their false hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Aristomenes* had placed his followers in fatietie, hee chose

20 out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret hast vnto *Sparta*, hoping to find the Towne secure, and ill manured, the people being runne forth to the spoile of *Messene*. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedemonians* would beegled to recover their owne, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred *Acadians* that offered to joyne with him, but *Aristocrates* marred all, by sending speedie advertisement hercof, to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent backe to *Aristocrates*, was intercepted, by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falsehood, which being published in open

30 assembly, the *Acadians* stoned him to death, and casting forth his bodie vnburied, erected a monument of his treacherie, with a note. That the Perjuror cannot deceiue God.

Of *Aristomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his sonne *Gorgus* and other sufficient Gouvernours, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolved himselfe to make abode in those parts, hoping to find the *Lacedemonians* worke at home. His daughters hee bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus* who reigned in the Ile of *Rhodes* tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marrie the daughter of the best man in Greece. Finally *Aristomenes* went with his daughter to *Rhodes*, whence he purposed to haue trauailed vnto *Ardis* the Son of *Gagea* King of *Lycia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death preuented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Messenians* were inuited by *Anaxilus* (whose great Grndfather was a *Messian* and went into *Italie* after the former war) being Lord of the *Rhegiens* in *Italie*, to take his part against the *Zandaeans* in *Sicilie*, on the other side of the Straights. They did so; and winning the Towne of *Zandae*, called it *Messene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This second *Messenian* warre ended in the first yeare of the twentie eight Olympiade. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home serued the *Lacedemonians* found meanes to rebell; but were soone vanquished, and being druen to forsake *Peloponnesus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewise, after few ages they were expelled by the *Lacedemonians*, and then followed their ancient Countreint into *Italie* and *Sicilie*; some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose vnto themselves a seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred and foure score yeares, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and loue of their forsaken Countie, with a desire to returne vnto it. In the third yeare of the hundreth and second Olympiad, that great *Epaminondas*, hauing tamed the pride of the *Lacedemonians*, reuoked the *Messenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epaminondas* restore vnto them their old possession, and helpe them in building a faire Citie, which, by the name of the Prouince, was called *Messene*, and was helde by them euer after, in despite of the *Lacedemonians*, of whom they neuer from thenceforth stood in feare.

p. V.

Of the Kings that were in *Lydia* and *Media*, while *MANASSES* Raigned. Whether *DEIOCES* the *Mede* were that *ARPHAXAD* which is mentioned in the Booke of *IVDITH*. Of the historie of *IVDITH*.



AR D Y S King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Panfanias*, as rainging shortly after the *Messenian* warre. *Ardis* succeding vnto his father *Gyger*, beganne his rainge of nine and fortie yeares, in the second of the five and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steppes of his father, who enchroaching vpon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardis* wanne *Priene*, and assailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his rainge, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their owne Countie by the *Seythians*, ouer-ranne a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grand-child, by whom they were driuen out. They had not onely broken into *Lydia*, but wanne the Citie of *Sardes*; though the Citie or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King *Ardis*, whose long rainge was vnable, by reason of this great storme, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King vntill the third yeare of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was six yeares after the *Messenian* warre ended; the same being the last yeare of *Manasses* his rainge ouer *Iuda*.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fiftie of these five and fiftie yeares in which *Manasses* raigned. This *Deioces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his predecessors had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had giuen to the people so much licence, as caused euerie one to desire the wholesome severitie, of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he tooke vnto him a Guard, for defence of his person; he seldome gaue presence, which also when he did, it was with such austeritie, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies, he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maiestie, which his Predecessours had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royall Office, hee did vprightly and seuerely administer iustice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the Kingdom. Hee cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by enchroaching vpon others; but studied how to gouerne well his owne. The difference found betweene this King, and such as were before him, seemes to haue bred that opinion which *Hierodotus* deliuiers, that *Deioces* was the first who raigned in *Media*.

This was he that built the great Citie of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that King *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the storie of *Indith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same accompt, should bee *Nabuchodonosor* of the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slaine, and *Holofernes* sent to worke wonders, vpon *Phud* and *Lind*, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last yeare of *Deioce* to haue bene the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the raigne of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

- In fitting this Booke of *Indith* to a certaine time, there hath much labour bene spent, with ill successe. The raignes of *Cambyses*, *Darius*, *Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, haue bene fought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times, forgoing the destruction of *Ierusalem*, haue bene thought vpon, and this age that we haue in hand, chosen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing best with the storie; though others herein cannot (I speake of such as haue would) agree with him. Whilste *Cambyses* raigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the storie of *Indith*, is found standing and dedicated. The other two Persian Kings, *Darius*, and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to haue bene verie fauourable to the Iewes; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conueniences, apply fitting this Historie; and aboue all the opinion of a few Ancient writers (without whose iudgement the authoritie of this Booke were of no value) hauing placed this argument in the Persian Monarchie, inclines the matter to the Raigne of this vain-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, verie few, and they faintly, entitle him to the businesse. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this Historie, there must bee, a returne from captiuitie lately forgoing; the Temple rebuilt, *Iosim* High Priests, and a long peace, of threescore and tenne yeares or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the *Iewes*. Likewise on the other side, we must finde a King that raigned in *Achime*, eightene yeares at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the Iewes refused to assise; one that fought to bee generally adored as God; and that therefore commanded all temples, of such as were accounted gods to be destroyed; one whose Viceroi or Capitaine Generall knew not the Iewish Nation, but was faine to learne what they were of the bordering people.

- Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of *Iosim*, with a returne from Captiuitie, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Ierusalem*, or of *Xerxes* after ward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the raigne of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captiuitie of the *Iewes* and desolation of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controuerisie, is, that the Booke of *Indith* is not Canonical. Yet hath *Tornielius* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that vnder *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and reedified the Citie of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly bene built by *Deioce*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted; he addes that from the twelfth yeare to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is five or six yeares, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes*, in his *Grecian* expedition (which he supposeth to haue bene so long) might giue occasion vnto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor* hauing vanquished and slaine *Arphaxad*, might then seek to make himselfe Lord of all, by the Armie which he sent forth vnder *Holofernes*. So should the *Iewes* haue done their dutie, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Soueraigne Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances, rehearsed before be well applyed to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of *Iurie* were agreeable to the Historie of *Indith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough bee ignorant of the *Iewes*, and as proud as we shall need to thinke him. But the silence of all Historie, takes away

believe, from this coniecture: and the supposition it selfe is verie hard, that a rebell, whose King was abroad, with an Armie consisting of seuentene hundred thousand men, should presume so farre, vpon the strength of twelue hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand Archers on horsebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he list, yea that there was none other God than himselfe. It is indeed easie to find enough that might be said against this deuse of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any necessitie, of holding the Booke of *Indith*, to bee Canonically, I would rather chooset to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some defence vpon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it selfe. That *Indith* liued vnder none of the *Persian* Kings, *Bellarmino* (whose workes I haue not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proueed by many arguments. That shee liued not in the Raigne of *Manasses*, *Torniellus* hath proueed verie substantially, shewing how the Cardinall is driuen, as it were to breake through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of meere fantasia, it is so plaine, that it needs no prooue at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which haue contended about the time of this Historie, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stonie field) haue chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni falsique vias*, in an age that neuer was, and in places that were neuer knowne.

Indith c. 10. v. 13.
O 55.

Surely to find out the borders of *IARHETH*, which were towards the South, and ener against *Arabia*; or the Countries of *Phud* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way, I thinke it would as much trouble Cosinographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not busie my selfe herewith; hauing already so farre digressed, in shewing who liued not with *Manasses*, that I thinke it high time, to returne vnto mine owne worke, and rehearse what others I finde, to haue had their part, in the long time of his Raigne.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

Interregnum

THE first yeare of *Manasses* was the last of *Romulus*; after whose death, one yeare the Romans wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a Sabine chosen; a peaceable man and seeming verie religious in his kind. Hee brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in warres, to some good ciuillitie, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiaritie with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which he deliuered vnto the Romans as things of great importance. But all these deuices of *Numa* were, in his owne iudgement, no better than meere delusions, that serued only as rudiments, to bring the Savage multitude of theues and out-lawes, gathered into one bodie by *Romulus*, to some forme of milder discipline, than their boysterous and wilde natures was other wise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Bookes that were found in his graue, almost sixe hundred yeares after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himselfe was condemned as vaine. His graue was opened by chance, in digging a peece of ground that belonged to one *Le. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffines or Chests of Istone were in it, with an inscription in Greeke and Latine letters, which said that *Numa Pompilius* the sonne of *Pompo*, King of the *Romans* lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his bodie being vtterly consumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped

vp in two bundels of wax; of his owne constitutions seuen, and other seuen of Philosophy. They were not only vncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the Citie desiring to haue a sight of these Bookes, when hee perceiued whereunto they tended, refused to deliuer them backe to the owner, and offered to take a solemne oath that they were against the Religion then in vfe. Hereupon the Senate, without more a doe, commaunded them to bee openly burnt. It seemes that *Numa* did meane to acquite himselfe, vnto wiser ages which he thought would follow, as one that had not bene so foolish as to beleue the Doctrines wherein he instructed his owne barbarous times. But the poyson wherewith hee had infected

- 10 *Rome*, when hee sat in his Throne, had not left working, when hee ministred the Antidote out of his graue. Had these Bookes not come to light, vntill the dayes of *Tully* and *Cæsar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better discuffed; likely it is that they had not only escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure generally effect. Being as it was, they serued as a confusion, without remedie, of Idolatrie that was inueterate.

Numa Raigned three and fortie yeares in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the six and fortieth of *Manassés*, and Raigned two and thirtie yeares, busied for the most part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had

- 20 cause to feare, that might grow vnto them from the *Thyrcanes*, caused them to be thinke themselves of a course, whereby without effusion of so much blood, as might make them too weake for a common enemy, it might bee decided, who should command, and who obey.
- T here were in each Campe three Brethren, T winnes borne at one birth (*Dionysius* sayes that they were Colen Germans) of equall yeares and strength, who were appointed to fight for their severall Countries. The end was that the *Horatij*, Champions for the *Romans* got the victorie, though two of them first lost their liues. The three *Curatij* that fought for *Alba* (as *Liue* tels it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slaine; but the third *Horatius*, pretending feare, did runne away and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts could not follow him with equall speede, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning vpon them, he slew them, as it had bene in single fight, man after man, ere they could joyne together and set vpon him all at once. *Dionysius* reports it some what otherwile, telling verie particularly, what woundes were giuen and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatij* was slaine, then one of the *Curatij*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatij*, whom the third *Horatius* did comming seuer one from the other as is shewed before.

- This is one of the most memorable things in the olde *Roman* Historie, both in regard of the action it selfe, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in wager, against *Alba*, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the *Roman* State obtained.
- 40 For the Citie of *Alba* did immediately become subiect vnto her owne Colonie, and was shortly after, vpon some treacherous dealing of their Gouverneur, vtterly razed, the people being remoued vnto *Rome*, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother Citie, had bene chiefe, became ere long dependent vpon *Rome*, though not subiect vnto it, and diuerse petty States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the works of sundrie ages, and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves (vntill such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, shall grow to bee the maine subject of this Historie.

- 50 The seuenth yeare of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the sixth of *Manassés*. Also the three last Gouvernours for tenne yeares, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kings time. Of these I find onely the names, *Leocrates*, *Apollander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly Rulers were elected.

These Countours for tenne yeares, were also of the race of *Aedon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was thorned, and from rearme of life reduced vnto tenne yeares; it being thought likely, that they would gouerne the better, when they knew, that they were afterwards to liue priuate men vnder the command of others. I follow *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, in applying their times vnto those yeares of the Olympiad, wherein the Chronologicall table, following this worke, doth set them. For he not onely professeth himselfe to haue taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwayes the yeares of the *Greeks*, how they did answer vnto the thinges of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of his Historie. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first yeare of the seuenth Olympiad, and affirmes, that the same was the first yeare of *Charops* his gouernment in *Athenis*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who setteth the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

In the Reigne of *Manasses* it was, that *Midus*, whome the Poets fained to haue had *Affes* cares, held the Kingdome of *Phrygia*. Manie fables were deuised of him; especially that hee obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all thinges which hee should touch, might immediatly be changed into Gold: by which meanes hee had like to haue bene starued (his meat and drinke being subject to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* deliuered him from his miserable facultie, by causing him to walsh himselfe in the River *Pallolus*, the streame whereof hath euer since forsooth, abounded in that precious Mettall. Finally it is said hee died by drinking Bulls blood; being invaded by the *Seythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) obserued the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milesians*, or (as *Eusebius* hath it) the *Athenians*, hauing obtayned some power by Sea, founded *Masuratis* a Citie on the coast of *Egypt*. *Pjammiteus* herein seemes to haue assisted them, who vsed all meanes of drawing the *Greekes* into *Egypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus*, nor *Athenes*, were now of power sufficient, to plant a Colonie in *Egypt* by force.

About this time *Archias* with his companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracuse* in *Sicilie*: a Citie in after-times exceeding famous.

The Citie of *Nicomedia* sometime * *Aixcum*, was enlarged and beautified in this age, by *Zipartes* natieue of *Thrace*. *Sybilis* of *Samus* according to *Pausanias* liued about this time.

About these times also was *Croton* founded vpon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuse*: *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth *Pausanias*.

About the same time, the *Parthenians*, being of age, and banished *Lacedaemon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italie*, where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Isidore* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified. Also about the same time, *Manasse* yet liuing, the Citie *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylie*, *Gala* in *Stathis*, interuenne in the Region of the *Vmbria*, now called *Vrbis* in *Italie*. About which time also *Chalcedon* in *Asia*, ouer against *Byzantium*, (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*: who therefore were vpbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long worke to rehearse all that is said to haue bene done in the fine and fiftie yeares of *Manasses*: that which hath already bene told is enough: the rest, being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, referring onely *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the businesse that will shortly require more mention of them.

Dion. H. l. c. 1.
§ 4. § 45.

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Plut. § Euseb.

* Whence in
Strabo there is
finis Affecus
a part of Pro-
ponis where
this Citie was
deth. Paus. l. 5.
Hal. l. 2.
Strabo l. 6.

Isid. l. 3.
Paus. l. 10.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of MANASSES to
the destruction of Ierusalem.

10

o. I.

of AMMON and IOSIAS.



AMMON the sonne of *Manasse*, a man no lesse wicked
then was his Father before his conuersion, restored
the exercise of all sorts of Idolatrie: for which God
hardened the heartes of his owne seruants against
him: who slew him after he had Reigned two yeares:
Philo, Eusebius and Nicephorus giue him tenne yeares,
following the Septuagint.

2. King. 21.
2. Chron. 33.

Iosias succeeded vnto *Ammon*, being but a childe
of eight yeares old. Hee beganne to seeke after the
God of *Dauid* his Father; and in his twelfth yeare
he purged *Iuda* and *Ierusalem* from the high places, and

2. King. 23.
2. Chron. 34.

the grones, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake downe in his sight the Altars
of BAALIM. He caused all the Images, as well those which were grauen, as mol-
ten, to be stamp to powder, and strewed on their graues that had erected them:
and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. Hee also slew
those that sacrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and caused the Chariots and Horfes
of the Sunne to be burnt. Of *Iosias* it was prophesied, in the time of *Ieroboam* the
first, when he erected the Golden Calfe at *Bethel*, that a child should be borne vnto
the house of *Dauid*, *Iosias* by name, and vpon thee (said the Prophet speaking to the
Altar) shall hee sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incense vpon thee. a pro-
pheticke verie remarkable.

Image broken.
589 77 2 559 6.

In the eighteenth yeare of his Raigne, hee rebuilt and repaired the Tem-
ple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest found the Booke of *Moses*, called *Deu-*
teronomic, or, of the Lawe, which hee sent to the King: which when hee had
caused to bee read before him, and considered of the seuerer commandements
therein written, the prosperitie promised to those that obserue them, and the for-
row and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commaunded *Helkiah*, and
others, to aske counsell of the Prophetesse *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Booke,
who answered the messengers in these words. Thus saith the Lord, behold I will bring
cuill vpon this place, and vpon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written
in the Booke, which they haue read before the King of *Iuda*, because they haue forsaken mee,
and burnt incense to other Gods. Onely for the King himselfe, because he was a loue
of God and of his Lawes, it was promised that this cuill should not fall on *Iuda*
and *Ierusalem* in his dayes, but that hee himselfe should inherit his graue in
peace.

2. King. 13.

2. Chron. 34. 14.

2. King. 22. 15.
2. Chron. 34.

Iosias assembled the Elders, caused the Booke to bee read vnto them, made
so a couenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Ierusalem* and *Beniamin*
to doe the like, promising thereby to obserue the Lawes and commandements in
the Booke contained.

The execution done by *Iosias* vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of
the false Prophets, at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to haue extended vnto those
Countries,

Countries, that had beene part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victorie of *Iosias* in warre got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight and death of *Senacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himselfe against *Asarhaddon*, did use the aduantage which the faction in the North presented vnto him, and laid hold vpon so much of the Kingdome of *Israel*, as hee was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himselfe vnable to deale with *Psanmitticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus* though the Towne held out nine and twentie yeares) did giue vnto *Manasses*, together with his libertie as much in *Israel*, as himselfe could not easily defend. This was a good way to breake the amitie that the Kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a bone betwene them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territorie with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeme the friendship of the *Ienes*, which had beene lost by iniuries done, in seeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliuerance from imprisonment, put Captaines of warre in all the strong Cities of *Juda*; it may be that some such businesse is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places deliuered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he tooke much paines, in making *Ierusalem* it selfe more defensible; yet I should rather beleue, that he, hauing already composed with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himselfe against the *Egyptians*, whose side hee had forsaken, than that hee trauailed in making such prouisions, onely for his miinds sake. The earnestnesse of *Iosias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made, with that King or his Ancestor, was vpon such friendly termes, as required not only a faithfull obseruation, but a thankfull requiell. For no persuasions could suffice to make *Iosias* sit still, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutralitie, when *Pharao Neco* King of *Egypt* passed along by him, to warre vpon the Countries about the Riuer of *Euphrates*.

The last yeare of *Iosias* his Raigne it was, whenas *Neco* the sonne of *Psanmitticus*, came with a powerfull Armie towardes the border of *Judaea*, determining to passe that way being the nearest toward *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that Riuer, about *Carcemish* or *Cercensum*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this; *Diolestan* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to haue done) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it selfe. For it seemeth that the trauaile of *Psanmitticus* had not beene idly consumed about that one Towne of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged vnto the *Adads* Kings of *Damasco*.

Neither was the indoltrie of *Neco* lesse than his Fathers had beene, in pursuing the warre against *Babel*. In which warre, two things may greatly haue auailed the *Egyptians*, and aduanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenarie *Greekes*, that were farre better Souldiers than *Egypt* could of it selfe afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which vnder the command of more absolute Princes, began to feele it selfe better; and to shew what it could doe. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seemes, that either some preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disabilitie of theirs to make resistance, did inuite the King of *Egypt*, into the Countries bordering vpon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Neco* ascended with a mightie Armie.

These two great Monarchs, hauing their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Iosias* aduised with himselfe to which of these he might adhere, hauing his Territorie set in the mid way betwene both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessitie tread vpon the verie face and bodie of his Countrie; Now though it were so that *Neco* himselfe desired by his Embassadors, leaue to passe along by *Judaea*, protecting that hee directed

a. Chron. 33. 14.

a. Chron. 35. 20.

a. Chron. 35.

directed himselfe against the *Assyrians* onely, without all harmefull purpose against *Iosias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabazur* or *Son* King of *Egypt*, was utterly disapointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian*, so rooted vp and tare in peeces, as it could neuer after bee gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell vpon *Juda* in the thirteenth and foureteenth yeares of *Ezekias*, whilst that good King and his people relied vpon *Seton*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient proote, to shew the ill affiance, that was in the helpe of the *Egyptians*, who (neare neighbours though they were) were alwayes vnreadie; when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. Theremembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seeke, to haue the *Ierues* renew there ancient league with him, but onely craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime betweene him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an *Arme*, as did, soone after this, out-face *Nabulassar*, vpon his owne borders, left vnto the *Ierues*, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to giue it any checke vpon the way. Wherefore I beleuee, that this religious and vertuous Prince *Iosias*, was not stirred vponely by politicke respects, to stop the way of *Neco*, but thought himselfe bound in faith and honour, to doe his best in defence of the *Babylonian* Crowne; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by covenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as hee held in the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both vnto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enimie.

Some thinke, that this action of *Iosias*, was contrarietie to the aduice of *Ieremie* the Prophet; which I doe not finde in the Prophecie of *Ieremie*, nor can finde reason to beleuee. Others hold opinion, that he forgot to aske the counsell of God: and this is verie likely; seeing hee might beleuee that an enterprize grounded vpon fidelitie and thankfulness due to the King of *Babel*, could not bee displeasing vnto the Lord. But the wickednesse of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such roote, as all the care of *Iosias* in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp) was questionlesse farre from hearkning how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good King, whose life stood betweene them and their punishment, should now bee taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should giue entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Iosias* leauing all the strength hee could make, neare vnto *Beeridja*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasses*, encountered *Neco*; and there hee recieued the stroke of death, which lingring about him till hee came to *Ierusalem*, brought him to the Sepulchers of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, especially of *Ieremie* the Prophet; who inserted a sorrowfull remembrance thereof into his booke of Lamentations.

§. II.

OF PHARAO NECO, that fought with IOSTAS: OF IEROAHAX
and IEROIAKIM Kings of Iuda



F these warres, and particularly of this victorie, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the acts of *Neco*. He tells vs of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe, out of *Nilus* into the Red Sea. It should haue reached aboue a hundred miles in length, and bene wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middle of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should haue the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when halfe was done. There were consumed in this toilsome businesse twelue hundred thousand *Egyptians*; a losse great enough to make the King forsaake his enterprise, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoever it were he was not a man to be idle; therefore hee built a Fleet, and leauied a great Armie, wherewith hee marched against the King of *Babel*. In this expedition he vsed the seruice, as well of his Nauie, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, save onely this victorie against *Iostas*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Atagolus*, and the *Sicet* *Syr* *riants*, which is a small error, seeing that *Iudea* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Atagolus* or *Magdala* is taken to haue bene the same place (though diuersly named) in which this battaile was fought. After this, *Neco* tooke the Citie of *Cadytz*, which was perhaps *Carchemish*, by *Euphrates*, and made himselfe Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Iosaphus* witnesseth.

1st. Ant. Iud. l. 10
cap. 7.

Herod. l. 4.

Cape de bon espoir

Particularly we finde, that the *Phenicians*, one of the most powerfull Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Africa*, setting faile from the gulfe of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the Coast, whereto they both laided, as need required, and sowed corne for their sustenance, in that long voyage which lasted three yeares. This was the first nauigation about *Africa*, wherein that great *Cape*, now called of *good hope*, was discovered; which after was forgotten, vntill *raçao de Gama* the Portingall found it out, following a contrarie course to that which the *Phenicians* held; for they, beginning in the East, ranne the way of the Sunne, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the straights of *Gibraltar*, hauing *Africa* still on the right hand: but the *Portingalls*, beginning their voyage not farre from the same straights, leaue *Africa* on the Larboard, and bend their course vnto the East. That report of the *Phenicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not cleaue, how the Sunne in this iournee was on their right hand, that is, on the Northside of them, is a matter of necessarie truth; and the obseruation then made hereof, makes mee the better to beleue, that such a Voyage was indeed performed.

1st. Ant. Iud. v. 32.

2nd. King. 34 v. 32

But leauing these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let vs tell what he did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of *Iuda*, while the *Egyptians* were buieat *Carchemish*, had made *Iehoaabaz* their King, in the roome of his father *Iostas*. The Prophet *Ieremie* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short Raigne of *Shallum* King of the tenne Tribes; for *Shallum* of *Israel* Raigned but one moneth; *Iehoaabaz* no more than three. Hee was not the eldest sonne of *Iostas*: Wherefore it may seeme that he was set vp as the best affected vnto the King of *Babel*; the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appears by the sequell. An Idolater he was, and thriued accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his businesse in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affaires of *Iudea*. This Countrey was now so farre from making any resistance, that the King himselfe came to *Riblah* in the Land of *Hamath*, where

where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds and carrie him prisoner into *Egypt*, giving away his Kingdom to *Elakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. This Citie of *Riblah*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place vnhappie to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may bee obserued in diuers examples. Yet here *Iehoiakim*, together with his new name, for his Kingdom, an ill gaine, since he could no better vleit. But how euer *Iehoiakim* thrust by the bargaine, *Pharao* sped well, making that Kingdom Tributarie, without any stroke stricken, which three moneths before was too stout to giue him peace, when he desired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater taske lying vpon his hands, than would permit him to wast his forces vpon *Juda*: but now the reputation of his good successe at *Magiddo*, and *Carchemiss*, together with the dissension of the Princes *Iehoiash* his sonnes (of whom the eldest is probably thought to haue stormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gaue him power to doe, euen what should please himselfe. Yet hee did forbear to make a conquest of the Land; perhaps vpon the same reason, which had made him so earnest in seeking to hold peace with it. For the *Sewes* had suffered much, in the *Egyptians* quarrell, and being left by these friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driuen to forsake that partie, and joyne with the enemies, to whom if they shewed themselves faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim
 10 them; seeing they were such a people, as would not vpon euery occasion shift side, but endure more, than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay vpon them: so good a Patron did hee meane to be vnto them. Neuertheless he laid vpon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of siluer, and one Talent of gold; that so he might both reape at the present, some fruit of his paines taken, and leaue vnto them some document in the future, of greater punishment then verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So hee departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the vnfortunate King *Iehoiashaz*, who died in his Captiuitie.

The Raigne of *Iehoiashaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last yeare; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Iehoiakim*, his succellour, did Raigne tenne whole yeares; whereas the Scriptres giue him eleuen, that is current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short Raigne, into the first yeare of the brother, than into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also proue the matter to bee vnworthie of disputation; and so I leaue it.

Iehoiakim in impietie was like his brother, in faction hee was altogether *Egyptian*, as hauing receiued his Crowne at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickednesse of these last Kings, being expressed in Scriptures none otherwile, than by generall wordes, with reference to all the euill that their Fathers had done, makes it apparent, that
 40 the poyson wherewith *Ahas* and *Manasse* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodnesse of *Iosias*, but that it still cleaued vnto the chiefe of the people, *Yea vnto the chiefe of the Priests also*; and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their part therein. The Royall authoritie was much abased by the dangers wherein the Countrie stood, in this troublesome age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed, neither would the Kings forbear to professe, that they could denie them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Iehoiakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him insolent and cruell; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Vria* the Prophet: though herein also the Princes doe appeare to haue bene instigators. This Holy man denounced Gods iudgements
 50 against the Citie, and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had vnto *Iehoiakim*, that *Vria* was deliuered vnto his Embassadour, and sent backe to the death; contrarie to the custome vsed, both in those

either want to be a kingdom.

clown cap 38: vers 14

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those dayes and since among all Ciuill Nations of giuing refuge vnto strangers, that are not held guiltie of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all priuiledge.

It concerned *Pharao* to giue all contentment possible to *Tebaiskim* for the *Assyrian* Lion, that had not stirred in many yeares, beganne about these times, to roare so loud vpon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard vnto *Nilus*, threatening to make himselfe Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawne the house of *Merodach*, from oppoling the *Egyptian* in his conquest of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at *Chareberris*, where shortly after this, the glorie of *Egypt* is to fall.

10

§ III.

Of the Kings of *Babylon* and *Media*. How it came to passe that the Kings of *Babyl* could not giue attendance on their businesse in *Syria*; which caused them to loose that Province.

20

MERODACH the sonne of *Balsadan*, who taking the advantage that *Senacherib* misaduenture and death, together with the dissention betwene his children presented, made himselfe King of *Babylon*, was eleuen yeares troubled with a powerfull Enemy *Ashaddon* the sonne of *Senacherib*, Raigning ouer the *Assyrians* in *Media*, from whom whilet he could not any other way diuert his cares, he was faine to omit all businesse in *Syria*, and (as hath bene formerly shewed) to make ouer vnto *Ezekie*, some part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Ashaddon* did not onely set him free, but gaue vnto him some part of *Assyria* if not (as is commonly but lesse probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Assyrians* I wil not here stand to enquire: his long Raigne following, and his little entermedling in matters of *Syria* make it plaine, that he had worke enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. *Iosephus* giues him the honour of hauing wonne *Ninive* it selfe; which we may beleue; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soone following, that great Citie was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded vpon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subiect, when the Kings being of the *Chaldean* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

30

Some thinke that this was the *Assyrian* King whose Captaines tooke *Manasses* prisoner, but I rather beleue those that hold the contrarie; for which I haue giuen my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why *Merodach* should haue looked into those parts, as long as the *Ten* were his friends and the *Egyptians*, that maligne the Northerne Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was vntill the time of *Psammiticus*, about the end of this Kings Raigne, or the beginning of his sonne.

40

Ben Merodach the sonne and successeur of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is hee named by good consent of Authours, and that speake little of his doing s. The length of his Raigne is gathered by inference to haue bene one and twentie yeares, for somuch remaineth of the time that passed betweene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Raignes (which is a knowne somme) deducting the yeares of his Father, and of his sonne *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* Prisoner and released him. Hee sped ill in *Syria*; where *Psammiticus*, by the vertue of this Mercinarie *Greekes*, did much preuaile. This may haue bene some cause that he released *Manasses*, and did put into his handes some

part

part more of the Kingdome of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumstances alleged before.

Nabulassar that Raigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater bulines in his own Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: inſomuch as it may bee thought to haue bene a great negligence or ouerſight of *Flammiteus* and *Neco*, that they did not occipie ſome good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* invaded *Aſſyria*, and beſieged *Ninue*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but contrained to remoue by the coming of *Scythians*, who in theſe ages did ouer-flow thoſe parts of the World, laying hold vpon all, that they could maſter by ſtrong hand. Of theſe *Scythians*, and the Lordſhip that they held in *Aſia*, it is conuenient that I ſpeake in this place, ſhewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*, vpon whom they firſt fell, were builed in the ſame times with hopes of conquering *Aſſyria*.

Phraortes, the ſonne of *Deioce*, King of the *Medes*, hauing by manie victories enlarged his Dominions, conceiued at length a faire poſſibilitie of making himſelfe Lord of *Ninue*.

That Citie (as *Herodotus* reports it) hauing bene a Soueraigne Ladie was not forſaken of all her dependants, yet remained in ſuch caſe, that of her ſelfe ſhee was well enough.

This makes it plaine, that how ſoever *Merodach* had gotten poſſeſſion of this imperiall ſeat, and made it ſubject as was the reſt of the Countrey; yet it found the meanes to ſet it ſelfe at libertie: as after this againe it did, when it had bene regained by *Nabulassar* his Grand-child.

There was warre, and the verie noueltie of ſuddaine violence, vſe to diſmay anie State or Countrey, not inured to the like: but cuſtome of danger hardeneth enen thoſe that are warlike. *Ninue* had bene the Palace of manie valiant Kings lately Raigning there; it had ſuffered, and reſiſted, all the furie, wherewith either Domieſticall tumults betweene the ſinnes of *Senacherib*, or forraigne warre of the *Babylonians*, could afflicke it: and therefore it is the leſſe wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did ſpeed ſo ill in his iourne againſt it. He and the moſt of his Armie periſhed in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumſtances (perhaps he vnderuallued their forces, and brought a leſſe power than was needfull) it is enough, that we may herein beleue *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the ſonne of *Phraortes*, a brauer man of warre then his Father, wanne as much of *Aſia* the leſſe, as lay Eaſtward, from the Riuier of *Hyly*; hee ſought reuenge vpon the *Aſſyrians* for the death of his Father, and beſieged *Ninue* it ſelfe, hauing a purpoſe to deſtroy it. Inſtead beleeue *Eusebius*, that he tooke the Citie and filled his diſpleaſure vpon it, than *Herodotus*, that the *Scythian* Armie came vpon him whileſt he lay before it. For where equal authorities are contradictory (as *Eusebius*, though farre later than *Herodotus*, yet hauing ſeene other Authours, that are now loſt, iſt to be valued according to his great reading) there doe I hold it beſt, to yeeld vnto the beſt likelihoode.

To thinke that the *Scythians* came vpon *Cyaxares*, whileſt hee lay before *Ninue*, were to accuſe him of greater improuidence, than ought to bee ſuſpected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to ſuppoſe that hee was faine to leaue the Towne, when a warre ſo dangerous fell vpon his owne Countrey, doth well agree both with the condition of ſuch buſineſſe as that *Scythian* expedition brought into thoſe partes, and with the State of the *Chaldean* and *Aſſyrian* affaires enſuing.

The deſtruction of this great Citie is both foretold in the Booke of *Tobit*, and there ſet downe as happening about theſe times; of which Booke whoſoever was the Authour, hee was ancient enough to know the Storie of thoſe ages, and hath committed no ſuch error in reckoning of times, as ſhould cauſe vs to diſtruſt him

in this. As for the Prophecie of *Nabum*, though it be not limited vnto any certaine terme, yet it appears to haue taken effect, in the final destruction of *Ninine*, by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conquest of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamitie, whereof we will speake in due place. Some that ascribe more authoritie than the reformed Churches yeeld, to the Booke of *Tobit*, are carefull, as in a matter of necessitie, to affirme, that about these times *Ninine* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victorie ouer it, to *Ben Merodach*: a needlesse conjecture, if the place of *Ensebus* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the sonne of *Ben Merodach* did seize vpon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about such time as the Countrie of *Assyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* warre ouerwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conquest wrought out readie to his hand; the swelling spirits of the *Niniuites* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* so allwaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, tooke him and them into protection: though afterwards, to their confusion, this vnthankfull people and their King, rebelled againe, as shalbe shewed in the Raigne of *Nabuchodonosor*.

¶ IIII.

The great expedition of the *Scythians*, who ruled in *Asia* eight and twentie yeares.

¶ I.

The time of this expedition.

NOw that I haue shewed what impediment was giuen by the *Assyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much disabled to performe any action of worth vpon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I speake of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grievously afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countreies adjacent, in such wise that part of the trouble redounded euen to the *Egyptians* themselves. Of the *Scythian* people in generall, *Herodotus* makes verie large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needlesse to recite them, for they are farre enough distant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times, which by inference out of his relations, may seeme vry strange, needeth some answer in this place: least otherwise I should either seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Authour, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or else to bee too forgetfull of my selfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twentie yeares he saith that the *Scythians* Raigned in *Asia*, before *Cyaxares* deliuered the Countrie from them. Yet hee reports a warre betweene *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the siege of *Ninine*; the siege of *Ninine* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tels, how the *Scythians*, hauing vanquished the *Medes*, did passe into *Syria*, and were encountred in *Palastina* by *Psanmitticus* King of *Egypt*, who by gifts and entreatie procured them to depart from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, euery one of them, bee trues though not in such order of time as he hath marshalled them. For *Psanmitticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* beganne to Raigne: and *Cyaxares* had spent halfe of his fortie yeares, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*; so that he could not, after those *Ly-*
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dan warres, Raigne eight and twentie yeares together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammis* the sonne of *Phraao Neco*, by the name of *Psammetichus*; and this King *Psammis* may, by some strained conjecture, bee thought to haue bene he that met with the *Scythians*: for he liued with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himselfe referres all that businesse of the *Scythian* irruption into *Palatins*, to *Psammetichus* the Father of *Neco*, whom hee leaues dead before the Raigne of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not relie vpon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwise then to beleuee him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them downe.

- 10 It remanes, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I find of this expedition scattered in diuers places: a worke necessarie, for that the greatnesse of this action was such, as ought not to bee omitted in a generall Historie; yet not ealie, the consent of those that haue written thereof, being nothing neare to vni-formitie.

I haue noted before, that in the Raigne of *Ardis* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* ouer-ran that Kingdome, and were not expelled, vntill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardis* got the vpper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Ardis*, *Sahyattes*, and *Halyattes*, are wee to find the eight and twentie yeares, wherein the *Scythians* Raigned ouer *Asia*. Now forasmuch as *Psammetichus* the *Aegyptian* had some dealings with the *Scythians*, euen in the height of their prosperitie, wee must needs allow more than one or two of his last yeares, vnto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Raigne in *Lydia*, being three and twentie yeares compleat after the death of *Psammetichus*, leaues the space verie scant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, necessarily supposed before they could meet the *Aegyptian* in *Syria*, or for those many losses, which they must haue receiued ere they could bee driuen quite away. To increase this difficultie, the victorious Raigne of *Nabuchodonosor* in *Babylon*, is of no small moment. For how may we thinke it possible, that he should haue aduentured the strength of his Kingdome against the *Aegyptians* and *Jewes*, had he stood in daily feare of loosing his owne; to a more mightie Nation, that lay vpon his necke? To speake simply as it appears to me; the victories ascribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* ouer these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole bodie of their Armie, but were the defeaitures of some troupes, that infested their severall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among these, *Nabulassar* hauing the like successe, when the pleasures of *Asia* had mollified the courages of these hardie Northerne Laddes. Wherefore wee may probably annexe the eight and twentie yeares of the *Scythians* rule, to as manie almost the last of *Nabulassars* Raigne, in compasse whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time, wherein *Asia* suffered the violence of these oppressors.

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†. II.

What Nations they were that brake into *Asia*; with the cause of their Inuasion.

Touching the expedition it selfe, *Herodotus* tels vs, that the *Cimmerians* being driuen out of their Countrie by the *Scythians*, invaded and wasted some part of *Asia*; and that the *Scythians* not contented with hauing wonne the land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into farre remooued quarters of the world, so (as it were by chance) falling vpon *Media* and *Aegypt*, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Herby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and base people; the *Scythians*, as mischieuous and foolish; or else *Herodotus*, and some other of his Countymen, great slanderers of those, by

whom their Nation had bene beaten, and *Ionia*, more than once, grievously ransacked. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is so well knowne, and their manie Conquests so well testified in Histories of diuerse Nations, that the malice of the *Greekes* is insufficient to flaine them with the note of Cowards. These were the posteritie of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Westerne World; and whose reflow did ouerwhelme no small portion of *Greece* and *Asia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we doe now entreat. He that would more largely informe himselfe of their originall and actions, may peruse *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonices*; of manie things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is said to haue spoken, of all *Goropius* his works, that it is easie to laugh at them, 10 but hard to confute them: There wee find it proued, by such arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Linage and Nation; how soeuer distinguished in name, by reason of their diuerse Tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homer* indeede hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whose Countie whether he place in the Well, as neare vnto the *Ocean* and boundes of the Earth, Or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and covered with eternall darknesse; certaine it is that he would haue them neare neighbours to Hell: for hee had the same quarrell to them, which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would haue made them seeme a kinde of *Goblins*. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to insert into 20 his works the names of such as liued in his owne times, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himselfe deserued. And for this reason it is proued by *Eustathius*, that the *Cimmerians* were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Countie. Perhaps, that inuasion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his discourse with *Helen*, was the verie same, which *Eusebius* noteth to haue happened somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together inuaded *Asia*.

This is certaine, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerij* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often breake into *Greece* and *Asia*, which though it be not in expresse termes written, that they did with ioynt forces, yet seeing they inua- 30 ded the selfe same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One iourne of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the straights of the *Cimmerians*, as we finde in *Diodore*, who further telleth vs, that the *Scythians* therein gaue them assistance. The same Authour, before his entrie into those discourses of the *Amazons*, which himselfe acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to haue bene Wiues of the *Scythians*, and no lesse warlike than their Husbands; alleading the example of that Queene, who is said to haue slaine the great *Persian* *Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carrie their wiues along with them to the warres; and how desperate the courage was of those women, the terrible descent of them into *Italie*, when *Marius* the Roman ouerthrew 40 them, giues proofe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the *Amazons*; other place will giue mee better leisure to speake of them: but seeing that they are noted by diuerse Historians to haue belonged vnto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, wee may the better approoue *Goropius* his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were neare allies.

Now concerning the expulsion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to haue bene none other than the sending a Colonie of them forth into *Asia*, with an Armie of *Scythians* to helpe them, in purchasing a new seat, and establishing the plantation.

The *Sarmatians* also were companions in this iourne. For the Citie of *Neou-* 50 *gradin Russia* (which Countie is the same that was called *Sarmatia*) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was vp in Armes: and therefore it is no maruaile though manie Countie felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voiage was that, which the same people made

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five hundred yeares and more after this, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they issued from the parts about the Lake *Maeotis*; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the *Scythians*; their neighbours, they had in their Armie about three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandered ouer manie Countries, beating all downe before them; and finally, thinking to haue seled themselves in *Italie*, they diuided their companie, for the more easie passage thither and were consumed in three terrible battailes by the *Roman* Consuls. Mere necessitie enforced these poore Nations, to trouble the World, in following such hard aduentures.

10 For their Countrie, being more fruitfull of men than of sustenance, and shut vp on the North side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their ouerswelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge vpon the South, and by right or wrong to driue others out of possession: as hauing title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that was left, but more ciuile people had. Their sturdie bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardnes, gaue them great aduantage ouer such as were accustomed vnto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluties. Wherefore commonly they prauailed verie farre; their next neighbours giuing them free passage, that they might the sooner be ridde of them; others giuing them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthie places; others hiring them to depart with great presents, so as the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

†. III.

Of the Cimmericians warre in *Lydia*.

- 30 THE first Companie of these, consisting for the most part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leauing on the other side, and behind them, the great Mountaines of *Caucasus*. These hauing passed through the Land of *Colechis*, that is now called *Mengrelia*, entered the Countrie of *Pontus*, and being arriued in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the Promontorie whereon *Sinope*, a famous Hauen Towne of the *Greekes*, was after built. Here it seems that they bestowed the weakest and most vnersuicable of their traine, together with the heauiest part of their carriages, vnder some good gard: as drawing neere to those Regions, in conquest whereof they were to trie the utmost hazard. For in like sort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I spake euen now) dispose of their impediments, leauing them in a place of strength, where *Antwerp* now stands, when they drew neere vnto *Gauls*, vpo which they determined to aduenture themselves in the purchase. From *Sinope*, the way into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionie*, was faire and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ledge of Mountaines or any deepe Riuers to staie their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* they had already passed.
- What battailes were fought betweene these invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable successe the one or other part wanne and lost, I finde not written nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Arads*, the *Cimmerians* got possession of *Sardes* the Capitall Citie of *Lydia*; only the Castle holding out against them. Further I obserue, that whereas *Herodotus* tels of the acts performed by *Gygis* 50 and *Arads* Kings of *Lydia*, before this inuasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Cresus* in the times following; all that *Arads* did against the *Cimmerians*, and all, saue burning the *Milesians* Corne fields, that was done in twelue yeares by *Sadastter* his Son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this businesse, that hee could turne them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seeme, that neither of the two didanie thing

worthie of remembrance in those warres, but were glad enough that they did not loose all.

Certainly, the miseries of warre are neuer so bitter and manie, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forsaking their owne seates, labours to roote out the established possessors of another Land, making roome for themselves, their wiues and children. They that fight for the maiestie are pacified with tribute, or with some other seruices and acknowledgements, which had they bene yielded at the first, all had bene quiet, and no sword bloudied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants haue, their Lands and Castell, their houses and their goods, euen to the cradels of the sucking infants. The mercilesse tearmes of this controuersie arme both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either winne, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or loose their liues without redemption. Most of the Countries in Europe haue felt examples hereof; and the mightie Empire of Rome was overthrowne by such inuasions. But our Isle of Brittain can best witness the diuinitie of Conquests; hauing by the happie victorie of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Ciuile arts, in exchange of libertie, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the Saxon and Danish warres, was, as were the causes, quite contrarie. For these did not seeke after the Dominion only, but the entire possession of the Countrey, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible crueltie, eradicating all of the British Race, and defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are also of the Cimmerian blood) found such end of their enterprise, as it may seeme that the Cimmerians in Lydia, and Scythians in the higher Asia, did arriue vnto. So that by considering the proceesse of the one, we shall the better conceiue the fortune of the other. Manie battailes the Danes wonne; yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Manie the Saxons wonne vpon the Danes, yet not so great, as could driue them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in course of time, the long continuance euen of vterenmitie, had bred such acquaintance betwene them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant vnto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons, in England, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their owne Countrey wide enough to receiue them, as hauing disburthened it selfe of manie thousand, that were sent to seeke their graues abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerian warre in Lydia; whereunto though some victorie of Halyattes may haue hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seemes to haue done most in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should feare to adde herunto my further conjecture, which is, that the matter was so compounded betwene the Cimmerians and Halyattes, that the Riuer of Halys should diuide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easteme side of the Riuer was the Countrey of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimerians; and other Scythian people; whose wiues and daughters these warlike women are supposed to haue bene.

And herunto the quarrell ensuing, betwene Halyattes and Cyaxares the Mede, hath verie good reference. For Halyattes (as is said) fought in defence of certaine Scythians, vpon whom the Median sought reuenge. And it stands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutual slaughter, should haue joyned in a league of mutual defence for their common safetie: though otherwise it had bene dangerous to Halyattes, if he had permitted the Median to extend his Kingdome so farre Westward, whatsoever the pretences might bee, of taking reuenge vpon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the warre betwene these two Kings, which Herodotus relates, I find it of little waight,

weight, and lesse probabilitie. He tels of *Scythians*, that being chased out of their Countrey by faction, came vnto *Cyaxares*; who committed vnto them certaine Boyes, to bee instructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feate of Archerie. Now it so fell out (saith he) that these *Scythians* vling much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did neuertheless otherwhiles misse of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholericke, bitterly reuiled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was vnder their charge, whom dressing like Venison they presented vnto him; which done they fled vnto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* deliueres, as the ground of a warre that lasted sixe yeares betwene the *Medes* and *Lydians*, the one King demanding these Fugitiues to bee deliuered into his hand, the other refusing to betraie such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the *Scythians*, to betake themselves to either of these Kings, vnto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treacherie that he liewed in the massacring of their Countrey men, that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that wee should speake.

†. IIII.

The warre of the *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*.

AS the *Cimmerians* held their course Westerly, along the shores of the *Euxine* Sea: so the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* tooke the other way, and hauing the *Caspian* Sea on their left hand, passed betwene it and *Caucasus* through *Albania*, *Colchene*, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countreies of *Serua* and *Georgia*, and so they entered into *Media*. The *Medes* encountered them in Armes; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to attie agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilst *Psammetichus* Raigned in *Egypt*. If it were in the sixt yeare of *Nabulassar* Raigne ouer *Babylon* (supposing him to haue Raigned five and thirtie; other wise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then doe the eight and twentie yeares of their Dominio end, one yeare before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giuing him good leaue to prouide securely, for the inuasion of *Syria*, which expedition he began while his Father yet liued, as *Iosephus* out of *Berosus* relates the Historie.

Now the *Medes*, desirous to saue themselves as well as they might, from this terrible Nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the sword, refused not to vndergoe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serue to remooue these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding still the Countreies pleasanter and better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to bee perswaded, that a little more traualle, would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relied so much vpon their owne valour, that they feared no resistance; and being the brauest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That *Phraortes* perswaded them into *Egypt*, I doe not thinke; *Babylon* was nere enough, whither if hee could send these Locusts to graze, than should not his vnfriendly Neighbours haue cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulassar* made with them, or that at all he had attie, dealings with them I doe not reade. But it is well knowne, that his Dominions lay in the midst betwene *Media* and *Egypt*; as also, that they made all those parts of *Asia* Tributarie; wherefore we may verie well beleue, that they watered their horses in his Riuer, and that he also was content to giue them prouender.

Psammetichus hearing of their progresse (like the jealous Husband of a faire Wife) tooke

tooke care that they might not looke vpon *Egypt*; least the sight thereof should more easily detain them there, than anie force or perswasion, that hee could vse, would send them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, presuming more on the great gifts which he ment to bestow vpon them, than on his Armie that should keepe them backe. *Egypt* was rich; and halfe the riches thereof had not bene ill spent in sauing all. Yet *Psammiticus* tooke the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had bene so obliuious as to refuse all indifferent compulsion. For hee lay close vpon the edge of the Wilderness in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southermost border of *Palastina*: whence hee neuer advanced to meet with the *Scythians*; but gaue them leaue to feele as much of the scalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat vpon them. When they were come as farre as *Afcelon*, the next Citie to *Gaza*, then did he assay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to worke so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heat of a Climate so farre different from their owne. *Psammiticus* had at his backe a vast wilderness, ouer the scorching sands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrarie displemper, could ill haue indured to pursue him, through vnknowne wayes, had they fought with him and preuailed: especially the Kingdome of *Egypt* being readie to entertaine him with reliques, and them with new trouble at the end of their wearie iourne. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visite their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Egyptian* King (besides that he preferred his owne Estate from a dangerous aduenture, by hyring this great Armie to depart from him) found all his Cost well repayed in the proccesse of his wars in *Syria*, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to molest him, being more then euer troubled themselves, with the returne of their oppressors. For the *Scythians*, resolving now to seeke no further, beganne to demaund more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to liue at discretion vpon the Countrie, taking what they listed from the Owners; and manie times (as it were to saue the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they longed ouer the higher *Asia*, that is, ouer the Countrie lying betwene the *Caspian* and *Red* Seas, and betwene *India* and *Assia* the lesse. Happie it was for the poore people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new comers; otherwise the calamitie that fell, as it were by chance, vpon those priuate men, to whose wealth anie *Scythian* did beare a fancie, would haue lighted in generall vpon all at one clap, leauing few aliuie, and none able to relieue their fellows. Yet it seemes that the heauiest burthen lay vpon *Media*; for it was a fruitfull Countrie not farre from their owne home, and lay vnder a Climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies; there also it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

Herod. lib. 1.

Cyxares King of the *Medes*, who in this extremity was no better then a Rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his Land lay vnmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people; that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to proue what might be done by stratagem. The managing of the businesse is thus deliuered in briefe; That he, and his *Medes*, scaled the better part of the *Scythians*; made them drunke; and slew them; recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed vpon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was reuenged by their Countymen, with greater cruelties than euer they had practised before. That the *Scythians*, which escaped this bloudie feast, made any liue in *Media*, I doe not find; neither doe I read that either in reuenge hercof, or vpon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by inuasion from *Scythia* in time following.

This

Despers

This is the more strange, for that the Armie returning home out of *Media* was verie strong, and encountered with opposition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no lesse then it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the deuce of *Cyaxares* to free his Countrie, tooke good effect, with lesse blood-shed than hath bene supposed: For if hee surprised all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtlesse, in eight and twentie years, had so well fed themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without anie danger, to remaine in the Countrey; many (of whom I shall speake anon) having done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to
 10 returne home, with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might goe joyne with the *Chimmerians* in *Lydia*, or seeke their fortunes in other provinces, among their owne Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are said to have bene with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may be vnderstood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, vpon hope of gaine, or desire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become subject vnto *Nabuchassar*: mens loue of their wealth being most effectuell, in taming the more vnquiet iove of inordinate
 • libertie. This is certaine, that *Nabuchadnezzar*, as euer after, so in his first beginning
 of warre, did beate the *Egyptians*, who in ages foregoing, had bene accustomed, to deale with the *Babylonians* after another fashion: and this new successe of that
 20 King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to such addition as this of new forces.

Of the *Scythian* Armie returning out of *Media*, diuerse Authours report a Story, which confirms mee in the opinion, that this Companie went forth to assist their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new seate, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wiues behinde them; a good argument to proue that they meant to come againe. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bed-fellows to their slaues. These got a lustie brood of youths, that were loath to be troubled with Fathers in Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were only the children of slaues,
 30 which compounded an Armie (as *Herodotus* would haue it, who tels vs, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their Bond-mens cies) it must needs be that they were verie Boyes, or else that the Women did verie little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather beleue the tale as it is told by the *Russes* themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set downe, as I find it, in *M^r. Dollor Fletcher* his exact discourse of the *Russe* Common-wealth. They vnderstood by the way that their Choloep, or Bond-slaues whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Townes, Landes, Houses, Wiues, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet displaying the Villanie of their seruents, they made the more speed home: and so not farre
 40 from *Novograd*, met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon aduising what was best to bee done, they agreed all to set vpon them with no other siew of weapon but with their horse-whips, which as their manner is euery man rideth with all, to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their Villaines, and strooke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like sheepe before the Driners. In memorie of this victorie, the *Novogradians* euer since haue stamped their Coine (which they call a *Dingor* *Novogradskoy*, current through all *Russia* with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip in his hand. It may seme, that all the
 50 women of that Countrie, haue fared the worse euer since, in regard of this vniuersall fault: for such a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaues, curiously wrought by her selfe, is the first present that the *Moscouian* Wife, euen in time of wooing, sends to him that shalbe her husband, in token of subjection; being well assured, to feele it often on her own loines. But this was a Document vnto the *Scythians*, or rather

Sarmatians,

Herod. lib. 4.

ter. 25. 9.

Ros. Commonwe. lib. 4.

D. H. 1642

bulgar

Sarmatians, (for *Nenograd* stands in the Countrey that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of absenting themselves anie more so long from their *Wiues*; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set downe of the *Scythian* expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to manie Countreies; but for that it appears to haue bene a great cause, of the *Aegyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Iudaea*, which continues yet a while the centre of our discorde.

p. V.

Of Princes living in diuerse Countreies, in these ages.



Auing thus farre digressed from the maters of *Iuda*, to auoid all further occasion of doing the like, I will here inserte a note of such Kings and men of marke, as were betweene the death of *Manasse*, and the ruine of *Ierusalem*. Of the *Aegyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I haue spoken as much, as I thought needfull. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hostilius* held the Kingdome, vntill the one and twentieth year of *Tosias*; at which time *Annius Marcius* succeeding Raigned Foure and twentie yeares. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new-come stranger, but verierich, preuailed so far by his gracioulnesse among the people, that he got the Kingdome to himselfe, dis-appointing the sonnes of *Annius*, ouer whom he was Tutor. He beganne in the fourth yeare of *Zedekia*, and Raigned eight and thirtie yeares. In this time it was, namely in the second yeare of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedaemonians*, bethinking them how to bee auenged of the *Arcadians*, who gaue succour to the *Messenians* against them in the former warre, entred the Territorie, tooke the Citie of *Phigalia* or *Phidia*, from whence their Garrisons were soone after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the *Bacida* made himselfe Lord of *Corinth* about these times, and gouerned it in peace thirtie yeares; leauing for succellour his sonne *Periander*, one of the seuen Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, slew his owne wife, and afterwards, as in his honour, stripped all the *Corinthian* women stark naked, burning their appparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceiue that the wisdom of the *Greekes*, was not excellent in those dayes; when such a one as this could bee admired as excellling all the Countreie.

In these times also were *Zaleucus*, and *Draco*, famous Lawgiuers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italie*, the other in the Citie of *Athens*. The Lawes of *Draco* were so rigorous, that he was said to haue written them with blood: for hee rewarded euery small offence with death. Wherefore his constitutions were soone abrogated, and power giuen to *Solon*, by the *Athenians*, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of *Zaleucus* were verie milde. He forbad anie Gentlewoman to walke abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *vnlesse it were when shee was drunke*; or to goe forth of the Towne by night, *vnlesse it were to some sweet-hearts bed*; or to dresse herselfe vp in immodest brauerie, *vnlesse it were to inuigile a loue*. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire: for none would seeme, in breaking the Statutes, to bein such caases challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of iustice, that when his owne sonne had committed adulterie, and was therefore to loofe both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to saue the yong man (who also lost one) from vtter blindnesse.

I shall not henceforth need, so farre to wander, as hitherto I often haue done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the Historie, for inserting them in their order of time.

time. The Chaldeans will soone fall vnder the Persians; the Persians, ere long, encounter with the Greeke; the Greeke, with the Romans; the Romans, with manie Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estate it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minoritie. But in the long space of more than thirtene hundred years, which passed betwene the calling of Abraham, and the destruction of Ierusalem, we finde little matter, wherein the Historie of Israel had anie dealing with other Nations; than the verie nearest borderers. Yet reade we of manie Kingdomes, that in these manie ages, were erected, and throwne downe; as likewise, manie memorable acts were performed in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at anie neare distance; all which must haue bene quite omitted, or else referred vnto a verie vnseasonable rehearfall, had they not bene disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conueniencie, may pardon the necessity.

§. VI.

The oppression of Iudea, and destruction of Ierusalem by the Chaldeans.

20 **N**OW to returne to the Ierish Storie, from whence we haue so farre digressed. In the third yeare of Iehoiakim, Nabuchodonosor the second, his Father yet liuing, entred Iudea with a great Armie, who besieging and forcing Ierusalem, made Iehoiakim his Vassall in despite of Neco, that had established him King, and tooke with him for pledges Daniel, being as yet a childe, with Ananias, Misael, and Azarias. Also he tooke a part of the Church treasures, but staied not to search them thoroughly; for Neco 30 halted to the succour of Iehoiakim, hoping to finde Nabuchodonosor in Iudea: wherein this great Babylonian had no disposition to hazard himselfe and his Armie, it being a Countrie of an euill affection towards him, as also farre off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, anie great strength of Scythian horsemen in his Armie, it was the more wisely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and ouer-hot Countrie, into places that were more euen and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father, happening at the same time, gaue him iust occasion to returne home; and take possession of his owne Kingdome, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the Egyptians was not readie to follow him so farre and to bid him battaile, vntill the new yeare came in; which was the fourth of Iehoiakim, the first of Nabuchodonosor, and the last of Neco. In this yeare the Babylonian lying vpon the Banke of Euphrates (his owne Territorie bounding it on the North-side) attended the arriual of Neco. There, after a resolute contention for victorie, Neco was slaine, and his Armie remayning forced to saue it selfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victorie Nabuchodonosor so well pursued, as he recovered all Syria, and whatsoever the Egyptians held out of their proper Territorie towards the North. The Egyptians being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, Iehoiakim held himselfe quiet, as being friend in heart vnto the Egyptian, yet hauing made his peace with the Chaldean the yeare before; who contented with such profit as hee could then readily make, had forborne to laie anie Tribute vpon Iuda. But this coole reservednesse of Iehoiakim, was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The Egyptian King Psammis, who succeeded vnto Neco, beganne to thinke vpon restoring Iehosaz, taken Prisoner by his father, and setting him vp, as a Domestical Enemy, against his vngratefull brother. Against

103. 3. 9.

Jer. 21. 11 & 12

Joseph Anti. lib. 10. cap. 7.

Jer. 45. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51.

Against all such accidents, the *Indean* had prepared the vsuall remedie, practised by his fore-fathers: for he had made his owne sonne *Iechonias* King with him long before, in the second year of his owne Raigne, when the Boy was but *Eight* yeeres old. As for this rumour of *Iehozabaz* his returne; the Prophet *Ieremie* fortold, that it should proue idle, saying: he shall not returne thither, but hee shall die in the place whither they haue led him captive, and shall see this Land no more. The *Egyptians* indeed, having spent all their Mercenarie forces, and recieued that heauie blow at *Carchemish*, had not remayning such proportion of sharpe Steele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of *Neco* was not in *Esammis*. *Aprizes* who Raigned after *Esammis*, did once aduenture to shew his face in Syria; but 10 after a bigge looke, he was glad to retire, without aduenturing the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with braud words, telling such frivolous tales, as men, that meane to doe nothing, vse of their glorious acts for- passed, against *Iosias* and *Iehoshaz*. In this case it was calie for *Iechonias* to give them satisfaction, by letting them vnderstand, the sinceritie of his affection towards them; which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to worke more roundly. He sent a peremptorie messagge to *Iechonias*, willing him not to stand vpon any nice points, but acknowledge himselfe a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearefull threats, as made the poore *Indean* lay aside all thought of 20 *Pharaoh*, and yeeld to doe, as the more mightie would haue him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* for thre yeeres. At this time *Ieremie* the Prophet cried out against the *Iewes*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twentie yeeres exhorted them to repentance, but because they had slopt their eares against him, and the rest of the Prophets, hee now pronounced their captiuitie at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seuentie yeeres. The same calamitie hee threatened to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumians*, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drinke out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of His furie, whom they had forsaken, and after the seuentie yeeres expired, that the *Babylonians* themselves should taste of the same cup, and be vtterly subuerted by the *Medes*, & the *Indeans*, permitted to return againe into their owne fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Ieremie* seemes to haue bene in the fourth year of this *Iechonias*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom hee sent to reade them vnto the people, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King; but fearing the Kings furie they had first set *Ieremie* at libertie, and aduised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

Iechonias after hee heard a part of it and perceived the ill newes therein deliuered, made no more adoe but did cut the Booke in peices and cast it into the fire. All which *Ieremie* caused to be new written, with this addition; that the dead bodie of *Iechonias*, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and that there should be none of his seede to sit on the Throne of *Dauid*. 40

Time thus running on, while *Iechonias* rested secure of all danger, as Tribute to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptians*; the mightie Citie of *Tyre* opposed it selfe against the *Chaldean* forces; and vpon iust confidence of her owne strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the terme of seuentie yeeres, was prescribed vnto the desolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Ierusalem*, and other Townes and Countries; it is apparent, that they which refferre the expugnation of this Citie vnto the nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor*, haue sure authoritie for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it follows of necessitie, that the siege thereof beganne in the seuenth of his Raigne; as hauing 50 lasted thirteene yeeres.

Here I will take leaue to intrude a briefe note, concerning the severall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third yeare of *Iechonias*, was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being deliuered

delivered from other cares, tooke notice of such as had revolted from him vnto *Pharao Neen*, and sent this Noble Prince, his sonne, with an Armie into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Ieremie* affirmeth in expresse wordes; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered *Egypt*; and then beganne to Raigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this year it was, wherein he saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundrie Mettals; which did prefigure the succession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputations: but returne vnto the siege of *Tyre*, which beganne in the seventh of his Raigne.

The Citie of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an Island, that was diuided from the maine, by a deep & broad channel of the Sea. The *Chaldeans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrans*, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to vse them, excelled all other Nations; and euerie Winde, from one part or other, brought needfull provisions into the Citie. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof neuertheless the iudgements of God (denounced against it by *Ezra*, *Ieremie*, *Ezechiel*) had threatned the destruction; and the obdurate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor*, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, vnderooke a vast piece of worke; even to fill vp the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The Citie of olde *Tyrus*, that stood opposite to the new, vpon the firme Land, and the mountaine of *Libanus* neare adjoining that was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteene years were spent, in this laborious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which needeth not seeme strange: for *Alexander* working vpon that foundation which was remayning of *Nabuchodonosors* Peere; and being withall assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seuen months ere hee could make way into the Citie. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carrie away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to couer a shelue, with much more violence could it ouerturne, and as it were consume, the worke of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deepe, struing as it were, to fill the emptie bellie of this Cormorant; whereas the *Assacdenian*, did only stop the throat of it. Euerie man knowes, God could haue furthered the accomplishment of his owne threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to vse, either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earth-quakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calme, and adding the fauourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleased him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to vse the hand of man euen the hand of man struing, as may seeme, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the *Chaldeans* Euerie head was made bald, and euerie shoulder was made bare. Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not giue ouer till he was master of the Towne.

When he was entred vpon this desperate seruice, whether it were so, that some losses receiued, some mutinie in his Armie; or (which is most likely, and so *Iosephus* reports it) some glorious rumours of the *Aegyptians*, gaue courage to his euill willers; *Iehoiakim* renounced his subiection, and beganne to hope for the contrarie of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gaue him no leisure to doe much hurt: but with part of his Armie marched directly into *Iudea*; where the amazed King made so little resistance (the *Aegyptians* hauing left him, as it were in a dreame) that he entred *Ierusalem*, and laid hands on *Iehoiakim*: whom hee first bound and determined to send to *Babylon*, but changing counsell, he caused him to bee slaine in the place, and gaue him the Sepulchre of an Asse, to be deuoured by beastes and rauenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leauing in his place, *Iehoiakim* or

K k k

Iechonias

Dan. 1. 1. 2. 3.
1. 2. 3. 4.

Ezra 2. 31.
1. 2. 3. 4.

Ezra 3. 19.
1. 2. 3. 4.

2. 2. 1. 2. 7.

Iechonias his sonnes whom after three months and tenne dayes Nabuchodonosor removed and sent Prisoner to Babylon, with Ezekiel, Merodach, and Iofedech, the high Priest. The mother, of Iechonias together with his servants, Eunuchs, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carried away Captives. This Iechonias, following the counsell of Ieremie the Prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himselfe to the Kings will: wherein hee both pleased God, and did that which was best for himselfe; though at the present it might seeme otherwise, to such as considered the euill that befell him, rather then the greater euill that he thereby avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it seemes that he was partaker, at least, of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himselfe to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we read in generall wordes, that he did euill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his stead Nabuchodonosor established Mathania his Vncle in the Kingdome of Iuda, and called him Zedechias, which is as much to say, as the Iustice of God. For like as Neco, King of Egypt, had formerly displaced Iehozabab, after his Father Iafias was slaine, and set vp Iehoiakim the sonne of another Mother; so Nabuchodonosor slew Iehoiakim who depended on the Egyptians, and carrying his sonne Iechonias Prisoner to Babel, gaue the Kingdome to this Zedechias, that was whole Brother to that Iehozabab, whom Neco tooke with him into Egypt. From Zedechias hee required an oath for his faith full obedience, which Zedechias gaue him, and called the living God to witness in the same, that he wold remaine assured to the Kings of Chaldaea.

In the first yeare of Zedechias, Ieremie saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes: the one signifying those Iudaans that were carried away captive, the other those that staid, and were destroyed.

In the fourth of Zedechias, Ieremie wrote in a Booke the euill that should fall vpon Babylon, which Booke he gaue to Sberais, when he went with the King Zedechias to Babylon, to visite Nabuchodonosor, willing him first to reade it to the Captive Iewes, and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into Euphrates, pronouncing these words. Thus shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rise from the euill that I will bring vpon her. This Iournie of Zedechias to Babel is probably thought to haue bene in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further thinke, that hee had some suite there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seemes) to those vnquiet courses, from which Ieremie dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he wore about his owne necke, others hee sent vnto the sixe Kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, by those Messengers which came to visite Zedechias: making them know, that if they and the Kings of Iuda abode in the obedience of Babylon, they should then possesse and enioy their owne Countreies; if not, they should assuredly perill by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

Hee also foretolde them, that those Vessels which as yet remained in Ierusalem, should also trauaile after the rest, and at length they should bee restored againe.

The same yeare Ananias, the false Prophet, tooke off the wooden Chaine, which Ieremie wore, in signe of the Captiuitie of the Iewes, and brake it. Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeares, God would breake the strength of Babel, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; restore Iechonias, and all the Iewes, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and giue an end to all these troubles. But Ieremie in stead of his wooden Yoke wore a Coller of yron: and in signe that Ananias had giuen a deceitfull and false hope to the people, hee foretolde the death of this cold Prophet, which seized vpon him in the second moneth. After this, when Zedechias had wauered long enough betweene faith and passion, In the eight yeare of his Reigne he practised more seriously against Nabuchodonosor, with his Neighbours

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the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, Tyrians, and others that were promised great aides of the Egyptians: in confidence of whose assistance, he determined to shake off the Babylonian Yoke. Hereof when Nabuchodonosor had knowledge, hee marched with his Armie in the dead of Winter, toward Jerusalem, and belieged it. *Jeremie* perswaded *Zedechias* to render the Citie and himselfe: but being confident of the helpe from Egypt and being perswaded by his Counsellors, and false Prophets, that it was vnpossible that the Kingdome of Iuda should bee extirpate, vntill the comming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecie of *Iacob*) hee despised the wordes of *Jeremie* and imprisoned him. For *Jeremie* had told the King, that the Citie should be
 10 taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but bee taken Prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his naturall death.

Jerusalem being, the following year, surrounded by *Nabuchodonosors* Armie; the King of Egypt, *Pharus* Hopbra according to *Jeremie* (*Hecodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of Iuda, with his Armie, to succour *Zedechias*, of whose revolt he had bene the principall Author. But *Jeremie* gaue the *Iewes* faithfull counsell, willing them not to haue anie trust in the succours of Egypt: for hee assured them, that they should returne againe, and in no sort relieue them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the Chaldeans remoued from *Jerusalem* to encounter the Egyptian
 20 stans, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward returned into Egypt, as if they had already done enough; leaving the poore people of *Jerusalem* to their destined miseries.

In the meane while the *Iewes*, who, in their first extremitie, had manumised their Hebrew Bondmen (as Gods Law required at the year of *Iubile*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of the Chaldean Armie, repent them of their Charitie: and thinking all had bene at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the Chaldees being returned to the siege, the Prophet *Jeremie*, when the State of *Jerusalem* beganne now to grow to extremitie, counselled *Zedechias* to render himselfe vnto them; assuring
 30 him of his owne life, and the safetie of the Citie, if he would so doe. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelitie and perjurie, had prouided for him.

Three and twentie Moneths (as some doe reckon it) or according to *Isophus* eighteen; the Babylonian Armie lay before *Jerusalem*, and held it exceeding streightly besieged. For they built Forts against it round about, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) ex-
 40 trancunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum, they surrounded the Citie with wooden Towers, so as the besieged could neither fall out, nor receive into the Citie any supply of men or victuals. *Isophus* reports, that they ouer-topped the Walls, with high Towers raised vpon mounts; from which they did so beat vpon the
 50 Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counterbuildings, like vnto these, Yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions therabouts, and had the Woods and Riuers to obey him, found meanes to overthrow all the Citizens endeours; and to beat downe as fall from without, as they risd from within; the bodie and foundation of his owne workes being guarded, by the Walls of *Jerusalem* interposed; and theirs within, laid open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both famine and pestilence (which commonly accompanie men streightly besieged) grew on fall vpon them, whereby, when the number, strenght, and courage of the *Iewes* failed, the Chaldeans made a breach, and forcing an entrie, their Dawkes did sent themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this vncomfortable sight, and finding no remedie of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shitted himselfe together with his Wiues, Children, Princes, and principall seruants, out of the Citie, by a way vnder ground; leaving his amazed and guiltlesse people, to the mercilesse swords
 of

of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremie* the Prophet perswaded him to render himselfe, despised both the Counsell of God and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*; wiled now that remedie, which *Wolphius* truly termeth : *triste, turpe, & infelix, wofull, shamefull, and unfortunate.*

By this secret subterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recovered (by the helpe of the darke night) the plaines or deserts of *Jericho* : but by reason of the traine, that followed him and his, (cuerie one leading with him those whom they held most deare vnto them) hee was easily traced and pursued. How great soeuer the companie was that attended on him, yet, as *Iosephus* reports it, they on whose fidelitie he most reposed himselfe, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Desarts as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the Ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made Prisoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conuighed to *Rebla* or *Reblatha* Citie (as some thinke) of *Zeephalm*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then laie, as a place indifferent betweene *Ierusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to doe.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had laied before *Zedechias* the manie graces and benefits conferred vpon him, together with the notable falsehood and perjurie where-with he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends to be slaine before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last, that euer hee should behold in the World, hee caused his eyes to be torne out of his head, and so carried him in a slauish manner to *Babel*, where hee consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetuall imprisonment. Herein this most maruclous Prophecie of *Ezechie*l was performed; *Adducam eum in Babylonem & ipsam non videbit. I will bring him into Babylon and he shall not see it.*

Thus in the Eleuenth and last yeare of *Zedechias* which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldeans* entred the Citie by force; where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the yeare next following, *Nabuzaradan*, General of the Armie, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Ierusalem* : and after this fire had lasted from the tenth to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood 30 four hundred thirtie and one yeares.

After this vpon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet satiated with bloyd) commanded seauentie and two others to bee slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fire, to wit, the chiefe and the second Prielt, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, five of his House should seruants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Judea*, and leauing the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the partie of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground : ouer whom he left Gouvernour, *Gedoliz* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Iosias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his iustice and equite, by *Iosephus* highly commended. This man, a Jew by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the warre : and by *Jeremies* desire to liue with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himselfe altogether to the *Babylonian*, who being ordained by God to exercise his iustice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet *Jeremie* being left to his owne choice, either to liue in *Chaldea*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Gedoliz*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremie*, but gaue comfort to all the other *Jeremies* that were left vnder his charge, promising them fauour and libertie. So long as they remained obedient Subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom hee was established Princi-
pall Gouvernour of his owne Nation.

But ere that yeare was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Ierusalem*, had kept himselfe out of the storme, with *Baalsaz* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by tenne other chosen men; while *Gedoliz* satled them in

Maopha

*Ioseph. Antig. lib.
10. cap. 11.*

Ezech. 12.

3534.

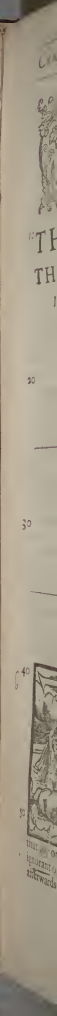
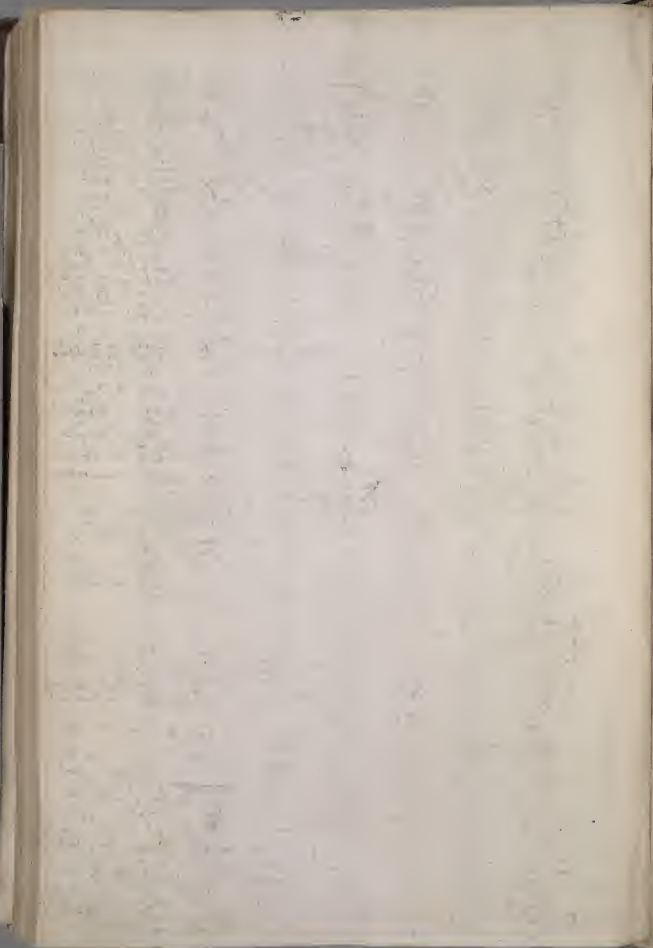
2. King. 25.

Mispha or *Mispha*, the Citie of his residence, traiterously slew him, together with divers *Chaldeans* and *Jewes* that accompanied him. This done, hee made an escape, and in his way encountering with eightie persons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover vnto him some Treasures, hidden in the fields during the warre. He also tooke with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practise and intent of *Ismael* had bene formerly discovered vnto *Godolia* by *Iohanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Jewes*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

- 10 *Judea* being now left without a Gouverneur (for *Ismael* durst not take it vpon him, but retired himselfe, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jewes*, fearing the reuenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to flie away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremie* to aske counsell of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Judea*, God would provide for them and shew them mercie; but if they sought to saue themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then vndoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this aduice, the *Jewes* held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining *Jeremie* and *Baruch* to accompanie them, they traualled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, neere vnto *Taphnes*: where, when *Jeremie* often reprehended them for their Idolatrie, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians* also, he was by these his own hard-hearted and vngatefull Countreymen, foned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reuerenced him, buried neare the Sepulchre of their own

Kings.
(*)

Finis Libri secundi.





10 THE FIRST PART OF
THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM

the destruction of Ierusalem to the time

of PHILIP of Macedon.

20

THE THIRD BOOKE.

h.
CHAP. I.

30 Of the time passing beewene the destruction of
Ierusalem, and the fall of the Assy-
rian Empire.

p. I.

Of the connexion of sacred and prophane Historie.



40 HE course of Time; which in prophane Histo- 236
ries might rather bee discerned through the
greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some
out-worne foot-steps, than in any beaten path,
hauing once in Greece by the Olympiads, and in
the Easterne Countries by the account from
Nabonassar, left surer marks, and more appli-
able to actions concurrent, than were the warre
of Troy, or any other token of former date; be-
gins at length in the ruine of Ierusalem to disco-
50 uer the connexion of antiquitie fore-spent, with
the storie of succeeding ages. Manifest it is,
that the original and progresse of things could ill bee sought in those that were
ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire
afterwards growne vp are not to be found among those, that haue now no state nor
Aaaa policie

police remaining of their owne. Having therefore pursued the storie of the world vnto that age, from whence the memorie of succeeding accidents is with little interruption or fabulous discourse deriued vnto vs, I hold it now conuenient briefly to shew, by what meanes and circumstances the historie of the *Hebrewes*, which of all other is the most ancient, may bee conioyned with the following times, wherein that Image of fundrie metalls, discouered by God vnto *Nabuchadnezzar*, did raigne ouer the earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an vnregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull, to insilt vpon those authoritics, which giue, as it were by heare-say, a certaine yeare of some old *Assyrian* King vnto some action or euent, whereof the tunc is found expresse in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his issue that occupied that Kingdome afterwards, depending vpon the vncertain relations of such, as were neither constant in assigning the yeares of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relie vpon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmonic, which some haue found in the yeares of those ouer-worne Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might haue bene forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, howsoeuer it be true that we finde the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could wee only learne in what age each of them liued, but not in what yeare his raigne beganne or ended, were it not that the raigne of *Nabuchadnezzar* is more precisely applied to the times of *Iehoiakim* and *Zedekia*. Hence haue we the first light whereby to discouer the meanes of connecting the sacred and prophane histories. For vnder *Nabuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the captiuitie of *Juda*, which ended when 70. yeares were expired; and these 70. yeares tooke end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well knowne affords vs meanes of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first yeare of *Cyrus* his raigne in *Persia*, by generall consent, is ioyned with the first yeare of the 55. *Olympiad*, where, that he raigned three and twentie yeares before his Monarchie, and seuen yeares afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controuersie. Giuing therefore foure hundred and eight yeares vnto the distance betwene the fall of *Troy*, and the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*; wee may easily arriue vnto those antiquities of *Greece*, which were not merely fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in fundrie parts of the world, *S. Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and indultrie.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto *Alexander*, and from him to the battaile of *Actium*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to set downe. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* captiuitie are the marks whereby wee are chiefly directed, in passing from the first vnto the latest yeares of the world, through any storic, with least interruption, it is very expedient that we take some paines to informe our selues truly of the 70. yeares, during which it continued, euen from *Nabuchadnezzar* vnto *Cyrus*.

§. II.

A briefe rehearsal of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captivitie: with an answer to the cauals of PORPHYRIE, inuicighing against S. MATTHEW, and DANIEL, vpon whom the later of these opinions is founded.

10 **M**Any Commentators, and other Historians, and Chronologers finde, that the captivitie then beganne when *Sechanias* was carried prisoner into *Babylon*, eleuen yeare before the finall destruction of *Ierusalem* vnder *Zedekias*. This they proue out of diuers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine distinction betweene the beginning of the captivitie, and vtter destruction of *Ierusalem* by *Nabuzaradan*, in these wordes. In the five and twentieth yeare of our being in captivitie in the beginning of the yeare, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth yeare after that the Citie was smitten. In which wordes hee beginneth the captivitie in plaine termes, eleuen yeares before the Citie was destroyed. *Berauldus* is of opinion that it beganne in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fourth of *Iosias*, which hee endeuours to proue out of the second of *Chironides*, but more especially out of *S. Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whose wordes afford matter of long disputation, but serue not to make good so much as *Berauldus* would enforce. That place of *S. Matthew*, and the whole booke of *Daniel*, haue ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who, not vnderstanding how the sonnes of King *Iosias* were called by diuers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the sonnes, or, according to some translations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the captivitie. Vpon *Daniel* also the same *Porphyrie* doth spend the twelfth of his malicious bookes written against the Christians, affirming that these prophecies and visions remembered by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or neare the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, haue sufficiently answered. For the fewentie Interpreters who conuerted the old Testament about an hundred yeare before *Epiphanes*, did also turne this booke of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greece*, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who liued diuers yeares before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Iudas* the high Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Ierusalem* to haue destroyed it, this booke of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his owne glorie foretold, as the same was plainly expounded vnto him; which not only staied his hand from the harme of that Citie and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future perill and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the *Easterne* Empire in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one Citie, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*.

It is true indeede that the *Iewes* themselves giue lesse authoritie to *Daniel*, than to *Moses*, and the *Prophets*, accompting his booke among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they say *Esdra*s and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from *Babylon*. But first, that the booke of *Daniel* (I meane so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonical: secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himselfe, and not by *Esdra*s and the Seniors; we may assure our selues by testimony of Councils and Fathers: For in the Councell of *Laudisia* held about the yeare of our Lord 368. after the death of *Iovinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and fortie yeares, this booke of *Daniel* was re-

ceived, verified, and confirmed among the other Canonick Scriptures, as in the *Epitomie* of the same Councell it may be seene, and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witnesseth *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiasticall historie, the fourth booke, and five and twentieth chapter, so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonick booke vpon *Origen*, so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface vpon the Psalmes, and *Epiphanius* in his booke of Waights and Measures, &c. To these I may adde *S. Hierome*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, and others. For the *Hagiographa* booke or holy Writings the *Jewes* and *Rabbines* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalmes*, *Proverbs*, *Iob*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Hester*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Ezdras*, that wrote this booke, Gods commande-
ment vnto him by his Angell, to seale vp the same to the time appointed, is an vn-
answerable testimonie. Yea which exceedeth all strength of other prooffe, our Sa-
uour Christ who citeth no Apocryphall Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Marke* alleageth
10 *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his nineteenth chapter. Further, in the
fift of *Iohn*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth
verse the second. *S. Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the Revelation
is wholly an interpretation of *Daniel*s visions.

Math. 24. 15.

Mark. 13. 14.

Dan. 12.

§. III.

20

That the 70. yeares of captiuitie are to be numbred from the destruction of
Ierusalem; not from the migration of
IECHONIA.



Auing thus farre digressed, in maintaining that authoritie, which must
often be cited in the present argument, it is now conuenient, that we
returne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of
these 70. yeares. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others
with laying open the grounds or weaknesse of that which *Eusebius*
30 and some few namelesse Authors, haue sometimes held in this point, which is late-
ly reuiued by *Berosus*; but will forth-with enter into consideration of that op-
inion, which many both ancient and late Writers haue so earnestly maintained, that
it wants not much of being common.

Fourre Kings of *Iuda* were carried away captiues to *Babylon*: First, *Manasses*; then
Iehoiakim, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Iechonias*, and
with him *Ezekiel*: lastly, *Zedekias*, at which time the Citie and Temple were des-
troied. To the first of these captiuities the beginning of the 70. yeares is referred
by none that I haue read; to the second by few and with weake prooffe; to the third
by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* 40
alreadie cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of *Ieremie*, which may seeme
to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were
carried away with *Iechonias*, vseth these words. Thus saith the Lord: After 70. yeares
be accomplished at *Babel*, I will visit you, and performe my good promise towards you, and
cause you to returne to this place.

Ierem. 29. 10.

But it stands indeede with little reason that we should seeke the interpretation of
a propheticke out of circumstances, when the propheticke is such as doth sufficiently
expound it selfe. *Ieremie* had alreadie, in the fourth yeare of *Iehoiakim*, denounced
the iudgement of God against the Land, for the sinnes and impietie of that
obdurate people, in these wordes. Behold, I will send and take to me all the families of
the North, saith the Lord, and *Nabuchadnezzar*, the King of *Babel*, my seruant, and will
bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Na-
tions round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing,
and

and a continuall desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladnesse, the voice of the Bridgroom, and the voice of the Bride, the noise of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle, and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of Babel 70. yeares. And when 70. yeares are expired, I will visit the King of Babel. Here wee see prescribed vnto the captiuitie the terme of 70. yeares, which were to commence, neither when the prophetic was uttered; nor when *Iehoiakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Iechonias*; but with the vter desolation of the Citie, whereof *Jeremie* did againe giue notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time
 10 as he sent them the comfort of deliuerance before rehearsed. And so did the people vnderstand this prophetic, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70. yeares at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the Historie of *Iuda*, where it is said thus. They burnt the house of God; and brake downe the wall of *Ierusalem*, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the sword, carried he away to Babel, and they were servants to him and to his sonnes, vntill the Kingdome of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of *IEREMIA*, vntill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the daies that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfill
 20 70. yeares. But in the first yeare of *CYRVS* King of Persia (when the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of *IEREMIA*, was finished) the Lord stirred up the spirit of *CYRVS*. Wee seldome find one peece of Scripture so precisely and plainly expounded by another, as in this Prophetic, to haue after wards bene the Subiect of alteration. For one can hardly deuise, how either the desolation could haue bene expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the euent of the prophetic haue bene more exactly set downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it bee requisite that we bring more prooffe in so euident a case, the ninth chapter of *Daniel* yeelds testimonie sufficient, vnto this exposition of *Jeremias* his prophetic, that *Ierusalem* was to lie wast 70. yeares. For in the first yeare of *Darius* the Medean, which was the last of the 70. *Daniel* obtained of God the deliuerance that had been
 30 promised by praiere, which he made vpon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth vs in these wordes. In the first yeare of his raigne, I *DANIEL* vnderstood by bookes the number of the yeares, whereof the Lord had spoken vnto *IEREMIA* the Prophet, that hee would accomplish 70. yeares in the desolation of *Ierusalem*. So that howsoeuer the time of *Daniel* his owne captiuitie bee reckoned from the taking of *Iehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Iechonias*, did accompt, as well they might, the yeares of their owne captiuitie; yet with the generall desolation of the Countrey, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabite, beganne in the nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor* the great captiuitie, which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of 70. yeares. This I
 40 will further seeke to proue, by the authoritie of *Iosephus* and others affirming the same; for as much as that which already hath bene produced, is enough to satisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrarie.

§. IIII.

Sundrie opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70. yeares.

WHat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during thcse 70. yeares of the captiuitie, and how long each of them did weare the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as ncither their acts were notable in the age wherein they liued, nor the length of their reignes, any way helpfull to the concordance of times, fore-going or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia*, (or rather some part of it) *Thracia*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seeme fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honor of his Majestie, where it may seeme that he and his Heires kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argueno lesse. For whereas vnder *Nebuchadnezar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished, that hardie peece of worke, of winning the strong Citie of *Tyre*, by ioyning it vnto the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channell of the Sea, diuiding it from the maine with a mole, or peece of earth, and other matter, the reparation whercof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* works in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the enemye than their bowes would carrie, but were readie to turne their backs, as soone as any, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing within the distance offered to charge them.

Xenophon. Cyropid. lib. 1. c. 63.

Now as their actions, from the end of *Nebuchadnezars* warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthie to bee recorded, so was the distinction of their times, and raigne of their severall Kings, vnworthie of the great labour that hath in vaine bene taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captiuitie of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeares, we may as reasonably forebear to search into the particular continuance of two or three slouthfull Kings, as wee are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children, living in the *Egyptian* seruitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall assured summe.

Yet for as much as many haue traualled in this businesse, vpon desire (as I take it) to approue the beginning and end of the 70. yeares, not only by the reignes of other Princes, ruling else-where, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves: I will not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke, may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kinges themselves, and in setting downe the yeares of their severall reignes. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meerey follow the authoritie of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name only three Kinges, *Nabuchadnezar*, *Eulmerodach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither haue they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other to be their warrant, but the propheticie of *Ieremie*, precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all would dispose of all, according to his owne will, and making it knowne that he had some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, saith thus: And all Nations shall serue him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonne, vntill the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great Kinges shall serue themselves of him. These wordes expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kinges, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But in deede I finde no other necessitie of qua-

Ierem. 27. v. 7.

qualification to be vsed herein than such as may grow out of mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this desire were not vniult, if the consent of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy T^xt were single on the other side.

- But contrary wise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofes of their different reports are so slender and vsufficient, that the succession of these *Princes*, had it not bin thus deliuered in Scriptures, but onely set downe by some Author of equall credite with the rest, might verie well haue found and deserued as good beliefe, as anie of those things which they haue deliuered in this point. For some there are, who following *Iosephus*, deriue that Empire, as by descent from father to sonne, through fve generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the great, and giuing to him 43. yeeres, to *Eulmerodach* 18, to *Niglisar* the son of *Eulmerodach* 40, to *Laborsardach* the sonne of *Niglisar* 9. months, and lastly to *Balthasar* (whom *Iosephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his father) 17. yeeres. And this opinion (saue that he forbears to reckon the yeeres, and plainly calles *Balthasar* the sonne of *Laborsardach*) *Saint Hierome* doth follow, alledging *Berosus*, and *Iosephus* as a sectator of *Berosus* for his Authors; though *Berosus* as he is cited by *Iosephus*, report the matter farre otherwise. For he tells vs that *Eulmerodach* the sonne of *Nabuchodonosor* did 20. raigne but 2. yeeres, being for his wickednesse and lust, slaine by his sisters husband *Nizaglisaror*, who occupied the kingdome after him 4. yeeres, and left it to his owne sonne *Laborsardach*, who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of 9. months slaine by such as were about him, and the kingdome giuen to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and lett it vnto *Cyrus* after 17. yeeres. This relation ill agrees with that of *Iosephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number eyther of yeeres, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, haue procured vnto them some authoritie, so that the names which they haue inserted, are taken as it were vpon trust. There is a third opinion, which makes the three last Kings brethren, and sonnes of *Eulmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather belecue *Xenophon*, who saith that the last king of *Babylon* was immediate successor to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall Historie, who is founder of this opinion, placeth betwene him that took *Ierusalem*, and *Eulmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plaine it is that he hath, out of any Historie sacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we haue reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpitius*, *Seuerus*, and *Theodoret*, vpon better ground, haue supposed, that *Eulmerodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and sonnes of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fift chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Eulmerodach* there is none that euer doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his sonne. And so common grew this explication, that *Saint Hierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Ieremy* before cited, prouoes that *Balthasar* was not the sonne indeede, but the grand-child of that great conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Esferne* languages, he was called the sonne.
- Amnius* his *Metasthenes* hits verie rightly the 70. yeeres of captiuitie, giuing to *Nabuchodonosor* 45. yeeres, to *Eulmerodach* 30. yeeres, and to the three sonnes of *Eulmerodach*, nephews of *Nabuchodonosor* 14. yeeres; that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest sonne three yeeres, to *Lab-Assar* the second sonne six yeeres, and to *Balthasar* the third sonne fve.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole summe of 50. yeeres, and in the number of generations, I haue sometime subscribed, as not daring to reiect an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reason than because the Author was of *Amnius* his edition. Yet could I not fittisly my selfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the moderne Writers as deserue to be regarded, haue consented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that in making *Balthasar* to succeed

Iosephus testif.
lib. 10. cap. 12.

*1st contr. Ap.
fian.*

*Xenoph. Cyroped.
lib. 4. lib. 1.*

succeede vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whole Historie of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* warre I can not lightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feast.

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Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscuritie, I found manifest proofe, that the time allotted vnto *Balthasar*, by *Annius* his *Metaphyses*, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70 yeares hee pleased among the rest. For in the third yeare of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a vision, after which he was sicke certaine dayes, but when hee rose vp he did the kings businesse: from 10 which businesse, that hee did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and line retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old *Queene* vsed to let out his sufficiency, and by the *Kings* asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were *Daniel*. Now to thinke that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two yeares haue beene worne out of remembrance, were in my iudgement a very strange conceipt, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented, to thinke the whole storie (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impostures.

DAN. ch. 5. v. 11.
12. & 17.

DAN. 5. 49.

Out of these reports of *Iosephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by coniectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captiuitie being 70 20 yeares, and these yeares extending vnto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his sonne and grand-child, must haue reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the yeares of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reignes might fill vp the whole continuance of the captiuitie, with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Eulmerodach* and *Balthasar*, ioyned vnto the yeares following the nineteene of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Ierusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing euen.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, fashion the yeares of *Eulmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18 yeares giuen to him by *Iosephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should bee read and numbred 28 yeares, and the two yeares 30 that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Eulmerodach* should be written 23: in the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the later there should haue bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2): this granted (to wit) that *Eulmerodach* reigned 28 yeares, whereof five together with his father, and 23 after his death, and the same number of 23 added to the 25 which *Nabuchodonosor* liued after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, make 49, then 4 yeares of *Niglisar* according to *Berosus*, 9 moneths of *Labassardach* his sonne, and 17 yeares of *Labonidus* or *Balthasar* make vp the number of 70 yeares to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by error in figures, or in words, the numbers be vnterly mistaken, in all copies extant; vpon how weake a foundation do they build, who haue nothing to helpe them, saue onely the bare 40 names of two vnkowne *Kings*, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had beene entirely extant, were not worthe, to haue that place of *Ieremie* called into dispute, in regard of their authoritie?

§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reignes of the Babylonian Kings.



Her suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, 50 I purposely forbear to rehearse, as falling vnder the same answer. That of *Ioseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deservin to be considered apart from the rest. He giues to *Nabuchadnezzar* 44 yeares, to *Eulmerodach* 2, to *Belsazer*, 5; and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the

niel had cared to vse the most expresse termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the citie, did win the kingdom; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his vse. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his works printed at *Basile*, in the year 1559. I finde onely thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alpharus*; That *Nabuchodonosor*, was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Africa* farre as to the *Armenians*; and that as the *Chaldeans* report, being returned into his kingdom, and rapt with a diuine furie, he cried with a loude voice. O Babylonians, I foretell yee of a great calamitie that shall come vpon you, which neither *Bel*, nor any of the Gods shall avert: There will come a Persian, halfe an *Asse*, that shall bring slavery vpon yee: and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I beleue little or nothing, sauing that *Nabuchodonosor* knew before hand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold from the golden head, to the sluer breast. But that he wan all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* copie of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells vs that *Nabuchodonosor* wanne both *Africa* and *Spaine*, I beleue the fragment so much the lesse: and am as little moued with the authoritie of it, where it calles a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Assyrians*, as where it tells of *Nabuchodonosor* his owne vanishing away. Indeed that same title of halfe an *Asse*, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers side, than on the fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Asses* vpon *Mares*. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the coninnitie and coherence which it hath within it selfe, I easily allow it. But this proues nothing, for more fictions haue not wanted their commendations: neither can any man beleue that one so iudicious, industrious, and deeply learned as *Ioseph Scaliger*, would ouer-shoote himselfe in setting downe repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeale. And herein it seemes that *Scaliger*, well knowing his owne sufficiency, hath bene little carefull to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophetic of *Daniel* were true, that the kingdom of *Balthasar* was diuided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*; either wee must thinke that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else wee must thinke our selues what *Persian* it might be that shared the kingdom with him. For it is not more certaine, that *Balthasar* lost his life and kingdom, than that his kingdom was diuided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to haue bene *Darius*, they should be thought to haue done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords ouer all the subiect provinces, in so much that the Greeke Historians did commonly call those warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made vpon *Greece*, The warres of the *Medes*. Yeato cleare this point, euen *Daniel* himselfe resembles that *King*, with whom *Alexander* fought, vnto a *Ramme* with two hornes, calling him the *King* of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to haue beene condemned by *Ioseph Scaliger*, for maintaining vpon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes*, was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldeaan King* by him subdued. Neither was *Iosephus* to be the lesse regarded for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his nephew *Cyrus*, though herein hee varied from *Berosus*, and others, whose authoritie else where he gladly citeth. For *Iosephus* had no reason to beleue any mans faith or knowledge of those times, halfe so well as *Daniels*, whom I beleue that hee vnderstoode as farre as was needfull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to alleage all Authors that had any mention, though vnperfect, of the same things

things that were contained in the writings of the *Jewes*, to whose histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were strangers, and might seeme fabulous. Even so doe *Eusebius*, and other Christian Writers, willingly embrace the testimonies of heathen books making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in generally by the selfe same *Ethnick* philosophers, but leave them where they are against the truth, as *Iosephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meete to say of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding neuertheless in due regard his learning and iudgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had bin very great.

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¶ VI.

What may be held as probable of the Person and Times of NABUCHO-
DONOSOR his successors.

THOW remains that I freely acknowledge mine owne weaknes, who cannot find how the 70. yeares of captiuitie are to be diuided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I finde that the distribution made of them, in such wisas already is rehearsed, be illagreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Peterius*, that wee ought liberally to pardon those whose feete haue failed them in the slipperie wayes of *Chronologie*, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedlesse reckoning. Yet will I aduenture to deliuer my opinion, wherein the iudgement of *Tyra* and others (holding those onely to haue reigned ouer *Chaldeans*, whose Names are found in the Scriptures) appeares more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take vpon me to defend *Tyra* his Coniectures, when hee supposeth by *Niglisar* and *Laborsadach* to be meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures *Enlimerodach* and *Balthasar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but onely to shew that the *Kings* by him cited, are likely to haue occupied the whole time of seuentie yeares. First therefore let vs consider the raigne of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose eighteenth yere *Ierusalem* was taken and sackt, but in his nineteenth layd vterly desolate.

Most of Writers haue giuen to him 43. yeares of raigne, following therein *Berosus*. There are who haue added one yere more, and some haue made it vp 45. To dispute about the certaintie were needlesse: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certaine truth.

Manifest it is, that the 19. yere of *Nabuchadnezzar*, is ioyned with the 11. of *Zedekias*; as also that his eight yere, was the first yere of *Iechonias* his captiuitie; the raigne of *Zedekias* occupied all the meane space being of 11. yeres. This is generally agreed vpon, so that it needes no further proofes: As for the beginning of his successor *Enlimerodach*, it was in the seuen and thirtieth yere of *Iechonias* his captiuitie; so that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his eight yere (which was the first of *Iechonias* his bondage) reigned 35. whole yeares, and peraduenture a good part of the sixe and thirtieth, forasmuch as *Iechonias* was enlarged with so great fauour, not vntill the end of the yere. Subtracting therefore out of these foure and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzar* reigne did well-near occupy, those eightene yeares of his which passed away before the captiuitie of *Juda*, and ruine of the citie, we haue remaining sixe and twenty yeares of the seuentie, that were almost wholly spent, when his sonne began to raigne.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the seuentie yeres were diuided betwene the kings ruling in *Babylon* vntill the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needefull: the whole summe being certaine, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were

were slouthfull Princes. Neither can any man the more iustly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70. yeares, for that the distribution of some part of them is only coniectural; seeing that none who giues any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both vnlkely and desperate coniectures in diuiding them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others haue done; knowing well before hand, that whosoever shall discouer my error, must doe mee the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more materially) of making mee to vnderstand the truth.

Of the foure and fortie yeares remaining in accompt at *Nabuchadnezzars* death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius the Mede*, and then hauing authoritie good enough to warrant vs from blame of presumption, in giuing vs fcouenteene yeares to *Balthasar*, we finde left in our handes to bestow vpon *Eulmerodach* fixe and twentie yeares. Of the yeare belonging to *Darius the Mede* I haue already spoken what I thought sufficient, in deluering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captiuitie. That *Balthasar* did raigne fcouenteene yeares, we haue the authoritie of *Iosephus*, before cited in expresse wordes; We haue also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who raigned so long, and *Balthasar* to haue bene one. But nothing moueth mee so much to belecue this Tradition, as first those euident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third yeare of *Balthasar* he followed the Kings businesse, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his raigne, (a prooffe sufficient of no few yeares, passing vnder this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniels* employments tooke end either that yeare or the next.) Secondly the consideration of *Cyrus* his warres against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans father, and being alwaies prosperous, could hardly haue occupied any longer time, though we make large allowance to his deedes in the lower *Asia*, which fell out in the mid-way: I haue already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the raigne of *Eulmerodach* was not short: and that men of great iudgment haue found it most probable that hee was King three and twentie yeares. More, I thinke, they would haue allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that booke of such antiquitie, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke passages of Antiquitie. I will yet confesse, that were his workes neuer so excellent, and in all things else vnquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend vnto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemy. How much lesse ought I to obey a broken fragment of his, containing only feuen or eight lines, and part euen of the title corrupted, as they beleue that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures haue told vs that God gaue the Empire to *Nabuchadnezzar*, to his sonne, and to his sonnes sonne: How long each of them held it, wee finde not expresse; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach vs; provided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, he destroy not thereby the generall truth. More wordes are needlesse. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus* or *Iosephus* who cited him, hath bene wronged by the carelesnesse of Scribes; and that it was easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two for fixe and twentie, as for three and twentie, or perhaps more easie. For the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. signifying 6. hath a nearer resemblance of 8. than it stands for 2. than hath 7. which is vsed for 3. So that the numerall notes 8. 5. expresse 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie; and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not vnusall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in 8. 7. standing for 23. I doe not well perceiue. As for the arithmetical figures now in vs, they were

Darius, 8. v. l. 1.

27. 8. 5. 1. 1.

11. 8. 13.

Iosephus, 7. l. 2. m. 27.

CHAP. I. §. 7. of the Historie of the World.

13

were long after the time of *Iosephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore doe not appertaine to this bulinesse; vnlesse we should ghesse that his workes were corrupted in that vnlearned age, which following the *Saracen* conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanitie, but in a sort wholly giuen over to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serue to make *Berosus* our friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the fauour of his authoritie, by forsaking *Jeremie*, and *Daniel*, when they seeme his opposites.

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§. VII.

of the victories which *NABUCHODONOSOR* obtained betwene the destruction of *Ierusalem* and conquest of *Egypt*.

- W**ITH what actions this time of 70. yeares was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few haue written, or little remaining in record. Which may peraduenture haue bene some cause that the vncertaine life was, and is yet sought to bee abridged, as not hauing left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well
- 20 denie to many people euen their being. For euerie Nation (I know not whom I should except) betwene the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothfull age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no maruaile, if the posteritie of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things readie to their hand, which their hearts could haue desired, betooke themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall sonnes of greedie fathers, their owne wisdom greater, which knew how to enioy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the restless traualle of purchasing. Though indeede the raigne of *Nabuchodonosor* was so diuided, that his youthfull and stronger yeares hauing bene exercised in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to bee spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours past.
- 30 The nineteenth yeare of his raigne it was, when destroying vterly the great and mightie Citie of *Ierusalem*, hee enriched himselfe with abundance of spoile, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, vntill his three and twentieth yeare, he laboured in the conquest of those adioyning Regions, which God had exposed vnto his sword, and commanded to weare his yoke; namely the *Edomites*, *Mosabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Egyptians*, though some of these were already become his followers, and serued vnder him, when *Ierusalem* was beaten downe and burnt. But the *Tyrians* whose Citie was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-Arme, and
- 40 whose fleet was so strong that they needed not to feare any enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obdurate resolution of this mightie Prince, employing all his power to their subuersion.

That the Citie of *Tyre* was rather well pleased than any way discouraged with the fall of *Ierusalem* (which had held the same course that *Tyris* did, and endured all that might be in the same quarrell against the common enemy) it appears by the wordes which *Ezechiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyris*; *AN*, the gate *Ezechiel* 26. a. of the people is broken, it is turned vnto mee; for seeing shee is desolate, I shall bee replenished. Yet at the length, euen in the nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great worke of his whereof wee haue already spoken, beganne to appeare about the waters, and threaten them with ineuitable mischiefe.

- 50 But those prophecies of *Jeremie* and of *Esaie*, which appoint vnto this desolation of *Tyre* the same terme of 70. yeares, that was prescribed vnto the raigne of the *Chaldeans*, doe plainly shew, that these followed *Ierusalem*, the same nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities, 10. 25. E[saie] 23. 15.

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which doubtlesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner vterly lost. Thus much we finde, That the Citizens perceiving the Towne vnable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the Isle of *Cyprus*. Neuertheless it seemes that this euasion serued only the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort vnto the enemies furie. For not only such people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which with excessiue labour the *Assyrian* made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonosor* caused his Armie to serue a great service against *Tyre*, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his Armie; but was faine to rest contented with the Honor of hauing destroyed that Citie, which in all mens iudgements had bene held inuincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerfull Cities, hauing made the name of the *Chaldeans* dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* vsed the aduantage of that reputation which hee had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable with lesse paine. The Kingdome of *Egypt* was the marke at which he aimed; a Countrie so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well haue tempted any Prince, finding himself strong enough, to seeke occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemy to the Crowne of *Babylon*, that had it bene poorer, yet either it must haue bene subdued, or the conquest of *Syria* could ill haue bene established. Neuertheless it was needefull that before hee entred into this businesse, the Countreys adiacent should be reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his disposal, or at least be vnable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For the people of *Mosab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, *Kedar*, *Hazor*, and other adioyning Regions, whom God for their sins had condemned to fall vnder the *Babylonian* swords, were such, as regarding only their owne gaine had some of them, like *Raueus*, followed the *Chaldean* Armie, to feede vpon the carcases that fell by the crueltie thereof; others taking aduantage of their Neighbours miseries, occupied the Countreys which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*; all of them thinking, that when the *Assyrian* had satished his furie, he should be faine to forsake those desolate parts, and leaue the possession to those that could lay hand vpon it. Particularly the *Edomites* and *Pharissims* had shewed much malice to the *Jewes* when the Citie was taken. What good serue they had done to the *Chaldeans*, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to haue bene with reference to their owne purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to reioyce at the fall of *Ierusalem*, but presently they entred vpon the Countrey of *Gad*, and tooke possession, as if not the *Assyrians*, but they, had subdued *Israel*. Neither can I perceiue what other ground that practise had of *Baalus* King of the *Ammonites*, when hee sent *Ismael*, a Prince of the bloud of *Iuda*, to murder *Gedalia*, whome the King of *Babel* had left Gouvernour ouer those that remained in *Israel*, and to carrie captiue into the *Ammonites* Countrey the people that abode in *Manasse*, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor* with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his owne Countrey, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conueniently. Such or the like policie the *Moabites* did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

All these Nations had the art of raueing, which is familiar to such as liue or border vpon deserts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the vttermost cunning of their cheeuish wits. But *Nabuchodonosor* did cut asunder all their deuices by sharpe and suddaine warre, ouerwhelming them with unexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of *Esay*, *Jeremie*, and *Ezekiel*, who fore-told, with little difference of wordes, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the miserie

Ezech. 2. 2. 8.

10. 11.

Amos. 2. 13.

Ezech. 25. 12. 13.

15.

Ezech. 25. 3.

10. 11. 12. 13.

Ierem. 40. 14. 15.

41. 2. 3. 10.

41. 30. 37. 40.

Ezech. 16. 34.

serie that should come vpon them. With which of them he first began, I find not ; it seemes that *Moab* was the last which felt his hand : for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophetic of *Esaï*, threatening *Moab* with destruction after three yeares, as hauing reference to the third yeare following the ruine of *Ierusalem*; the next yeare after it being spent in the *Egyptian* expedition. This is manifest, that all the principall Townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made slaues, few excepted, who being persued by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*, but liued as miserable out-lawes, or at least oppressed wretches, vntill the end of the seuentie yeares, which God had prescribed vnto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Iuda*.

§. VIII.

That *Egypt* was conquered, and the King therein reigning slaine by *NABUCHODONOSOR*, contrarie to the opinion of most Authors: who following *HERODOTVS* and *DIODORVS*, relate it otherwise.

- 20 **W**hen by a long course of victorie *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subiection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in such wise that no enimie to himselfe, nor friend of the *Egyptian*, was left at his back, that might giue impediment vnto his proceeding, or take aduantage of any misfortune; then did hee forth-wich take in hand the conquest of *Egypt* himselfe, vpon which those other Nations had formerly beene depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets *Esaï*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezechiel*, haue written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for prooffe halfe of that which may be alleaged out of these. Neuertheless we finde many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to straine these prophesies with vnreasonable diligence vnto such a sense, as giues to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of hauing done some spoile in *Egypt*, omitting the conquest of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affaires. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the means and second helps conducing to their purpose, that often-times they preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to vp-hold a sentence giuing testimonie to one clause, doe carelesly ouerthrow the historie it selfe, which thereby they sought to haue maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Egypt*, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former booke: but that which they haue spoken of *Apries*, was purposely referred vnto this place. *Herodotus* affirms that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein hee telleth not; (vnlesse we should vnderstand that he was victorious in the Warre which he is said to haue made vpon *Tyrus* and *Sidon*) that hee reigned fise and twentie yeares, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne subiects; who did set vp *Amasis*, as King, which preuailed against him. The rebellion of the *Egyptians* hee imputeth to a great losse which they receiued in an expedition against the *Cyrenians*, by whom almost their whole Armie was destroyed. This calamitie the people of *Egypt* thought to bee well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpose to haue them consumed, that so hee might with greater securitie raigne ouer such as staid at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slaine, rebelled against *Apries*, who sent *Amasis* to appeale the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captaine of the rebells, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented vnto this new Election; whereby *Apries*

was driven to trust vnto his forraigne Mercenaries, the Ionians and Carians, of whom hee kept in readinesse thirtie thousand good Souldiours that fought valiantly for him, but were vanquished by the great numbers of the Egyptian forces, amounting vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand, which were all by birth and education, men of warre. Apries himselfe being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by Amasis for a while, vntill the Egyptians, exclaiming vpon him as an extreame enemy to the land, got him deliuered into their hands, and strangled him, yet gaue him honourable buriall. Such is the report of Hierodotus, with whom Diodorus Siculus neerely agrees, telling vs that Apries did vanquish the Egyptians and Phoenicians in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demolished Sidon, wanne the other townes of Phoenicia, and the Isle of Cyprus, and finally perished as is before rehearsed, when he had reigned two and twentie yeares. This authoritie were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe vs of Apries his history, if greater authoritie did not contradict it. But the destruction of Egypt by the Babylonian, fore-told by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our beliefs, than haue the traditions of Egyptian Priests (which the Greeke Historians followed) and greater probabilities to persuade those that looke only into humane reasons. For Esay prophesied long before of the shamefull captiuitie of the Egyptians, whom the King of Asshur should carry away naked, yong and old, in such wise that the Iewes who fled vnto them for deliuerance from the Assyrian, should be ashamed of their owne vaine confidence in men so vnable to defend themselves.

But Ezekiel and Ieremy, as their prophesies were nearer to the time of execution, so they handled this Argument more precisely. For Ezekiel telleth plainly, that Egypt should be giuen to Nabuchadnezzar, as wages for the seruice which hee had done at Tyre: Also he recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in Egypt, saying, That these by name should be destroyed and goe into captiuitie; yea, that Pharaoh and all his arme should be slaying by the sword. Wherefore it must needs be a violent exposition of these Prophesies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in Egypt, than change of the Kings person, wherein Amasis did succeed vnto Apries, by force indeede, but by the vniforme consent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of Ieremy, wherein he foretellet how the Iewes in Egypt should see Pharaoh Hophra deliuered into the hand of his enemies, as Zedekia had bene, were to bee referred vnto the time of that rebellion whereof Hierodotus hath spoken, as the generall opinion hath ouer-ruled it, then was it vainely done of the same Prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should thinke, seeing he did it by the appointment of God himselfe) to hide in the clay of a Bricke-bill, those very stones, vpon which the throne of Nabuchodonosor should be set, and his paullion spread. Yea then was that prophesie no other than false, which expressed the end of Pharaoh thus. Behold, I will visite the common people of Egypt, and Pharaoh and Egypt, with their Gods and their Kings, euen Pharaoh, and all that trust in him: and I will deliuer them into the hands of those that seeke their liues, and into the hand of Nabuchadnezzar King of Babel, and into the hands of his seruants. The clearnes of this prophesie being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of Amasis, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greeke Historians. Wherefore looking vpon Iunius, who had in an other place taken the enemies of Pharaoh Hophra to be Amasis, and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the Egyptian Priests had notably deluded Hierodotus with lies, coined vpon a vaine-glorious purpose of hiding their owne disgrace and bondage. And surely it may well be thought, that the historie of Nabuchadnezzar, was better knowne to the Iewes whom it concerned, than to the Greekes that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather

Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. c. 2.

Esay. 46. vers. 4, 5. c. 6.

Ezech. 30. vers. 20. c. 30. Ezech. 31. v. 31.

Ierem. 44. 10. Ierem. 43. 10.

Ierem. 44. vers. 35 & 36.

Iun in Ierem. 6. 44. vers. 30.

34 8536

*Insepius de An-
tiq. Ind. lib. 20.
6. 11.*



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to sweepe the way cleane vnto his owne doores, by consuming all his friends and adherents in *Syria*. For as the labour of this bulwicke did more harden than wearie the *Chaldean* army, so the confidence and vaine securitie of the *Egyptians*, relying vpon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make through the *Arabian* deserts, and the much aduantage which the great river of *Nilus* would afford vnto themselves, did little auail them in prouision for the warre, and much astonish them (as may iustly be thought) in the time of execution: it being vsually seene, that the hearts of men faile, when those helpes faile, in which they had repozed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the kingdome of *Egypt* had flourished vnder the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand five hundred and foure score years; but from this time forward it remained fortie yeares without a King, vnder the subiection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recouer by little and little the former greatnes, yet so, that it was neuer dreadful vnto others, God hauing said of that people, *I will diminish them that they shall no more rule the Nations*. For whereas it hath bene said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the sonne of the wise, I am the sonne of the auient Kings*; and whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I haue made it*; the *Princes of Egypt* now became fooles, the river failed them, the King himselfe was taken and slaine, and that ancient linage quite extinguished. This came to passe in the first yeare after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzer*, at which time (saith *Iosephus*) *hee slew the King then reigning, placed another in his roome, and carried captiues thence to Babylon, the Iewes whome hee found in that Countrey*. Now concerning the time which *Iosephus* giues vnto this business, and the bulwicke it selfe, I haue already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of *Ierusalem*, and carrying away those vnto *Babel*, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the same three and twentieth yeare of *Nebuchadnezzer*, is not vnprobably thought by good authors to haue bene at the returne from this *Egyptian* expedition. But whereas *Iosephus* tells vs that there was another King put in the roome of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzer*, we must vnderstand, that he was onely a *Pierroy*, and not (as some haue mistaken it) thinke that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis* his reigne in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzer*, were as well repugnant vnto the Prophecies before alledged, as to all *Chronologie* and historie. Some there are, which to helpe this inconuenience imagine that there were two successiuiy bearing the name of *Amasis*; others that there were two *Apries*, the one slaine by *Nebuchadnezzer*, the other by *Amasis*: a question of small importance, because the difference is only about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life and kingdome by the *Assyrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceiue, that *Apries* of whom the *Greeke* Historians wrote, could not be the deposite of *Nebuchadnezzer*, seeing that hee was the Grand-child of *Pharao Necho*, and made warre (as they report) vpon the *Phenicians*, who were, before the *Egyptians*, become subiect vnto the Crowne of *Babylon*. I might adde perhappes, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzer* left as Governour of *Egypt*, was more likely to haue had some *Chaldean* or *Assyrian*, than *Egyptian* name; vnto whose should thinke that hee had bene a traitor to his naturall Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Countrey: about which it were but frivolous to dispute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleue, that *Nebuchadnezzer* made an absolute Conquest of *Egypt*; that he was not so foolish as to giue it away, any man may gesse, that he appointed one to rule the Countrey, it is consequent vnto the former, and hath authoritie of *Iosephus*; that this Governour (or some successour of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by *Amasis*, I see probabilitye enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well be content, that others vie their libertie, and beleue what they list. As for the armie which this *Egyptian* King *Apries* is supposed to haue kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*; I hold them to be none other than the garrisons of mercenarie souldiours which were left by the *Assyrian* for

Ex 6. 29. 13. 14.
E 15.
E 19. 31.
E 44. 29. 9.

Ioseph. Ant. 1. 2. 2.
libr. 10. c. 11.

Ierem. 52. 30.

50 8

for the guard of his *Viceroy*, and custodie of the new subdued Prouince : as like-
 wise the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who together with the friends
 of such as were slaine in that expedition, remembred before out of the *Greeke Histori-
 ans*, deposed and slew *Apries*, I take them to haue beene the *Egyptian* fugitives
 which then recovered their owne Countie. Sure it is that this Prophecie of *Eze-
 kiel* was verified, *At the end of forty yeares will I gather the Egyptians from the people
 wherethey were scattered, and I will bring againe the captiuitie of Egypt, and will cause
 them to returne into the land of Pathros into the land of their habitation, and they shall be
 there a small kingdome.* If the *Egyptian* Priests alluded hereunto in the tale which
 they made of *Amasis* his obtaining the kingdome, then are they to be helped with
 this or the like interpretation; if they deuided matter that had no shadow of truth,
 onely to keepe the *Greekes* from knowledge of their Countries disgrace; then are
 they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

§. X.

Of the sundry accounts drawne from sundry authors of *NEBUCHADNEZZAR* and
 of the destruction of *Ninivie*, by him; the time of which
 action is vncertaine.

578. 1040. 1042.

- 20 **T**Hele victories brought the greatnes of the *Assyrian* Empire to the full,
 and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzars* raigne
 in sundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions
 arising about the supputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might
 seeme to be the ouer-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I
 will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captiue in the third yeare of *Iehoiakims*
 raigne (which ranne along with some part of *Nebuchadnezzars* first yeare) and was
 kept in diet three yeares more, before he was brought into the Kings presence; it
 could not be the second of *Nebuchadnezzars* kingdome, wherein he interpreted the
 forgotten dreame of the great image, foreshewing the succession of *Monarchies*, but
 the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of diuers places which
 referre sundry matters vnto their set yeares; as that of *Ezekiel* before-cited, where
 hee fore-tells that *Aegypt* should be giuen in reward for the seruice done before *Tyr-
 us*, dating his prophecie in the seven and twentieth yeare; and that of *Daniel*, plac-
 ing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeere: for these yeares held
 no dependance vpon either the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzars* kingdome, or of his
 Empire, nor yet vpon any of the captiuities, but had reference to some memorable
 action, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the la-
 bour of vncertaine search.
- 30 Of any warre made by *Nebuchadnezzar* after such time as hee returned from the
 Conquest of *Aegypt* I doe not reade: excepting that against *Ninivie*, the destruction
 whereof was fore-tolde by the Prophet *Nabum*. *Ninivie* had long before benee ta-
 ken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath benee shewed) and together with the rest
 of *Assyria* made subiect to *Babylon*. Yet was it left vnder a peculiar King, who rebel-
 ling against the *Chaldeans*, as *Iehoiakim* & *Zedekias* tributary Kings of *Iuda* had done,
 tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of *Ninivie* followed the
 Conquest of *Aegypt*, it appeareth by the comparison which *Nabum* the Prophet
 made betwene this Citie that was to fall, and the Citie of *No* in *Aegypt* that was
 fallen already. But how long after this came to passe, it is (me thinks) vnpollible
 to find out. For whereas it is found in an *Hebrew Chronologie*, that it was in the first
 of *Nebuchadnezzars* raigne; the place of *Nabum* last cited is enough to disprove it.
 Whereas it is referred by some vnto the first of his *Monarchie*, which beganne at the
 end of the *Aegyptian* warres; the whole Prophecie of *Nabum* which went betwene
 the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time inter-
 current;

Nabum 32.

current. So that to enquire into the very year of this destruction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether managed by Nabuchodonosor in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like vnto the vaine coniecture of Tiberius Caesar, enquiring who was the Mother of Hecuba, or to the like idle paines which he should take, who would seeke to learne what woman that Hecuba Queen of Assyria was, whose wofull captiuitie the same Prophet Naum likewise did fore-tell.

¶ XI.

Of the later time of NEBUCHADNEZZAR; his buildings, madnesse, and death.

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Dan. 4. 17.

F the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I thinke there are no monuments extant; saue those which wee finde among the prophecies of Daniel. Among these we may reckon his great workes at Babylon, wherewith he pleased himselfe so well that he brake out into these glorious wordes. *Is not this great Babel that I haue built for the house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my maiestie?* Surely if those thinges be true that are by Iosephus rehearsed of him out of Berosus and Megasthenes, hee might well delight himselfe with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificient buildings. For it is said, That he fortified Babylon with a triple wall, that besides other stately workes, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the aire, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the Assyrian, and all the Persian Empire, is said to haue bene reared, and finished in fiftene daies.

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But of all this, and other his magnificence, we finde little else recorded, than that (which indeede is most profitable for vs to consider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatnesse abased him vnto a condition, inferior to the poorest of men. And not vnderstandedly fell these iudgements of God vpon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories, and much happinesse in his owne life, but with a discouerie of thinges to come after him, yea and had approued the certaintie of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memorie, and interpretation thereof by Daniel the Prophet: hee neuertheless became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had scene and acknowledged, that hee caused a golden Imageto be set vp and worshipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was vtterly repugnant to the law of him that is the King of Kings. Hereof S. Hierome hath well noted; *velox obliuio veritatis, ut qui dudum seruum Dei quasi Deum adorauerat, nunc statum sibi fieri iubeat, ut ipse quasi Deus in statu adoraretur: Ad hanc forgetfulness of the truth, that hee who so lately had worshipped (DANIEL) the seruant of God, as if hee had bene God himselfe, should now command a Statue to be erected vnto himselfe, wherein himselfe might bee worshipped as God.* From this impietie it pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderfull deliuerie of those blessed Saints out of the fiery fornace; who being throwne into it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatrie, were assisted by an Angell; preferred from all harme of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious wordes, and restored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his image he had violated. Yet this deuotion of Nabuchadnezzar was not so rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hallic zeale. Therefore was hee forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible iudgement hanging ouer his head, which Daniel expounding, aduised him to breake off his sinne by righteousness, and his iniquity by mercie towards the poore, that there might bee an healing of his error. Hereby it seemes that

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that iniustice and crueltie were the faults, for which hee was threatened, but this threatening sufficed not vnto his reformation. For that so great a Monarch should be driven from among men (according to the tenor of the dreame and interpretation) yet compelled to dwell with the beasts of the field, and made to eate grasse as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans iudgement, that easily it might be thought an idle dreame, and much more easily be forgotten at the yeares end. One whole yeares leisure to repent was giuen to this haughtie Prince: which respite of the execution may seeme to haue bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelue months, walking in the roiall Palace of Babel, hee was so ouer-joyed
10 and transported with a vaine contemplation of his owne seeming happinesse, that without all feare of Gods heauie iudgement pronounced against him, hee vttered those losie wordes before rehearsed, in fauour of the Maicestall works which he had reared, as well becomming his maicestall person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heauen, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearsed ouer vnto him the sentencé againe, which was fulfilled vpon him the very same houre.

That Salomon and many other Princes and great ones, haue taken delight in their owne buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that euer I haue read of any, that were punished for reioicing in workes of this kinde (though it is hard in ioy, or any passion of the minde to keepe a iust measure) excepting only this Nabuchadnezzar.

The like may be said of David: for other (and some very godly) Kings haue mustred all their forces to the very last man; but few or none haue been knowne to haue been punished as David was. Surely I not only hold it lawfull to reioice in those good things, wherewith God hath blessed vs; but a note of much vnthankfulness to entertaine them with a fullen and vnseeing disposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure cloudes, hindring the influence of that blessed light, which clarifies the soule of man, and predisposeth it vnto the brightnesse of eternall felicitie; so that insolent ioy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiueth of his owne worth, doth a-
30 boue all other passions blast our mindes, as it were with lightning, and make vs to reflect our thoughts vpon our seeming inherent greatnesse, forgetting the whilest him, to whom wee are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these mala mentis gaudia; The euill ioyes of the minde, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bestowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed further inward than sorowes, cares, and feares; not farre from the yron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no vnlike token of vengeance neare at hand, when these vnreasonable fluthes of proud and vaine ioy, doe rage in a minde, that should haue bene humbled with a iust repentance and acknowledgement of ill deserving.

This was verified vpon Nabuchadnezzar, whose punishment was singular and vnexampld. For he ranne among beasts in the fields and woods, where for seuen yeares hee liued, not only as a salvage man, but as a salvage beast, for a beast he thought himselfe. *secundum suam imaginationem*, as Thomas noteth, and therefore fed himselfe in the same manner, and with the same foode that beasts doe; Not that he was changed in figure externall according to Mediana, in so much as he appeared a beast to other mens eyes, as S. Hierome in the life of Hilarius (how true God knowes) speaks of a woman that appeared to all other mens sight a Cow, but to Hilarius only a woman; neither was he changed as Iphigenia the Daughter of Agamemnon was said to be into a Hinde, nor made a Monister as Dorathius and Epiphanius dreamed; but according to S. Hieromes exposition of these wordes. At the same time was
50 my vnderstanding restored vnto me, &c. *Quando dicit (saith S. Hierome) sensum suum redditum, ostendit non formam se amisisse sed mentem*; When he saith that his sense was restored vnto him, he sheweth that hee had not lost his humane shape, but his vnderstanding. Seven yeares expired, it pleased God to restore Nabuchodenesor, both to his vnderstanding,

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ad 35

L. 2. c. 25.

Med. 2. de re-
sta in Deum fide
cap. 7.

Der in Synopsi.
Ep. in vit. Dami.

D. m. 4. 1. 33. 6.
34.

ding, and his estate, for which hee acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power and euertlasting being; that he was the Lord of heauen and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gaue argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his saluation; namely *S. Augustine, Theodoret, Lyræ, Carthusianus*, and others. And for that place of *Esay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforementioned Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Isay* both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapter speaketh of the King, and the destruction of *Babylon* ioyntly.

§. XII.
OF EVILMERODACH.



Auing already spoken what I could of the succession and yeares of *Nabuchadnezzars* posteritie; the most that may bee said of him, is said of *Euilmerodach*, which I will not here againe rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdome burning in a warre that consumed it to ashes. He lost *Ægypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, which was forty yeares after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allowes to *Amasis* foure and forty yeares of raigne; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who giues him fise and fiftie, saying that he died in the third yeare of the threecore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Ægypt*. There were indeed but seuen and thirtie yeares, which passed betwene the second yeare of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the first of *Cambyses* his raigne, wherein hee wanne *Ægypt*; of which seuen and thirtie yeares it is credibly held, that *Pammenitus*, the sonne of *Amasis*, raigned three: so that *Amasis* could be no longer King than foure and thirtie yeares. But seeing that these two Greeke Historians haue bene abused by *Ægyptian* Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no maruaile though they were also decieued in the length of his raigne. This is the plain answer to this objection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and foure and fortie set downe in stead of foure and thirtie, or that *Amasis* did temporise a while with the *Assyrians*, and not beare himselfe as absolute King of *Ægypt*, vntill the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath bene proued out of *Ezekiel*, that *Ægypt* became againe a Kingdome) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these *Ægyptian* troubles did animate the King of the *Medes* to deale with *Euilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame, and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) some foile receiued by the *Assyrian* invading *Media*, emboldened the *Ægyptians* to rebell against him: I will neither vndertake, nor seeke to define. *Xenophon* tells that the first seruice of yong *Cyrus* in warre was vnder *Assyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the *Assyrian* Prince, who did let vpon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fifteen or sixteen yeares old. If therefore *Cyrus* liued threecore and three yeares (as he is said to haue died well stricken in yeares) which is held to be the ordinarie terme of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeare of *Euilmerodach* his raigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre beganne more early betwene these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gaue courage vnto those that had felt him a troublesome Neighbour, to stand vpon prouder termes with the *Assyrians*, than in his flourishing estate

Xenoph. Cyrop.
lib. 1. c. 6.Xenoph. Cyrop.
lib. 8. c. 34.

elitate they durst haue vsed. Howsoeuer the quarrell beganne, wee finde that it ended not before the last ruine of the *Affirian Monarchie*. For the *Babylonian*, being too proude to digest the losses which he receiued by the *Medes* and their Allies the *Perfians*, drew vnto his partie the *Lydiens*, and all the people of the lesser *Asia*, with gifts and strong perswasions, hoping so to ouerwhelme his Enemies with a strong inuasion, whome in vaine hee had sought to wearie out with a lingering Wars.

This happened after the death of *Affyages*, who left the World in the nineteenth yeare of *Eulmerodach*, at which time *Amfis* tooke possession of *Egypt*. So that the *Affirian* hauing his handes alreadie full of businesse, which more earnestly did affect him, seemed thereby to haue giuen the better means vnto the *Egyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long distance of place did sundrie times finde occasion to rebell in after-ages, and set vp a King within it selfe, against the faire more mightie *Persian*.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Eulmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many yeares before vttered against *Babel* by *Elsay* and *Jeremie*.

For the *Affirians*, and their Confederates, who trusting in their numbers, thought to haue buried the *Medes*, and *Perfians*, vnder their thicke showers of arrows and darts, were encountered with an armie of stout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battaile, wherein *Eulmerodach* was slaine. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raised and vp-held, being shaken and grievously crackt vnder his vnfortunate Sonne, was left to bee sustained by his vnworthy Nephew: a man more likely to haue overthrowne it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

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§. XIII.

A private conjecture of the Author; serving to make good those things, which are cited out of *BEROSVS*, concerning the Successors of *EULMERODACH*, without wrong to the truth: the qualitie, and death of *BALTHASAR*.

Though I haue alreadie (as it seemes to mee) sufficiently proued that *Balthasar* was the Sonne, and immediate Succesour to *Eulmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the conjectures of those Writers, which following *Berosus*, insert *Niglisar* or *Niriglisaror*, and his sonne *Labsarsadach* betwene them: as also that which I finde in *Herodotus* of *Sitiaces* a famous Queene of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that Citie; I haue thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what means it was possible that some error might haue crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby haue brought vs to a needlesse trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle light, in the vncertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might haue found by day light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First, therefore I obserue, that the time which *Berosus* diuides betwixt *Eulmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the yeares in which *Nabuchodonosor* liued wild among brute beasts in the open field: Secondly, that the suddainenesse of this accident, which came in one houre, could not but worke much perturbation in that state, wherein doubtlesse the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitie pittied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clause

Herod. 1.

clause which promised his recouerie, as being verified in that which had beene more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason iudge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for feeling the gouernment, whilst the King was thus distracted, we shall finde it most likely, that his Sonne and Heire did occupie the roiall Throne, with condition to restore it vnto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his role *Enilmerodach* being to supplie the vicer want of vnderstanding in his Father, as *Protectors* doe the vnrpenselle of it in yong, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the insolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small abilitie of gouernment, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his Sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit, it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying that shee was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificient and vscfull workes about the Riuer of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* against the *Medes*, who had gotten many Townes from the *Achyrians*, and amongst them *Ninive*. Wherefore it were not vnreasonable to thinke, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers misgouernment, vscd practises to gett the rule into her owne handes, and afterwards, as a Mother, to leaue it vnto her vngratious sonne. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could haue reigned, wee doe not finde; but we finde in *Berosus* (as *Iosephus* hath cited him) that *Niglisar*, who got the Kingdom from *Enilmerodach*, was his sisters husband, which argues this to haue beene the same woman. As for *Labassardach* the sonne of *Niglisar*, if at the end of nine Moneths raigne he were for his leud conditions slaine by the Nobilitie, as the same *Berosus* reporteth, it seemes that God prepared hereby the way for *Nabuchadnezzars* relutition (whose terme of punishment was then expired) by raising such troubles as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the People. I will not here vse many wordes to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set downe of *Enilmerodach*, telling vs that he was slaine by his sisters husband; for the plaine words of Scripture naming the year wherein he gaue libertie to *Iechonias*, doe plainly testifie that he out-lived the three or foure and fortieth yeare of his Fathers raigne, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to haue succeeded *Enilmerodach* in the Kingdome, might indeede haue so done, though not when hee held it in his owne right. Of *Balthazar* who was his Sonne and Heire, we finde, that he had such conditions, as God permitte to be in a King for the ruine of the people. He was from his yong yeares of a mischieuous nature; hauing in his Fathers time slaine a Noble yong man that should haue married his sister, only for spight and enuie to see him kill two wild beastes in hunting, at which him selfe hauing throwne his laureline had mistled them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beautie, said it were a hapie woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous vilians caused many which had loued his Father (as a good and gracious, though vnfortunate Prince) to reuolt from him vnto the enemy as soone as he was King. Neither doe I finde that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a Coward and a Foole hee lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to giue battaile to them that daily tooke somewhat from him; Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on euery side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a foole taken in vnexcusable security, yet had not that happinesse (such as it is) of a death free from apprehension of feare, but was terrified with a dreadfull vision, which had shewed his ruine not many houres before, euen whilst he was drinking in that wine, which the swordes of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable raigne of seuentene yeares he perished

his nature mischievous
Balthazar.

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riſhed like a beaſt, and was ſlaine as he deſerved. The reſt that concerneth him in queſtion of his time, hath beene ſpoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, ſhall be handled among the acts of *Cyruſ*, to whole ſtorie that of *Balthaſar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the originall and firſt greatneſſe of the
Persians.

¶ I.

That the Medes were chiefe actors in the ſubverſion of the
Babylonian Empire.



THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguiſhed in *Balthaſar*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Aſſyria*, was ioyned firſt to that of *Media*, which then was governed by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyruſ* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Aſſyria* and of *Media* it ſelfe.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings beſides himſelfe, and of *Arbaees* as many are found by *Metaſthenes*. Theſe two Provinciall Governours having cut downe the laſt branch of *Ninus* in *Sardapalus*, divided betwene them the Eaſterne Empire.

Cyaxares (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the laſt of the race of *Arbaees* dying about two yeares after that the Line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthaſar*, the Dominions aſwell of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Familie, namely, to *Cyruſ* of the houſe of *Achamenes*, the Princes of which bloud reigning in *Perſia*, had formerly beene dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Familie of *Achamenes*, and Line of the *Persian* Kings, wee ſhall hereafter finde occaſion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* deſcended from *Madai* the third ſonne of *Iſphet*; that they had Kings ſoone after the flood, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* have found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaſpes*, and *Diodorus* ſpeaketh of *Pharnus* with his ſeven Sonnes, ſlaine by the *Aſſyrian* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of theſe who ſucceeded *Arbaees* the firſt, that freed his Nation from the *Aſſyrians*. I take the liſt and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whome I have ſpoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are theſe.

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| <i>Arbaces.</i> | 628. yeares. |
| <i>Solarmus.</i> | 30. yeares. |
| <i>Medius.</i> | 40. yeares. |
| <i>Cardices.</i> | 13. yeares. |
| <i>Dioles.</i> | 53. yeares. |
| <i>Phraortes.</i> | 24. yeares. |
| <i>Cjaxares.</i> | 32. yeares. |
| <i>Astyages.</i> | 38. yeares. |
| <i>Darius Medus.</i> | |

Who reigned

And though the *Greekes* ascribe the conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach vs that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Persians* his followers, but that the Armie victorious over *Balthasar* was his; as the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire also was during his owne life. For wee finde in *Daniel* that *Darius* of the *Medes* tooke the Kingdome being threecore and two yeares old. And further what Officers it pleased him to set over the Kingdome. And so was it prophesied by *Isay* long before: Behold I will stirre up the *Medes* against them, &c. And by *IEREMIE*; The Lord hath raised up the Spirit of the King of the *Medes*, for his purpose is against *Babel* to destroy it; and in the eight and twentieth Verse, Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the *Medes*, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. These Scriptures *Iulius Africanus* doth well open, who taking authoritie from *Diodor*, *Cassor*, *Thallus*, and others, delueth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* beganne to raigne, which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the *Medes* were subjugated by the *Persians*, so before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* were mastered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Iustine*, and *Herodotus*, are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

§ II.

By what meanes the Empire was translated from the *Medes* to the *Persians*.



OW the Kingdome of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*; it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians: but rather their different relations haue bred the former opinion of those who giue the conquest of *Babel* to the *Persian* only. For some there are who denie that *Astyages* had any other Successour than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesias* on the contrarie side affirmeth that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Astyages* (whom hee calleth *Astages* or *Spomus*) but only that hauing vanquished him in battaile, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amylis*. But I finde the relations of *Ctesias* often cited and seldome followed, and himselfe sometimes very iustly reproofed of willfull vntruth.

Vigimer a diligent and learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that *Astyages* had no such sonne as *Cjaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirme his opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore*, *Iustine*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Isocrates*, and before them *Cassor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*, who doe not finde any such Successour. Neither doe *Tatians*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Iulius Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Iustine Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *S. Hierome*, or *S. Augustine*, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath giuen other Sonne or Successour to *Astyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument *ab autoritate negatiue*, doth neuer inforce

force consent; we may bee the bolder (all this great list of Noble Writers by him alleaged notwithstanding) to affirme that either *Alyages* himselfe must haue beene *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or else to giue him some other Succellour, according to *Iosephus*, and *Xenophon*, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chiefe, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest, *Cyrus* during his life being no other than the Lieutenant of his Armie; and subiect to his authoritie; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Persians*, with other the Vassalls of *Darius*, being ioyned together to com-
10 pound it.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victorie ouer *Babylon* was wholly giuen to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument proordained and forenamed by God himselfe, not only for this action, but for the deliuerie of his Church; a greater worke in the eyes of God, than the subuersion of any State or Monarchie, how powerfull soeuer.

And it may well bee thought, that the Souldiers imployed in that seruice did rather ascribe the glorie to him that was the best man of Warre, than to the *Medes*, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling vpon *Cyrus* by succellion, and continuing in his posteritie, did much augment the fame of his vertue, which among prophane Historians ouer-grew altogether the honour
20 due to *Cyaxares*, both becaue hee was sold, and did nothing in person; as also becaue hee soone after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was possit of whatsoeuer belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conquerour was carried farr off.

And for the *Greece* Historians, they tooke all things from the relations of the *Persians*, who gaue to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equall. Only *Daniel* in the first, fift, and sixt Chapters of his prophecies; makes it plaine that himselfe not only liued a great Officer vnder King *Darius*, but that hee continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*, which being the yeare
30 of *Daniels* death, could not haue beene distinguished from the reigne of *Darius*; if they had begunne together and reigned ioyntly; Neither can it bee imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdome by *Cyrus* permission, considering that *Cyrus* beganne after him.

§. III.

XENOPHONS relation of the Warre which the *Medes* and *Persians* made with ioynt forces vpon the *Assyrians* and others.

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THESE Testimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our vnderstanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these warres: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Assyrians* had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries, hee beganne to hope that if the *Medes* could bee brought vnder his subiection, there should not then
50 bee left any Nation adioyning able to make head against him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threecore thousand foote, and about ten thousand horse, to which the forces of *Persia* being ioyned made an exceeding strong Armie.

The *Assyrian* considering the strength of such a Neighbour, invited *Craesus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mightie both in men and treasure, and with him other

Lords of *Asia* the lesse to his assistance, alleaging that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmly conioyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be easie, no not possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements strengthened with great presents, he drew to himselfe so many adherents as he compounded an Armie of two hundred thousand foote, and threecore thousand horse, of which, ten thousand horse, and fortie thousand foote were led by *Crasus*, who had great cause of enmitie with the *Medes*, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father *Alyattes*; But this great Armie was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* general of the *Persian* forces, utterly broken; Vpon which defeat the *Assyrian* King being also slaine, so many of the *Assyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* it selfe could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summes of money out of *Asia* the lesse, *Egypt*, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his aduantage, possesse himselfe of a great part of the lesser *Asia*, at which time it was, as I take it, that *Crasus* himselfe was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soone after, the Armie lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his sisters sonne, preuailed against *Balthasar*, as in due time shall be set downe.

Those *Persians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him leui'd, are numbred thirtie thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were Archers, or such as used the Dart and the Sling. So farre *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the pattered of a most Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition: So it cannot be denied, but that the bulke and grosse of his Narration was founded vpon meer Histori-
cal truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like writer, that in euery speech and circumstance he hath precisely tied himselfe to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his owne inuention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom hee treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politique discourse, and examining but the Historie of things done, it will easily appeare that *Xenophon* hath handled his vnder-taken subiect in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, hee hath not in any sort corrupted the bodie.

§. IIII.

The estate of the *Medes* and *Persians* in times fore-going this great Warre.



Or it is commonly agreed vpon, that *Achamenes*, the sonne of *Perse* being Governour of *Persia*, did associate himselfe with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media* in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victorie obtained, held for him selfe the Dominion of those Countries which he had formerly ruled for the *Assyrians*; as also that they conueyed ouer the same honor and power to their posteritie; which in *Media* was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited, vntill such time as *Deiaces* tooke vpon him the full authoritie and maiestie of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the raigne of *Deiaces*, are vsually accounted about an hundred and fortie yeares, in the last sixtie whereof there reigned in *Assyria* mightie Princes, namely *Salmanassar* and his Successors, whose great achievements in *Syria* and else where witnesseth, that the *Medes* and *Persians* found it not for their aduantage to vnder-take any offensive warre against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet betweene these the successors of *Belshazzar*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now

Now from the beginning of *Decees* to the first of *Astyages*, there past aboute ninetie yeares, in which if *Herodotus* haue written truly, that *Pisartus* conquered *Perfus*, and how he and other the Kings of *Medes* by many victories greatly enlarged their dominions, and commaunded many parts of *Asia*, it had bene but an vnadvised enterprife of the *Affrians* and *Babylonians*, to haue waited themselves against the *Syrians* and *Aegyptians*, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing vpon the South parts of *Perfus*, and that the *Perfians* themselves were not masters of *Susiana* in *Nabuchodonosors* time, it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then Governour for the *Babylonian* in *Susa* or *Susan*, the chiefe Citie thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either vnder *Cyaxares* or *Astages*, or both, had quarrell with *Halyattes* the father of *Craesus*, which after some fix yeares dispute was compounded.

How the affaires of *Perfus* stood in so many ages, I doe not find any memorie. It seemeth that the roughness of the mountainous Countrey which they then possessed, with the confederacie which they continued with the *Medes*, gaue them more securitie than fame: For if their Kings, being the posteritie of *Achamenes*, had done any memorable acts; the greatness which they afterward obtained would not haue suffered any forgetfulness thereof. But as we find all *Xenophons* reports, both of these Warres and the state of those Countreies to be very consonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appeares, that the race of *Achamenes* held the Principalltie of *Perfus* from father to sonne for many descents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyses* the father of *Cyrus* was King of *Perfus*: than to those that make him a meane man, and say, that *Astages* gaue him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her sonne (whose naturallie he feared) might be disabled from any great vndertaking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cause of griefe could it be to *Astages*, that the sonne of his daughter should become Lord of the best part of *Asia*? No; it was more likely, that vpon such a Prophecie his loue to his grand-child should haue encreased, and his care bene the greater to haue married her to some Prince of strength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the same *Herodotus*, who is the first Author, and as I thinke the deuiser of the mischief intended against *Cyrus* by his grandfather, doth confesse, That the line of the *Achamenids* was so renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his prosperitie did thence deriue himselfe, and vaunt of it: which he would neuer haue done, had they bene ignoble, nor had they bene the vassals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this sort *Xerxes* in the seuenth of *Herodotus* deriueth himselfe.

Achamenes.
Cambyses.
Cyrus.
Telipems.
Ariaramnes.
Arfarnes.
Hystaspes.
Darius.
Xerxes.

Of the *Achamenids* there were two races: of the first was *Cyrus* the great, whose issue male sayled in his two sonnes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*. This royall familie is thus set downe by the learned *Reinnesius*.

Achemenes, the sonne of *Perfes*, first King of *Persia*.

Darius.

Cyrus, the first of that name, had *Cambyfes* and *Atossa*, who, married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artystena* and other daughters.

Cambyfes had

Cyrus the Great, *Cyrus* had

Cambyfes who succeeded him, and *Smerdis* slaine by his brother *Cambyfes*.

Of the second were those seven great Princes of *Persia*, who having overthrowne the usurped royaltie of the *Magi*, chose from among themselves *Darius* the sonne of *Systaphes* King.

This Kingdome of *Persia* was first knowne by the name of *Elam*, so called after *Elam* the sonne of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting *Elamites*; by *Elianus*, *Elymes*; by *Iosephus*, *Elymi*.

Suidas derives this Nation sometimes from *Assur*, sometime from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Magusai*; which *Magusai*, according to *Ensebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for those who were afterward called the *Magi* or Wise men. So doe the *Greekes*, among many other their sayings of them, affirme, That the *Persians* were aunciently written *Artai*, and that they called themselves *Cephenes*. But that they were *Elamites*, *Atoses* and the Prophets, *Esay*, *Jeremie*, *Ezechiel*, *Daniel*, and *Esdras* in many places confirme: Which also *S. Hierome* vpon *Jeremie* the five and twentieth, vpon *Daniel* the eight and twentieth, and in his Hebrew questions approveth, saying: *Elam à quo Elamites Principes Persidis*; *ELAM*, of whom were the *Elamites* Princes of *Persia*.

And that Citie which the Author of the second booke of the *Maschabees* calleth *Persepolis*, is by the Author of the first called *Elimais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the same which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vain, and to his great dishonour. And yet this Citie, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Persepolis*; for *Alexander*, at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of *Persia* to vs knowne, if wee follow the current of Authors interpreting the foureteenth chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who liued with *Amraphel* or *Nimias*, and ioyned with him in the warre against those *Arabians*, who was afterward extinguished by the forces of *Abraham*.

CHAP. III.

OF CYRVS.

§. I.

Of CYRVS his name and first actions.



Touching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* sayth, That the same was taken from a River which watereth *Persia*; this great Prince having *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the first of that name; *Hierodotus* otherwise; and that *Cyrus* significeth a father in the *Persian* Tongue, and therefore so intitled by the people.

It is true that for his Iustice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I thinke it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the Sunne, in the same Language. Howsoever it be, yet the Prophet *Ezay*, almost two hundred years before *Cyrus* was borne, gives him that name, Thus saith the Lord unto *CYRVS* his anointed &c.

Before the Conquest of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conquest of *Lydia*, and other Prouinces thereto subiect, together with the taking of *Cresus* himselfe, are not recounted by *Euſebius*, 30 *Cresus*, and others, but placed among his later achievements, whose opinion for this difference of time is founded vpon two reasons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in that last warre against *Cresus*: and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; and the glorious victorie which *Cyrus* had ouer *Babylon*, to the fift and fiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might haue bene vsed (and was by the *Greekes*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of hauing woon *Babylon* it selfe, which in due place I haue answered. The later seemes to haue reference to the second Warre which *Cyrus* made vpon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations neuer offered to reuolt. 40 Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleue with *Hierodotus*, whome the most of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterprise of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

§. II.

Of *CROESVS* the King of *Lydia*, who made warre vpon *CYRVS*.



Haue in the last Booke spoken somewhat of *Cresus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which gouerned *Lydia* in more 50 ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors knowne) was *Lydius*, the sonne of *Atys*: Which familie extinguished, the Kingdom was by an Oracle conferred vpon *Argon*, descended from *Heracles*, whereof there were two and twentie generations, *Candaules* being the last, who by shewing his faire wife naked to *Gyges* his fauorite, he was by the same *Gyges* (thereto

(thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day slaine. Which done, *Cyges* enioyed both the Queene and the Kingdome of *Lydia*, and left the same to *Atys* his sonne, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the *Cimerians* out of *Asia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Crasus*: Which five Kings, of a third race, enioyed that Kingdome an hundred and seuentie yeares. *Halyattes* the father of *Crasus* was an vndertaking Prince, and after he had continued a warre against *Cyxares* the *Medians*, a Prince verie powerfull, and maintained it six yeares, a peace was concluded vpon equal conditions betwene them.

Astyages, the sonne of *Cyxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himselfe greatly honoured by obtaining *Arjenis*, *Crasus* sister, whom he married.

But *Crasus* so farre enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territorie to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall strength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Aegyptian*, and the *Lydian*: onely *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had ioyned *Phoenicia*, *Palestina*, and *Aegypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no competitor during his owne life.

But *Crasus*, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrell of the *Babylonians*, he yet mastered *Aeolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Prouinces posselt by the *Greekes* in *Asia* the lesse, adioyning to *Lydia*; gaue law to the *Phrygians*, *Bitunians*, *Carians*, *Mysians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he also inforst the *Ephesians* to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their Citie with *Dianaes* girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreover, *Athenaus* out of *Berosus* (which also *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victorie which *Crasus* obtained against the *Sacians*, a Nation of the *Seythians*, in memorie whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacae*: All which hee performed in fouretene yeares.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and enuious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also, that his prosperous vndertakings might in the end grow perillous to himselfe, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom hee presented with marvellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he vndertooke him: from whom he receiued this riddle; *Craesus passing ouer the Riuer Halys, shall dissolue a great dominion*. For the diuell being doubtfull of the successe, payed him with marchandize of both sides like, and might be inuerted either way to the ruine of *Persia*, or of his owne *Lydia*.

§. III.

CRAESVS his Expedition against CYRVS.



Ereupon *Crasus* being resolved to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments vsed by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who desired him to fore-thinke, That he vrged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a people not couered with the soft silke of wormes, but with the hard skinnies of bealls; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; ouer whom if he became victorious he could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and subiected, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solide Councell, *Crasus* having prepared a powerfull armie, he led the same towards *Media*, but in his passage he was arrested at *Pterium*, a Citie of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he fought by all means to surpriue or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each

each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I do not finde: for out of doubt, *Cresus* as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and abilities; so was hee not vnder any in territorie and fame that then liued.

But as *Cratippus* of Mitylene answered *Pompey* when he complained against the Gods, because they fauoured a disturber and vsurper of the Commonweale against him who fought for the Romane libertie, That Kingdomes and Commonweales had their encrease and period from diuine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of *Cresus* prosperitie at hand, the leaues of his flourishing fortune readie to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not
10 *Admetis Heracles*, *Apollo*, had giuen date to the one, and a beginning of glorie to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of diuerse skirmishes, the *Persians* and *Lydians* beganne to ioyne in grosse troupes: supplies from both *Kings* thrust in vpon the falling off, and aduancement of either Nation: and as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darke vail of night had hidden each armie from the others view, *Cresus* doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speede possible retired, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first Citie and Regall Seat, without any pursuite made by *Cyrus* to retard
20 him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he dismissed the souldiors, and sent the troupes of his sundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to reassemble at the end of five moneths, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

§. IIII.

The Conquest of Lydia by *Cyrus*.

30 **C**YRUS in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his armie in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, as to be discovered. But hauing good intelligence of *Cresus* his proceeding, he so measured his Marches, as he presented not himselfe before *Sardis*, till such times as *Cresus* had disposed his armie to their Wintering garriisons: when being altogether vnlooked for, and vnfeared, he surrounded *Sardis* with his Armie: Wherein *Cresus* hauing no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinarie Gards, after foureteene dayes siege the same was entred by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Cresus* hauing now neither armes to fight, nor wings to flye, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himselfe into the heape and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had vndergone the common
40 fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a sonne of his, who had bene dumbe all his life (by extremitie of passion and feare enabled) cried out to the souldiors to spare *Cresus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoyled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembering the discourse which he had had with the Athenian Law-giuer, he thrice cryed out on his name, *Solon*, *Solon*, *Solon*: and being demanded what he meant by that inuocation, he first vied silence: but vrged againe, he told them, That he now found it true which *Solon* had long
50 since told him, That many men in the race and courses of their liues might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern him selfe for happy indeede, till his end.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembering the changes of fortune and his owne mortallitie, he commaunded his ministers of Iustice to withdraw
cast.

In communi
calamitate
suum quisque
habet fortunam
Cicero.

Memoriam me-
tus perimitur
mor vocis est in
citamentum
Cicero.

Solus. c. 7.

ante obitum diem
somo beatus.

Stemo qui in
bonis calamita-
tibus miseris
et meritis suis
draw

draw the fire with all diligence to saue *Cyrus*, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? Or what selfe reason had conducted him to inuade his territorie, and to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous and my vnprosperous destinie (the *Græcians* God flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inueters and conductors of *Cyrus* warre against *Cyrus*.

Cyrus being pierst with *Cresus* answer, and bewailing his estate, though victorious ouer it, did not onely spare his life, but entertained him euer after as a King and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercie indeed, *Qua non casum sed fortunam spectat*.

And herein is the recall difference discerned betwene that behavior which wee call *Beneuolentia*, & *gratiam Principis*: A theefe sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but vnjustly: A King that giueth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne euill.

The report made by *Xenophon* is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertaine *Cresus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* deliuiers, and is here alreadie set downe, that hee should haue bene burnt aliue. It may well bee, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroiicall Prince, thought an intent so cruell fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much misbecoming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neeressesse of alliance might withhold *Cyrus* (had he bene otherwise vicious) from so cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. Howeuer it was, the Morall part of the Storie hath giuen credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for currant, though the trust reposed in *Cresus* afterwards may seeme to argue, that *Cyrus* did not vse him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Herodotus* himselfe telleth vs, when *Cyrus* past with his armie ouer *Araxes* into *Seythia*, he left *Cresus* to accompanie and aduise his sonne *Cambyses*, Gouverneur of the Empire in his absence, with whom he liued all the time of *Cyrus*, and did afterward follow *Cambyses* into *Egypt*, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the world tooke end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydiens*; in *Balthasar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Cresus*.

§. V.

How *Cyrus* wonn *Babylon*.

After this *Lydian* warre ensued the great Conquest of *Babylon*, which gaue vnto *Cyrus* an Empire so large and mightie, that he was iustly reputed the greatest Monarch then liuing vpon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action tooke vp, it is vncertaine; onely it seemes, that tenne whole yeares did passe betwene his taking those two Cities of *Sardes* and *Babylon*, which neuertheless I doe not thinke to haue bene wholly occupied in prouision for the *Assyrian* warre, but rather to haue bene spent in settling the Estate which he had alreadie purchased. And herunto perhaps may be referred that which *Ctesias* hath in his fragments of a war made by *Cyrus* vpon the *Seythians*; though related as foregoing the victorie obtained against *Cresus*. He telleth vs, That *Cyrus* inuaded *Seythia*, and being victorious ouer that Nation, tooke *Amorges* their King prisoner: but being in a second battaile overthrowne by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparatha*, and therein taken, the one King was deliuered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought, that no small part of those troubles which arose in the

the lower *Asia*, grew soone after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Asia* the lesse, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Cresus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; against whom he employed *Pactius*, and then *Harpagus*, who first reduced the *Phoenicians* vnder their former obedience: and then the rest of the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia* the lesse, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Eolians*, and *Lyceans*, who resolutely (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt vpon *Babylon* it selfe it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing should be able to diuert him, or to rayle that siege, and make frustrate the worke vpon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care and strength vnto the taking of that Citie, which beside the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and surrounded with waters vnfordable, so plentifully victualled for many yeares, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and feare of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their besiegers.

The onely hope of the *Medes* and *Persians*, who despaired of carrying by assault a Citie so well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessaries; whereof though the Towne was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twentie yeares, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want on other would sooner appeare, and vanquish the resolution of that vnwarlike multitude. In expecting the success of this course, the besiegers were likely to endure much trouble, and all in vaine, if they did not keepe straight watch and strong garde vpon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured vnto their Commaunder: The consideration whereof ministred vnto the *Babylonians* matter of good pastime, when they saw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Towne to keepe them in, who hauing bene their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to ioyne with them, if occasion were offered, than to vse much diligence on the behalfe of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yesterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoke of seruitude. Whilst the besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitfull gladnesse; that is the ordinarie fore-runner of Iuddaïne calamitie; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inuentiue, deuised by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, to draw the same from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, hee stayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for hee had left certaine banks or heads vnto, betwene the maine riuer which surrounded the Citie, and his owne Trenches.

Now *Babylusur*, finding neither any want or weaknesse within, nor any possibilitie of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, publike Playes, and other Pastimes, and thereto inuited a thousand of his Princes or Nobilitie, besides his wives, courtizans, and others of that trade. This hee did either to let the besiegers know, that his provisions were sufficient, not onely for all needfull vses, but even for iollitie and excess: Or because he hoped that his enemies, vnder the burthen of many distresses were well neere broken, or in honour of his most reuerenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equall, but (vying *Daniels* words) he listed himselfe up against the Lord of Heauen: For he and his Princes, wiues and concubines, made carowing cuppes of the Vessels of God, in contempt of whom hee prayed his owne puppetts, made

30

made of Silver and Gold, of Brasse, of Iron, Wood, and Stone, *Quanta sui stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes ligneos & lapideos Deos laudare; How great a foolishness it was it* (sayth S. Hierome) *drinking in golden Cuppes, to praise Gods of Wood and Stone.* While Balthasar was in this fort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by diuine power wrote on the wall opposite vnto him certaine words which he vnderstood not: wherewith so great a feare and amazement seized him, as the ioynts of his loynes were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which passion when he had in some part recovered, he cryed out for his Chaldeans, Astrologians, and Southsayers, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdome to him that could reade and expound the writing; but it exceeded their art. In this disturbance and astonishment the Queene hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reuerence done vnto this speech: *There is a man in thy Kingdome in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and vnderstanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King Nabuchodonosor thy father, the King (I say) thy father made chiefe of the Incanters, Astrologians, Chaldeans, and Southsayers, because a more excellent spirit and knowledge and vnderstanding &c. were found in him, even in DANIEL &c. Now let DANIEL be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

Dan. 5. v. 67

Origen Theod. in Dan. 19th ad. 10.

This Queene, Iosephus takes for the grandmother, Origen and Theodoret for the mother of Balthasar; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that shee was not any of the Kings wiues, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dauncing and banquetting, came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction: and whereas Daniel was forgotten and neglected by others of younger yeares and times, this old Queene remembered well what he had done in the dayes of Nabuchodonosor, grandfather to this Balthasar, and kept in mind both his religion and diuine gifts.

When Daniel was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to reade and interpret those wordes miraculously written; to whom Daniel made answer in a farre different stile from that he vsed towards his grandfather: for the euill which he foretold Nabuchodonosor, he wished that the same might befall his enemies, but to this King (whose neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in these wordes, *Keep thy rewards to thy selfe, and giue thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing vnto the King, and shew him the interpretation:* Which before he had performed, he gaue him first the cause of Gods just judgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence; whereof the King and all his Wifemen were vtterly ignorant: Which being written at large in Daniel, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodnesse to his father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of Gods infinite power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding lifted himselfe vp against the same God, and presumed both to abuse those vessels, dedicated to holy vses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, prayd and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Brasse, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those wordes, from the Oracle of a true God deliuered, (to wit) *Mene Tekel, Vphraisin*, gaue the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his Kingdome, and finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods iustice, and found too light; and that his Empire was diuided and giuen to the Medes and Persians.

Dan. 5. v. 18, 19, 30.

The very euening or night of this day, wherein Balthasar feasted and perished, Cyrus either by his espiall, according to Xenophon, or inspired by God himselfe, whose enligne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no less filled with the vapours of wine, than their hearts were with the feare of Gods judgement, he caused all the bankes and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut downe

downe with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of *Euphrates* drie for the present, by whose channell running, his armie made their entrance, finding none to disturbe them. All the Towne lay buried (as the Poet sayth) in sleepe and wine: such as came in the *Persians* way were put to the sword, vntill they sated themselues by flight, as *Somedi*, who ranne away crying, and filling the streetes with an vncertaine tumult.

Such *Assyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthazar*, and betaken themselues to the partie of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected companie to the Kings Pallace; which hauing easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, slew both him and them without any mercie, who struggled in vaine to keepe those liues which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the prophetic of *Ieremie* fulfilled, and that of *Esay* two hundred yeres before this subuersion, who in his three & fortieth Chapter and elsewhere writeth this destruction so feelingly and liuely as if he had beene present both at the terrible slaughter committed, and had seene the great and vnfeared change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrowes and bewaylings of euerie furiuing soule thereunto subiect. His prophetic of this place he beginneth in these words: *Come downe and sit in the dust, O virgine daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And againe, *Sit still and get thee into darkenesse, O daughter of the Chaldeans, for thou shalt no more be called the Ladie of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God vsed *Nebuchodonosor* and the *Chaldeans*, to punish the idolatrie of the *Judaans*, yet *Esay* teacheth vs in this place, That he did not yet forget that the execution of his iudgements was mixt with a rigorous extremitie. For (sayth *Esay*) in the person of God, *I was wroth with my people, I haue polluted mine inheritance, and giuen them into thine hand: thou diddest shew them no mercie, but thou diddest lay thy very heauie yoke vpon the ancient. I will rise up against them, sayth the Lord of Hostes, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the soune and the nephew. And in the thirteenth, Euery one that is found shall be stricken through: and whosoever ioyneth himselfe, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in peeces before their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their mines ransacked.* So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victorie of *Cyrus*, or that receiued the report from others truly as it was, that could better leaue the fame to posteritie after it happened, than *Esay* hath done in manie places of his prophesies, which were written two hundred yeres before any thing attempted.

The greatnesse and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by diuers graue Authors set downe, might seeme altogether fabulous: for besides the reports of Saint *Hierome*, *Solinus*, and *Croesus*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politiques*, the second Chapter, receiued the report for true, That one part of the Citie knew not that the rest was taken three dayes after. Which is not impossible, if the testimonie of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who findes the compass thereof at three hundred and threecore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes fixe and fortie miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, as fixe chariots might passe in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesias* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threecore and fixe foot, garnished with an hundred and fiftie Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Booke of Geographie giues it a greater circuit, adding fixe and twentie furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the same at three hundred fourecore and fixe furlongs, which makes eight and fortie myle and one furlong: but findes the wall farre vnder that which *Diodor* reports: And so doth *Curtius* measure their thicknesse but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hundred cubites; which is also very much: euerie cubite containing a foot and halfe of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie he giues the same with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* findes a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, foure hundred and fourecore furlongs in circle; the thick-

Dddd

nesse

inadant bup
somno bmo
tam

Jer. cxi.
Isa. cxi.

cap. 47.

Isa. 14.

To wit, Babilon
moredich and
Balthazar.

Diod. l. 3.

ncile of the wall he measures at fittie cubites, and the height at two hundred of the same regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Brasse, with posts and hookes to hang them on of the same metall: and therefore did the Prophet *Ezay* rightly intitle *Babylon* The Princesse and glorie of Kingdomes.

Put when *Cyrus* had wooen her, he stript her out of her princely Robes, and made her a slave, diuiding not onely all her goodly houses, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his souldiors: but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bondslaves vpon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the raigne of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enioyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to haue lasted onely leuen yeares: in which time he made such Constitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings, that are desirous to establish a royall power in themselves and their posteritie.

p. V I.

The end of CYRVS.

He last warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diuersly written. *Herodotus* and *Iustine* deliuer, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the lesse *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queene: and that in an encounter betweene the *Persians* and these Northerne *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her Armie, and her Sonne *Spargapes*, that commaunded it: In reuenge whereof, this Queene making new leuiues of men of warre, and following the warre against *Cyrus*, in a second battaile beat the *Persian* armie, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his bodie, and cast the same into a bole of bloud, vying these wordes; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and satisfie thy selfe.*

It should hereby seeme, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their furie by some forcible inuasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares*, father to *Astyages*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the lesse, and held the same in a seruile subiection eight and twentie yeares.

This warre which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (sayth he) sixe yeares, and tooke end at the death of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I belecue with *Vigener*, that this *Scythian* warre was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the Conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliuer the successe of that warre otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (sayth *Vigener*) because *Strabo* in his eleuenth booke reciteth, That *Cyrus* surprised the *Sacians* by the same stratageme by which *Iustine* sayth he defeated the sonne of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, That the last warre which *Cyrus* made was against *Amorhaeus*, King of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*; whome though he ouercame, yet he then receiued the wound of his death, which he suffred three dayes after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of *Pasagardes*, which himselfe had built, and where his Epitaph was to bee read in his time; which is said to haue bene this: *O vir quicunque es & undecunque aduenis, neque enim te aduentum ignorauit: Ego sum CYRVS qui Persi imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terra quomemini legimus corpus mihi ne inuideas; O thou man, who soeuer thou art, or whence soeuer thou*

Vie. prim. part. Blio.

Cte. 1. 15. hist. part.

Strab. 1. 15.

thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldst come: I am CYRUS that founded the Persian Empire, doe not enue unto me this little care, with which my bodie is covered.

This Tombe was opened by Alexander, as Qu. Curtius reporteth, either vpon hope of treasure, supposed to haue beene buried with him, or vpon desire to honour his dead bodie with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an olde rotten Target, two Seythian Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie lay, Alexander caused to be covered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be set vpon it. These things well considered, as they giue credit to the reports of Xenophon and Zonaras, so they derogate much from Herodotus, who leaues his bodie in the hands of Tommyris.

And surely, had Cyrus lost the Armie of Persia in Seythia, it is not likely, that his sonne would so soone haue transported all his remaining forces into Egypt, so farr off from that quarter: the Seythian Nation then victorious, and bordering Media; neither had Cambyses beene able in such hast to haue undertaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather beleue Xenophon, saying, That Cyrus died aged and in peace: and that finding in himselfe, that hee could not long enioy the world, hee called vnto him his Nobilitie, with his two sonnes, Cambyses and Smerdis; or after Xenophon, Tanaxares; and after a long Oration, wherein he assured himselfe, and taught others, of the immortalitye of the Soule, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserting of euerie man in this life; he exhorted his sonnes by the strongest arguments he had to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things hee vitered, which make it probable, that hee receiued the knowledge of the true God from Daniel, when he gouerned Susa in Persia; and that Cyrus himselfe had read the prophesie of Esay, wherein he was expressely named, and by God (for the deliuerie of his people) praordained. Which act of deliuering the Iewes from their Captiuitie, and of restoring the holy Temple and Citie of Hierusalem, was in true consideration the noblest worke that euer Cyrus performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of Gods power, vnder for the chastising of many Nations, and the establishing of a Government in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, and a willing aduancer of his Kingdome vpon earth; which must last for euer, though heauen and earth shall perill.

§. VII.

Of CYRUS his Decree for building the Temple of God in Ierusalem.

40 Auing therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by sundry Historians, the glorie of all which was as a reward of this his seruice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meete at length to speake of the Decree made in the first of his Raigne, being perhaps the first that euer hee made, after his possession of the Babylonian Empire: That the captiue Iewes should returne againe into their owne Territorie, and re-build the House of God in Ierusalem, hauing now endured and finished the threescore and tenne yeares captiuitie, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, he gaue order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessarie and wanting. He also restored vnto them five thousand four hundred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold and Silver, whereof Nabuchodonosor, the grandfather of Balthazar, had formerly robbed the Temple.

1. E. d. 2.
2. E. d. 7.
Philin bre.

The number of the *Iewes*, which returned out of *Chaldea* vnder their leader *Zerobabel*, the sonne of *Salathiel*, and nephew to King *Iecanias*, and *Iesus* or *Iosua* the sonne of *Josadak*, were about fiftie thousand; where, as soone as they arrived, they built an Altar to the liuing God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their owne Law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

1. E. d. 3. §. E. d.
5. E. d. 4. 4. 5.
10. L. d. 11.

But no sooner did the *Iewes* begin to lay any one stone, than the *Samaritanes* and other idolatrous Nations adioyning gauell the impediment they could. So did the Gouernours of those Prouinces vnder *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort fauoured the *Iewes*, nor the labours and purposes they had in hand. And not onely those which were but Prouinciall Lieutenants and other officers of lesse place, but *Cambyses* himselfe; who hauing the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was buied otherwise, countermaunded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatsoever *Cambyses* did when himselfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: They may herein resolute themselves out of *Esdra's*, That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life &c. And therefore it istruce, that the *Iewes* themselves affirme, as it is written in the second of *Iohn*, That the Temple was fixe and fortie years in setting vp, hauing receiued so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

E. d. 1. c. 2. v. 16.

E. d. 1. v. 16.

E. d. 1. c. 4. v. 33.
E. d. 1. c. 4. v. 35.

And if wee seeke the naturall and politike causes which moued *Cambyses* to withstand his fathers decree, as well while he gouerned vnder him, as when himselfe became sole and soueraigne Monarch, we shall finde them in that Epistle remembered by *Esdra's*, written by *Belemus*, *Atthiridater*, and the rest, Presidents and Councillors in *Phenicia*, wherein they complain, that the *Iewes* were euermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their Citie being once built, they would then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

D. 2. 6.

E. d. 1. d. 2.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment was, that *Cambyses*, hauing it in his resolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Iewes* were defended of those Nations, because they issued thence vnder *Moses*, when they conquered *Iudea*; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne to their old vomit, and giue the same disturbance to *Cambyses* Conquest, which they did to *Senacherib*, *Nebuchadonosor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in *Ezekiel*, *Egypt was the confidence of the house of Israel*.

E. d. 1. c. 29.

But it is to be vnderstood, as *Codoman* and others haue obserued, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Councillors & Gouernors of *Phenicia* complained against the *Iewes*, did not preceed, but succeed *Darius Hystaspes*, as in the sixt and seuenth chapters of *Esdra's* it is made plaine: and also that those Gouernors (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and inclosing of the Citie, as by the reasons giuen in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer, it is euident.

Also in the sixt of *Ezra*, the foureteenth verse, the Kings are named in order as they gouerned, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: And they built and finished it (to wit, the Temple) by the appointment of the God of *Israel*, and by the commandment of *Cyrus* and *Darius*, and *Artaxerxas* King of *Persia*. Lastly, in the seuenteenth of *Ezra* it is written; Now after these things, in the raigne of *Artaxerxas* King of *Persia*: which was as much to say as after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Esdra's* is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of *Ierusalem*. Which action, though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by

by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his forme and manner of government, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldest sonne *Cambyfes*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaxares* his younger sonne to be *Satrape* or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusis*, and then died, after he had reigned (sayth *Hierodotus*) one and thirte yeares, or (according to *Iustine*) but thirte.

783 6.

§. VIII.

10
1 Of *CYRUS* his issue: and whether *ATOSSA* were his daughter, or (as some thinke) were the same with *QUEENE HESTER*.



CYRUS had issue two sonnes, *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Merce*, and *Artystona*: *Ctefias* addeth to these, *Amytis*. *Atossa* and *Merce* their brother *Cambyfes* married; *Artystona*, *Darius Hystaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyfes* being dead: who (as some Writers haue supposed) inflamed both her husband *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to inuade *Greece*, to be auenged of the whole Nation for the cruell intent that *Aman* (whom the old translation calleth a *Macadonian*) had against the *Iewes*, though the opinion of *Iosephus* be more probable, who findes *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be vnderstood, how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should haue beene *Efther*; whose Historie seemes rather to appertaine to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, or of *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to haue *Greece* brought vnder the yoke of *Persia*, was partly grounded vpon the honour which thereby shee thought her husband might obtaine, partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, *Corynthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women: Wherefore I cannot giue assent to the opinion of *Cadoman*, who vpon the neere sound of the two names, 30 *Atossa* and *Hadassa* (by the later of which *Efther* was also called) makes them to haue beene one person. For though it be true, that *Efther* concealing her parentage a while, might be taken for a great Ladie; yet *Cadoman*s inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare vnto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certaine it is, that *Efther* did at length discouer her Kindred and Nation; whereby if Historiours could not be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the Nobilitie, must needs haue vnderstood the truth: who neuertheless did so well know the parentage of *Atossa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of 40 *Cyrus*, her sonne *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdome before his elder brother, against whom also he could haue pretended a verie weakelie clayme. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IIII.

The estate of things from the death of CYRVS to
the Reigne of DARIVS.

§. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.

19



the successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metasthenes*, who hath numbred the Persian Kings and their times as followeth.

| | | | | |
|---|----|---|--------|----|
| <i>Darius Medus</i> , and <i>Cyrus</i> jointly | 2 | } | years. | 20 |
| <i>Cyrus</i> alone. | 22 | | | |
| <i>Priscus Artaxerxes</i> . | 20 | | | |
| <i>Darius Longimanus</i> . | 37 | | | |
| <i>Darius Nothus</i> . | 19 | | | |
| <i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> . | 55 | | | |
| <i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> . | 26 | | | |
| <i>Aster</i> , or <i>Afanes</i> . | 4 | | | |
| <i>Darius</i> the last, conquered by <i>Alexander</i> . | 6 | | | |

To which *Philostrophus*; which number of years added make in all a hundred nintie and one. But in this Catalogue *Metasthenes* hath left out *Cambyses* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Assuerus* for the immediate successor of *Cyrus*; in place (sayth *Melancthon*) of *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*: for *Metasthenes*, as *Melancthon* coniectureth, doth not account *Cambyses* in the Catalogue, because his raigne was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a second opinion, though ridiculous, of *Seder Olam*, who finds but foure Persian Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus* haue also a differing account from the *Greekes*; whom neuertheless *Eusebius* and most of the Latines follow. And so doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refused all the former Authors varying from that account: For in this sort doe the *Greekes* marshall the Persian Kings with the times of their raignes.

Cyrus, *Xerxes*,
fol. 135.

Melancthon
giues *Cyrus*
but 29.

Melancthon but 20

Melancthon but 40

Melancthon 16.

Melancthon 14.

| | | | | |
|--|----|---|--------|----|
| <i>Cyrus</i> in all. | 30 | } | years. | 40 |
| <i>Cambyses</i> , with the <i>Magi</i> . | 8 | | | |
| <i>Darius Hystaspes</i> . | 36 | | | |
| <i>Xerxes</i> . | 21 | | | |
| <i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> . | 40 | | | |
| <i>Darius Nothus</i> . | 19 | | | |
| <i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> . | 43 | | | |
| <i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> . | 23 | | | |
| <i>Afanes</i> . | 3 | | | |
| <i>Darius</i> the last. | 6 | | | |

Which numbers, put together, make in all two hundred and thirtie.

30

This account (as I haue said) the most Chronologers and the best learned approve. These Persian Princes being all warranted by the authoritie of the Scriptures, as *Pencer* in his historickall Animaduersions hath gathered the places; finding

first *Cyrus* in the second of *Chronicles*, chap. 36. vers. 22, 23. *Ezra* 1. chap. 1. vers. 1. and often elsewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyfes* in the 11th of *Daniel* who may indeede be well esteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and fo the marginnall Commentor vpon the *Genes* vnderstand that place; but, vnder correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he saith in the same note, that *Darius Histaspes* was an enemy to the people of God, and stood against them: his great fauour and liberalitie to the *Jewes* being elsewhere proved.

Thirdly, is *Darius Histaspes* found in *Ezra* the first, c. 4. v. 5. who in the sixth verse is also named *Assuerus*.

Fourthly, in the eleuenth of *Daniel* verse the second, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and described, and the great warre which hee should make against the *Greekes* by *Daniel* remembered.

Fiftly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verse seuen, who is also called *Artahastia*, c. 4. 1. bb. *Ezra* v. 7. and cap. 7. v. 7.

Sixtly, *Darius Natus*, *Ezra* cap. 4. vers. 24. & cap. 5. vers. 6. *Nehem.* cap. 12. vers. 22.

Seuenthly, *Artaxerxes Mucron* in *Neh.* c. 2. v. 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arjames*: for *Darius* the last he was of another Familie; the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who descended from *Xerxes* the sonne of *Atossa*, *Cyrus* his Daughter; and the issue male of *Cyrus* failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede. *Eusebius* with the *Latines*, following the *Greekes*, apply the beginnings and ends of euery *Persian* King with their Acts, to some certaine Olympiad; As the war of *Assyages* (*Cyrus* his maternall Grand-father) and *Alyattes* (*Cresus* his Father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of *Cyrus* raigne to the beginning of the five and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The inuasion of *Egypt* by *Cambyfes* to the third year of the threecore and third Olympiad, and so of the reit. Which reference with good agreement betwene severall formes of computation adde the more credit vnto both.

Again, this historically demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomically computation of *Ptolomie*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of November, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the four hundred and foure and twentieth year after *Nabonassar*. And the *Era* of *Nabonassar* beganne on the sixe and twentieth of Februarie: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Month of the first year of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether we follow the account of the Olympiads, as doe the *Greeke* Historians, or that of *Nabonassar* with *Ptolomie*, we shall finde euery memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

For *Ptolomie* reckons the time answerable to two hundred and foure and twentie *Iulian* yeares, and an hundred and fortie daies from *Nabonassar*; to the sixteenth of *Iulie* in the seventh year of *Cambyfes*.

The *Greekes*, and namely *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyfes* in the second or third year of the threecore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of *Cambyfes* seventh year in the first of the threecore and fourth Olympiad: which first of the threecore and fourth Olympiad runnes along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonassar*. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewise the twentieth of *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyfes*, is according to *Ptolomie* the two hundred and sixe and fortieth of *Nabonassar*, which (observing the differences of *Nabonassars* *Era* and the Olympiad, *viz.* eight and twentie yeares) it agrees with the third of the threecore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the *Greekes*. In this *Iosephus* agrees with the *Greeke* throughout, sauing that he ioyneeth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus*, in the destruction

of

of *Babylon*, which is true, and not contrarie to the *Greeke* computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, the disagreements and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the *Persian* Kings formerly rehearsed, doth giue the greater credit to this of the *Greekes*, which being constant in it selfe, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of CAMBYSES, and the conquering of *Egypt* by him.



We will therefore according to the truth giue the Empire of *Persia* to *Cambyses*, the sonne of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, lauing the desire to increase the greatnesse of his Empire: whereof hee was posselt in his Fathers time while *Cyrus* made warre in the North. *Ctesias* with others giue him a longer raigne than agreeth with the *Grecian* accompt before receiued.

In the fifth yeare of his soles raigne, and in the third yeare of the threeore and third Olympiad, according to *Diodor* and *Eusebius*, he inuaded *Egypt*, and hauing ouerthrowne the King thereof, *Psammetitus*, he not only caused him to bee slaine, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and *Ctesias* giue for cause of this Warre (being no other indeede than the Ambition of *Cambyses*) that when he sent to *Amasis* King of *Egypt*, to haue his daughter in marriage, *Amasis* presented him with *Nileti* the daughter of *Apries* his predecessour, which *Cambyses* did disdain.

How soeuer it were; true it is, that *Cambyses* gathered an Armie fit for such an enterprize, and caused the same to march. But before they entred *Egypt*, *Amasis* died and left *Psammetitus*, whom *Ctesias* calleth *Amprtau*, his succellour; who inuoyed *Egypt* after his father (according to the best copies of *Herodotus*) but fixe Moneths, though other Chronologers giue him fixe yeares.

But how long soeuer he held the Crowne, in one battaile he lost it, and was himselfe taken prisoner.

It is said that *Cambyses* following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that hee also trusted him with the gouernement of *Egypt*, and that vpon some reuolt, or the suspition thereof, hee caused him to bee slaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if wee may beleue *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Sonne called *Inarus*, who caused the *Egyptian* to reuolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxarxes*.

That *Psammetitus* was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyses*, I hold it very improbable if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated *Amasis* the King of *Egypt*, who died before his arriuall, that hee caused his body to bee drawne out of the graue, and after diuers indignities vsed, commanded the same to bee burnt, contrarie to the custome both of the *Egyptians* and *Persians*. For the *Egyptians* vsed to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugges, to the end the wormes might not deuoure them. The *Persians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feede it with Carrion.

*Neither did the Romans euer consume their dead to ashes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who caused his owne to be deuoured by that element, feazing the Law called *Nephelica*, or like for like, because *hanniball* had vntombed the carcase of *Cassius Marius* after his death.
Her. l. 3.
* lib. 7. c. 54.

B. III.

The rest of CAMBYSES his acts.



FTER this victorie obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyses* sent an Armie into *Cyprus*, and constrained *Enchelon* King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Iland of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyses* yet busied himselfe in *Egypt*, he so much detested the Idolatric of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselves, with the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to bee torne downe and defaced. That done, he directed a part of his Armie into *Lybia*, to over-torne the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the Devill in defence of his *Oratorie* raised such a tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Countrey is covered, as the *Perians* were there-with choked and over-whelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that disdaining to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his Armie, which himselfe meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first-sent troupe had tried, hee changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the Elements doe not obey them, according to that old *English* proverbe, *God saith the King, he saith the Tide*.

After his retorne from the attempt of *Ethiopia*, hee caused *Apis* the *Egyptian Bull*, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be slaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and bene executed as in service of him that only is, and liueth. But soone afterwards, when in a dreame it seemed vnto him that *Smerdis* did sit in the royall Throne of *Persia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) hee gaue it in charge to his favourite *Praxaspes*, to murder *Smerdis* his brother. And having married his owne sisters, contrarie to the *Persian* Lawes, hee committed a most causelesse and most detestable murder vpon the one of them, called *Asterce*, then by himselfe with child, because shee bewailed the death of her brother *Smerdis*. I finde it written of this *Cambyses*, That because his Predecessors obserued religiously the ordinances of their Empire, he assembled his Iudges and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the *Perians* that did permit the brother to marrie his owne sister: it being his owne intent so to doe.

The Iudges (who had alwaies either lawes or distinctions in store to satisfie Kings and times) made answer, that there was not any thing written allowing any such continuation, but they notwithstanding found it in their customes, that it was alwaies left to the will of the *Persian* Kings to doe what best pleased themselves; and so, as *Xenophon* termes it, *inueniunt occasionem*: That is as much to say, as the Iudges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings private satisfaction, hee caused *Sisamius* one of his Iudges, and perchance one of those which fauoured his incontinuous match, to be slaine a-lie for an vnjust iudgement giuen, and the same his hide to bee hung vp ouer the iudgement seate. After which bestowing the fathers Office on his sonne, hee would him to remember, that the same partialitie deserued the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which hee exercised against the sonne of his beloved *Praxaspes* was very strange and vngatefull. For when he desired to bee truly informed by him what the *Perians* thought of his conditions, *Praxaspes* answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men; only it was by many obserued that hee tooke more than vsuall delight in the tast of Wine. With which taxation inflamed, hee vsed this replication: And are the *Perians* double tongued, who also tell me that I haue in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? thou *Praxaspes* shalt then witnesse, whether in this report they haue done mee right: for if at the first thou I pierce thy sonnes heart with an arrow, then is it false that hath bene spoken; but if I misse the marke, I am then pleased that the same be accounted

true

without iudgment runne into bulesse and affaires with precipitation, like raging and ouer-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; because it is euer found that excellent Counsailes are euer had from excellent men.

Darius gaue the third iudgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, because euen among few diuturnitie of concord is seldome found, and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the discord of many Rulers hath infort the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, farre safer to obserue the Lawes of our Countre, by which Kingly gouernment hath bene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperiall gouernment by God established, and made prosperous. And to auoide partialitie, it was accorded, that the morning following these seuen Princes should mount on Horse-back, and on him the Kingdome should be conferred, whose horse after the Sunne-rising should first ney or bray. In the evening after this appointment was made, it is said that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his horse *Ochatus*, who in the Suburbs of the Citie when the election was resolu'd of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to couer a Mare, who as soone as he came into the same place was the first horse that brayed. Whereupon the other fixe Princes descended from their horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the seuen Princes, whereof *Darius* himselfe was one, that deliuered the Empire from the vsurpation of the *Mages*, hee diuided the whole into seuen gouernements; *Herodotus* saith into twentie *Satrapies*.

Counsailes

my Kingdome

674 b. 292.3.

Herod. 3. p. 100.

Darius had not

681 d.

CHAP. V.

Of *DARIUS* the Sonne of *HYSTASPES*.

§. I.

Of *DARIUS* his Linage.



DARIUS was descended of the ancient *Persian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achemenides*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall Successour. For in this sort *Herodotus* deriues him as before,

Cyrus the first, who had
Teispinus, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arfames, the father of
Hystaspes, the father of
Darius, surnamed *Celes*, the father of
Xerxes.

Herod.

Hystaspes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great in the warres against the *Scythians*, at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dreame of his owne, caused him

Her. 1. 1. 3.

* Her. 1. 1. 3.

Pag. 114.

Pag. 130.

Pag. 101. 102.

Pag. 180. 190.

Her. 1. 6. 180.

Pag. 180. 190.

Pag. 199.

Pag. 100. 104.

Chap. 123. 128.

Pag. 114. 114.

De Reg. Persar.

Fol. 32.

to be sent into *Persia*, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was deliuered, and made Gouvernour of the *Persian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyfes* into *Egypt*; he then ioynd with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the neying of his horse, or, as others affirme, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more assured to himselfe by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Nieces for his wiues.

Hystaspes, according to * *Herodotus*, had besides *Darius* these three sonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which *Darius* made in *Asia* the lesse, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atanes*, *Artaphernes*, and *Artabanus*, who dissuaded *Xerxes* from the second *Grecian* warre. *Hystaspes* had also a Daughter married to *Gobryas* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Armie of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius*, *Artazostre* his Cosen germaine.

Reinecius giues to *Hystaspes* five sonnes, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyfes*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Olanes*, and *Atanes*, with two daughters.

§. II.

OF *DARIUS* his gouernement, and suppressing the rebellion of *Babylon*.

DARIUS deuised equall lawes whereby all his subiects might be gouerned, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gaue access to all his subiects, and behaued himselfe so mildly to all men that many Nations desired and offered themselues to become his Vassalls: Only hee laid diuers payments and taxes on the people, which had not bene accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the valew of foureteene thousand five hundred and threescore talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The warre which *Cambyfes* made a farre off in *Egypt*, and the contention betwene the *Magi*, and the Princes of *Persia*, for the Empire, gaue heart to the *Babylonians* to recouer their libertie, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke, whereof *Darius* being aduertised, he prepared an Armie to recouer that Citie and State reuolted. But finding the same a difficult worke, he vled the seruice of *Zopirus*, who for the loue he bare *Darius*, did cut off his owne Eares and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to flie to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the crueltie of *Darius*: who, for hauing giuen him aduice to giue ouer the siege of their Citie, had in this sort dismembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gaue him that credit as they trusted him with the disposition and commandement of their greatest forces: which when *Zopirus* had obtained, after some small colourable ouerthrowes giuen to the *Persians* vpon sallies, hee deliuered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had lyen before it twentie Moneths.

§. III.

OF *DARIUS* his fauour to the *Iewes* in building the Temple.

IN the second yeare of *Darius*, hee gaue order that the building of the Temple at *Ierusalem* should goe on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his owne charge, and out of the reuenues of the Crowne. And whereas the Gouvernours of those Prouinces which are situate betwene *Euphrates*, and the *Phenician*, and midland Sea, (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captaines beyond the Riuer) had hindred the worke in *Cambyfes* his time, *Darius* gaue commandement that they should not thenceforth come neare vnto *Ierusalem*, to giue any impediment to the building, but that they should

should with-draw themselves, and get them farre off till all were finished and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *procul recedite ab illis; With-draw your selves farre from them; In our English, Be yee farre from thence, to wit, from the Citie, and Temple, now in building.*

Hee also made a decree, which concerned his owne Subjects, That whosoever should thence-forth hinder the setting vp of the Temple of God, that his house should be torne downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallowes made of the Timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh invocation to God, *That hath caused his name to dwell there, (to) destroy all Kings and People that put to their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Ierusalem, &c.* In foure yeares after which decree (the *Iewes* being really furnished with money and all things necessarie from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixt yeare of *Darius Hyssaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne.

§. II. III.

OF DARIUS his Scythian Warre.

20 **A**fter the recoverie of *Babylon* hee inuaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Darius* calleth *Lautinus*; and saith, that *Darius* vnder-tooke this warre against him, because hee refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to conuoy his Armie into *Scythia*, hee built a Bridge of small Vessells ouer the Riuer *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gaue the custodie of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the lesse) to the *Ionians* and *Eolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perswaded the *Asian* *Grecians* to breake downe the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the same was relisted by *Histias* Prince of *Milet*, a Citie of *Ionia*, which Nation being a *Colonic* of the *Greekes*, *Diodorus* calleth *T* traitors to their Countrie, because they ioyned themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaues, for as much as they would not runne away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as faire an occasion of libertie as could haue beene desired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entring the desert Countrie called *Besbarab*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any assistance to relieue them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chirm Tartars*, their posteritie, at this day, all horse-men, vling the Bow and Sword. They were not Ploough-men, but Grazier, driuing their Heads from one place to another as opportunity of pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vsed for Houses the Waggon wherein they carried their wiues and children. These Waggon they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, remouable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himselfe, called now the great *Chirm*, any other Citie than such an *Agora*, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himselfe, and wasted his prouision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither waies to direct him, victualls to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or liuing creatures, nor anything at all, which either hee himselfe might make vse of, or by destroying it might grieue his enemies; he beganne to perceiue his owne folly, and the danger into which it had brought him. Yet setting a good face vpon a badde game, he sent braue messagers to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make triall of his valour and fortune in plaine battaile, Or if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, then to yeeld by faire meanes, and become his Subject, giuing him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* vsed to demand as a signe that all was yeelded vnto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an Hieroglyphicall answer; sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and three Arrowes: which dumb thew

Eccc

Darius

Darius interpreting by his owne will, thought that hee did yeeld all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas* one of the seven Princes who had slaine the *Magi*, construed their meaning a-right, which was thus; O yee *Persians*, get yee wings like *Birds*, or dwe under the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for else yee shall not escape our arrows. And this interpretation was loone verified by the *Seythians* themselves, who assailed the *Persian* camp, draue the horse-men into the trenches, and vexing the Armie with continuall Alarums day and night, were so fearelesse of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his sight, they did not forbeare the pastime of courting a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of theirs *Darius* was so discouraged that he forsooke his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were sicke and weake behinde him, and so with all speede marched away towards the River *Ister*. Hee was pursued hardly by the *Seythians*, who mist him, yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* King should neuer more be able to doe them either good or harme. Which wordes had certainly bene proved true, had not *Hystian* the *Allesian* prevailed with his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Seythians* did likewise faile to meete, when they returned from *Ister* to seeke him out.

§. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Seythian Warre.



DARIUS having thus escaped out of *Seythia*, determined the inuasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which Warre hee employed *Alexabasis*, who mastered the *Pagmans*, and transplanted them, and possesse *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Bizantium*, and other places, being also soone after subiected, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Otanes*, the sonne of *Sisyambis* whom *Cambyses* had exoriated for false iudgement. So were the Cities of *Seythia* and *Carada* likewise taken in for the *Persian*, who having now reduced vnder his obsequence the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Soueraignetie over that Kingdome. *Amintas* doubting his owne strength, entertained the Embassadors with gentle wordes, and afterward inuited them to a solemne and magnificent feast, the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present, which being granted, the Embassadors who were well filled with wine, and presumed vpon their greatnesse, and many victories, beganne to vse such imbracings, and other lasciuious behaviour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings Sonne, great Grand-father to *Alexander* the Great, disdainig the *Persians* barbarous presumption, besought his father to with-draw himselfe from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadors, whom withall hee entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promising their speedie returne. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-fauoured yong-men to clothe themselves in the same garments, and to vse the same attires which the Ladies had worn at the feast, giuing them in charge, That when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long kniues, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soone after giuen by *Darius* for a seuerer reuenge of this murder. But *Alexander* somewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gaue his sister *Gyges* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principall Commander of *Darius* forces on that side, who perswading her husband how helpfull the Alliance of *Macedon* would proue for the inuasion of *Astia* intended, so prevailed, as *Alexander*

Her 15. 6. 4
* A maritimate
Citee of Thrace
to the South of
Constantinople,
a Cordagaie
vpon the char-
foules of
Thrace, street
ward to the
ch. 216. 217.

159

17

30

13

der escaped that tempest, which threatned to fall vpon him very suddenly; the warre of *Asia* the lesse, called *Ionick*, falling out at the same time.

§. VI.

The first occasion of the Warre which DARIUS made vpon Greece, with a rehearsal of the gouernement in Athens, whence the quarrell grew.

10 **N**OW the better to vnderstand the reason and motives of that great Warre, which followed soone after, betweene the *Persians* and *Grecians*, it is necessarie to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which Citie indured the hardest and worst brunt of *Darius* inuasion on that side the Sea with admirable successe. Neither doe I hold it any impertinencie, to be large in unfolding euery circumstance of so great a businesse, as gaue fire to those warres, which neuer could be thoroughly quenched, vntill in the ruine of this great *Persian* Monarchie, *Persopolis* the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the requelt of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the *Persians* had railed in *Athens*.

20 Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how *Athens*, and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently gouerned, the same being already set downe, though scatteringly, and in severall times, among other the Contemporarie occurrences of the Easterne Emperors, and the Kings of *Iudaea*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedemonians* they maintained still their ancient policie vnder Kings, though these also after some fiftene descents bridled by the *Ephori*.

30 *Codrus* King of the *Athenians* in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the safetie of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthis to succede him) they changed their former gouernement from Monarchicall to Princes for terme of life, of which *Medon* the sonne of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontida*; and of these there were twelue Generations besides *Medon*, to wit.

Agessus.

Archippus, in whose times the *Greekes* transported themselves into *Ionis*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourescore yeares, according to *Eusebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) find in the yeare after *Troy* fallen one hundred and fortie.

Therippus.

Phorbis.

Mezades.

40 *Diogenes*, in whose time *Icyergus* gaue lawes to the *Spartans*.

Phereclus.

Ariphron.

Thersippus, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was ouerthrowne by *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*.

Agonnestor.

Echylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon*.

50 *Alcemon*, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected Decennall Gouernours: the former Princes for life hauing continued in all three hundred and sixtene yeares. The first of those that gouerned fortie yeares, or the first *Archon*, was

Charops, then

Eisymedeis.

Elysius.
Hippomenes,
Leocrates,
Alxander.

Eretria, was the last *Archon* of the decennial *Gouvernors*, which forme continuing threefore and ten yeares, was then changed into *annual* Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of which *Theſeus* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: others finde *Leoftratus*; and then

Anthoſthenes,
Archimedes,
Altiades,
Damafias,
Draco,
Megacles.

Solon, and others, who are the leſſe to be regarded, by reason of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wiſedome, gave lawes to the *Athenians*, which were published according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth yeare of *Tarquinus Priſcus*, and were in after-ages deriued vnto the *Romans*, and by the *Demetrii* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Romane* lawes. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his owne daies violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed vnto the practise and maintenance of a popular government; the estate of *Athen* was very soone changed into a Monarchie by *Pisistratus* the sonne of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* two Citizens of noble Families were become the heads, tooke occasion by their contention and insolencie to raise a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in general. Having by this means obtained loue and credit, he wounded himselfe, and faining that by malice of his enemies he had like to haue bene slaine for his loue to the people Citizens, he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men seized the State-house, or Cittadell of *Athen*, hee made himselfe Lord of the Towne; *Hegesistratus* being then *Gouvernour*. But the Citizens who in euery change of government had sought to remove themselves further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could so ill brooke this vsurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driven for lack of helpe to flie the Towne, as soone as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* ioyning their forces attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyrannie founded vpon the dissention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soone after well reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his owne, he did (as is the vsuall practise of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Familie of the *Almeonides*, whereof *Megacles* was chiefe, became very powerfull, yet so that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Almeonides*, and especially *Megacles* being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so farre, that *Pisistratus* vpon the first discouerie of their intent, perceived no other remedie for his affaires than to with-draw himselfe to *Eretria*, where he remained eleven yeares. Which time being expired, hauing hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, hee againe recovered the principalltie of *Athen*; after which third obtaining his estate, hee gouerned *Athen* seuentene yeares, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirtie and three yeares, faith *Elian*, but as *Iustine* hath it foure and thirtie, accounting the time belike as well before

Paus. pag. 159.
Dionys. l. 3.
Paus. p. 169.
Pausan. 170.
Pag. 331.

Solon

Her. l. 12.
Eretria a Citie
of Euboea, by
others called
Oleane, by
Stephanus
Eretria.
Wals.
Heraclid. apud
Elian. pag. 261.
Jus. pag. 28.

CHAP. 5. 7. of the Historie of the World.

53

before as after his severall expulsiōs. *Herodotus* giues the Father and the Sonne fixe and thirtie yeares; *Aristotles* fixe and thirtie. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that hee died very old, leaving for his Succellours his two Sonnes *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who gouerned the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineall succellours of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and some three yeares before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with vnnaturall lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled

Her. l. 6.
Thucid. l. 6. c. 10.

- 10 *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that hee was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that scandall. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprize vpon his brother had more and deeper rootes than were apparent, first sought to discouer the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who because hee would not reueale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himselfe, enter into a strait amitie with *Aantides*, Tyrant of the Citie *Lampiscus*, whom hee knew to bee greatly fauoured by *Darius*, to whose Sonne *Hippocles* hee gaue one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three yeares after the death of his brother, doubting

Lampiscus a citie of *Asia* vpon the Hellespont.
Her. l. 5.
Thucid. l. 5. c. 10.

- 20 I know not what strong practise against himselfe, hee beganne to vse the Citizens with great seueritie, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himselfe had euer exercised during their vsurpations till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing least that this disease might rather increafe, than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred vp *Clisthenes* one of the noblest and best able of their Citie, to practise their deliuerie: who calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmanides*, together with an Armie of the *Lacedemonians*, ledde by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias*, as by composition hee gaue ouer his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence imbarcking himselfe tooke land at *Sigeum*, whence hee went to *Lampiscus* in *Mysia* gouerned by *Aantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. Hee was deposed of his estate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twentie yeares before the battle of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Aantides*, at other times with *Aristophernes* Lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the Metropolis of *Lydia*; perswading and practising the enterprize vpon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour vnder-tooke, twentie yeares after *Hippias* had resigned his estate.


* *Sigeum* a promontorie opposite to the Ile of *Tenedos*, which *Aristotles* calls *Armel*, calls the promontorium.

- Thus farre I haue digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceiue the better the causes and motiues of this warre: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to bee restored to *Athens* by the helpe of *Darius*, which made him sollicite and perswade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*, was one; but not the most

40 virgent.

b. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the warres ensuing betwene *Greece* and *Persia*.

- 15  Nother, and a strong motiue to this expedition, was the Ionick warre, breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* in *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, hauing enioyed their libertie about fife hundred yeares, euen from the Ionick migration, to the time of *Cresus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards, as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by

Eccc 3

Cyrus,

Cyrus, and left as hereditarie Scrutants to the Crowne of Persia.

But as it is the custome of all Nations halfe conquered (*witnesse Ireland*) to rebell againe vpon euery advantage and opportunitie: so did the *Ionians*, and other *Graecians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seeke by all meanes possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men readie to furre them into Rebellion, as had by the *Persian* beene giuen vnto them for brides, to hold them in subiection. Every one of those Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the gouernment of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Persian*, by whose only might they held the people in subiection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when, *Darius* being in great extremities, they vsed all meanes to deliuer him and his Armie (that otherwise had bene lost) out of the *Seythians* hand. Of this great peece of seruice *Histias* the Tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chiefe thanks, as hauing beene chiefe Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either perswaded by the *Seythians*, or carried away with their owne desires, were readie to haue abandoned him. But it came so to passe that *Darius* being more fearefull of the harme that *Histias* (being powerfull and craftie) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had already receiued at his hand, found meanes to carrie him a-long to *Susa*, where hee detaineyd him with all kinde v'sage of a friend, yet kept such good e'spiall vpon him, as an enemy, that hee could not start away. *Histias* had subtiltie enough to discover the Kings purpose, which ill agreed with his owne desires. For he thought it more pleasant, & more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, hauing a small Territorie, than to sit and fealt at the great Kings table, and heare the counsailes by which a large Empire was managed; being himselfe an idle beholder, and enioying with much restraint of libertie, none other pleasures than a priuate man might bestow vpon him selfe.

Wherefore he bethought him selfe of raising of some tumults in the lower Asia, to pacifie which if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfie the King with excuses, or deale as occasion should require. Resolving vpon this course, he sent very secret instructions to *Ariflagoras* his kinsman, whom he had left his Deputie at *Miletus*, aduising him to stirre vp some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Ariflagoras*, who hauing failed in an enterprise vpon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Persian* his Associate, stood in feare of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the Kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsaile: and the better to draw the whole Countrey of *Ionis* into the same course, which he determined to runne, hee abandoned his tyrannic, and did set *Miletus* at libertie. This plausible beginning wanne vnto him the hearts of the *Milefians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom some he tooke and sold as slaues to their citizens, others he chased away) caus'd the whole Nation to bee at his command. The *Persian* fleet, whereof hee lately had bene Admirall in the enterprise of *Naxos*, hee had surpris'd in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers, and Captaines, so that now he thought himselfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all Asia would shortly be vpon his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to peeces, vnlesse that he were able to raise an Armie that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were insufficient to performe. Therefore he tooke a journey to *Sparta*, where hauing assaid in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fiftie talents, to win to his partie *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedaemonians*: hee went from thence to *Athens*, and with better success be'lougnt the people to lend him their assistance. The *Athenian* Embassadors which had bene sent to the *Persian* Kings Lieutenants in the lower Asia, desiring them

them not to give countenance to *Stippas*, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answers, having found verie churlish entertainment. So that the evill which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Persians*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinitie with the *Ionians*, and the persuasions of *Aristagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twentie *Shippes* the *Athenians* furnished for this voyage; to which the *Eratrians* added five more, in regard of ancient kindnesse that had passed betwene the *Ionians* and them. With these and their owne forces joyned, the *Ionians* entred the River *Caistrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Ephesus*: by which advantage they surpris'd *Sardis* when no enemy was heard of or suspected; inso much, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of safetie, than by retreating himselfe into the Castle; which the *Gracians* could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the Citizens; and the Citie flaming.

The *Persians* at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market place, strengthened by the River *Pactolus*, which ranne through it, and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves, and charged their enemies; who well aduiling themselves, made all the hast they could toward the Sea side. But *Artaphernes* having gathered all the strength he could, pursued the *Gracians*, and found them nere *Ephesus*; where setting resolutely vpon them, he slaughtered a great part of their Armie; the rest saving themselves in *Ephesus*. In this fight *Eualcides*, Captaine of the *Eratrians*, perished: but his fame and memorie was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preferred. After this ouerthrow, the *Athenians*, which were sent to *Aristagoras* and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their teares, be perswaded to make any second triall of their fortunes, on that side the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noyse in the world, than the good success which the *Persians* had in one or two skirmishes, could raise. Wherefore the *Ionians* brauely proceeding, wooon a great part of *Caria*; and sending their Fleet into the *Hellespont*, got *Bizantium* and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately subdued by *Cambyses*, began hereupon to take heart; and entering into confederacie with the *Ionians*, who were able to give them aid by sea, rebelled against the *Persians*.

These newes comming to the eare of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreame hatred of the *Athenians*, vpon whome hee vowed to take sharpe reuenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not haue dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those, to whom their ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to prouoke him. This was the maine ground of the warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against *Athens*: To which, the sollicitation of *Stippas*, before remembred, gaue onely some forme and assistance: the businesse, when once it was thus fare on foot, being like enough to haue proceeded, though he had perished ere it were aduanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrell of *Darius* against many of the Ilanders, if not against the whole Nation of the *Greekes*; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour: the Ilanders moreover did helpe to furnish out a Nauie of three hundred and sixtie sayle against him. These prouocations did rather breed in him a desire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by surpris. In euery fight they were beaten by the *Persians*, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline, wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one sea-fight by the Ile of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the vpper hand; but they were *Phoenicians*, *Aegyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquished: neither was that victorie of any vse to them; the *Cyprians*, in whose aid they came, being

being vterly beaten by the *Persian* Armie at Land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the *Persians* likewise by open warre and faire force ouerthrowne the *Carians* in two battalies, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Townes vpon *Helleſpont*, with some *Æolian* and *Ionian* Cities: when *Aristagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, desirous to seat himselfe in *Amphiſolia*, a Colonie of the *Athenians*. But the *Ædionians*, on whose Territorie belike hee landed, ouerthrew him, and cut his troopes in pieces.

About the same time, *Hippias* the first mouer of this insurrection came downe into those quarters; who hauing vndertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whome his double-dealing was detected.

But this euasion preferred him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Persians*, and hastily beheaded, least the King should pardon him vpon remembrance of old good turnes; as it seemes that hee would haue done, by the buriall which he commaunded to be giuen to his dead bodie that was crucified, and by his heauie taking of his death.

Hippias had fought to put himselfe into *Miletus*; but the Citizens doubting his condition, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shift for themselves, without his helpe. The strength of their Citie by land, which had in old time withstood the *Lydian* Kings, and their good Fleet which promised vnto them the libertie of an open sea, emboldened them to trie the vttermoſt, when very few friends were left vpon that Continent to take their part. But their Nauie was broken, as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking them vpon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causelesse flight of those that should haue assisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it selfe being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens flaine, their wives and children made slaues, and their goods a bootie to the *Persians*, whome for fixe yeares space they had put to so much trouble.

§. VIII.

The Warre which *Darius* made vpon Greece, with the battaile of MARATHON, and *Darius* his death.

THis warre with good successe finished by the *Persians*, and some attempts made on *Europe* side with variable successe: *Darius* obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of *Greece* (though at first he pretended to make the warre but against the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, who jointly assisted the *Ionians* against him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his embassadours demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whome, some of them not so well resolved as the rest, submitted themselves; as the *Ægians* and others. Against these, the *Athenians* being inflamed (by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*) after diuers encounters forst them to giue pledges, and to relinquish the partie of the *Persians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedæmonians* in this warre, and caused his companion-King *Demantus* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, giue the more confident of victorie, by reason of these discords, alienations, and ciuile warres among the *Greekes*. He therefore gaue order to *Hippias* to prepare a Fleet of shippes fit to transport his Armie ouer the *Helleſpont*: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse. The charge in chief of his Armie he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the sonne of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twentie yeares before, and by *Ataphernes* his brother, Governour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coast of *Asia* the lesse. These Commanders hauing their Companies brought downe to the Sea-side, imbarked themselves in six hun-

Herod lib 6.
Whether this
Citie or
People were
of *Thracians*
in *Asyma*, or
of *Ægea*, be-
tween *Thessalia*
and *Macedonia*.
I do not know:
but those boi-
ders, & next
the enemy,
were more
likely to com-
pound than
the rest farre
off. There is
also a Citie
called *Ægion*,
not farre
from *Ægea*.
Liber 33. 33 etc

hundred Gallies and other Vessels; and first of all attempted the Islands called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way betwene *Asia* the lesse, and *Greece*. For (obtaining those places) the *Persians* had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces over the *Egean* Sea; but on the contrarie they might alwayes both relieve themselves in their passage, and shrowd themselves from all suddaine tempests and outrage.

To this end they first posselt themselves of *Samos*, secondly they attempted *Naxos*: Which Island, the inhabitants despairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was native: Which Island *Darius* did not onely forbear to sacke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice, to *Apollo* erected. And having recovered these and other Islands, the *Persians* directed their course for *Eretria* in *Euboea*: for that Citie (as already hath bene shewed) had assisted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Island the *Persians* tooke ground, and besieged *Eretria* verie straitly, and after sixe dayes assault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of *Euphabus* and *Phalagius*, they took it, sackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus farre the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayles. From *Euboea* the *Persians* past their Armie into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards *Athens*.

The *Athenians* finding the time arrived, wherein they were to dispute with their owne vertue against Fortune, and to call lots for their liberie, for their wives, their children, and their hives, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and withall sent away with speed to the *Lacedaemonians* for succour, employing in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who passing through *Arceadia*, encountered in the way a familiar Diuell, which he supposed to be *Pan*, who willed him to assure the *Athenians* of victorie, promising that some one of the Gods should be present at the battaile to assist them and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his returne seeing he could not bring with him any present succours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring newes from the Gods, and promise of assistance from Heaven, which no doubt (though the device was likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have bene more stirred up with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any just cause or solide reason. The *Athenians* being now left to themselves, with one thousand onely of the *Plataeans* (who having bene formerly defended by the *Athenians* against the *Thebans*, did in this extremitie witness their thankfulness and gratefull disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their advantage to defend the wals of *Athens*, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of tenne thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand of the *Plataeans*. In the end, and after great diversitie of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perswaded the triall by battaile, prevailed. The Armies being now in view, and within a myle of each other, the *Athenians* disposed themselves into three troupes: two wings or hornes, as they terme them, and the bodie of a battaile. The *Persians*, when they perceived so small a Troope advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather disposelt of their understanding, than posselt with the resolution whereof they made shew. So invincible and resistlesse the *Persians* esteemed their owne numbers to be, and that small troupe of their enemies then in view, rather to be despised than to be fought withall. But in conclusion, the victorie being doubtfully ballanced for a while, sometime the vertue of the *Greeks*, and sometimes the number of the *Persians* prevailing, the *Greeks* fighting for all that they had; the *Persians* for that they needed not, these great forces of *Darius* were disordered and put in rout; the *Athenians* following their victorie euen to the Sea-shore; where the *Persians*, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, saved themselves in their shippes.

The *Persian* Armie consisted of an hundred thousand foot and tenne thousand horse; of which there were slaine in the place sixe thousand three hundred, and of the *Gracians* an hundred fourescore and twelue. For howsoeuer it came to passe, either by strange visions, which were afterward called *Panisi terrores*, or by some other affright, it seemeth, that the invading Armie, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by *Herodotus* set downe, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Iustine* report, That two hundred thousand of the *Persian* Armie were slaine, the same hath no apparence nor possibilitie of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the persuader of the enterprise was slaine, sayth *Iustine* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tels vs, That he escaped and died most miserably in *Lemnos*.

Ad Ath.

The greatest honor of this victorie was cast vpon *Miltiades*, who both persuaded the triall by battaile, and behaued himselfe therein answerably to the counsaile which he gaue. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the *Gracians*, of marke and commaundement, that fell in the first encounter, were *Calimachus* and *Stesileus*. It is also said, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Persians* to their embarking, layd hands on one of their Gallies, to haue held it from putting off the shore, and hauing his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which being also deprived, he tooke hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first yeare of the threecore and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the Warre made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow-Romans: *Alexander* the sonne of *Amintas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phenippus* then Governour of *Athen*, according to *Plutarch*; or *Hybilides*, after *Halicarnassus*.

In vita Arist.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Persians* returned backe into the lesser *Asia*, *Miltiades* fought and obtained an imployment against the Islanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and passing ouer his Companies in threecore and tenne Gallies, after sixe and twentie dayes assault he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himselfe being made vnable, and his companies discouraged, he returned to *Athen*; where those vngratefull Citizens forgetting all his seruises past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battaile of *Marathon*, did by the persuation of *Xenippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who enuied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weak and wounded bodie being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which enuie of the better sort to each other, with their priuate Factions, assisted by the vnthankfull and witlesse people, brought them, not many yeares after, from a victorious and famous Nation to base subiection and slauerie. *Miltiades* left behind him one sonne called *Cymon*, begotten on *Hegisipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (sayth *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in vnderstanding, but exceeded them both in iustice and good gouernment.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recouer his honour, than sorrow for the losse receiued in *Greece*, gaue order for new leuiies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But the *Egyptians* reuolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength and reuenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the reuinuation of *Greece*. The dissension also among his sonnes; of whom, the yonger being borne after he was King, and by so great a mother as *Aioissa*, disdained to giue place to his elder brother, borne before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his consultations and enterprises, and ioyned him to the earth of his auncestors, about a yeare after the battaile of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned sixe and thirtie yeres. He left behind him five sonnes, namely *Artabanes*, borne before he obtained the kingdom, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Schermenes* gouernour of *Egypt*, *Masistes* and *Anabignes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of XERXES.

§. I.

The preparation of XERXES against Greece.



10 XERXES received from his father, as hereditarie, a double Warre; one to be made against the *Aegyptians*, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Gracians*; of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the success: ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this Warre, which was chiefly bent against the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Persia* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon* vnder *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Atossa*, perswaded by many arguments the *European* warre. But *Artabanus*, brother to the late *Darius*, and vncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrarie counsell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous success of the two late inuasions, which *Darius* had made contrarie to his counsell: The one in person vpon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants vpon the *Greekes*, in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Armie and his honour.

20 He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well aduised before he did too farre imbarke himselfe in this businesse. For whatsoeuer vndertaking hath deliberate and sound counsell for conductor, though the success doe not alwayes answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt than the variableness of her owne nature, which only the diuine Prouidence, and not any humane power, can contraine.

But so obdurate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred which he made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion and counsell) assisted the *Gracian* Expedition with all the power he had.

30 After the Warre of *Aegypt* was ended, foure yeares were consumed in describing and gathering an Armie for this inuasion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of fuentene hundred thousand foot, Her. 1. and eightie thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may beleuee *Hecadotus*: for of this multitude, *Tragus* findes the number lesse by seuen hundred thousand footmen.

40 The Commanders of the severall Nations werethe Princes of the bloud of *Persia*, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commandments of this nature giuen, some few people excepted, who had of their owne leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the sonne of *Gobryas* by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were joyned some others of *Xerxes* his nearest kindred, as Generals ouer all; sauing that the charge of tenne thousand select *Persians*, called the immortal Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died

or were slaine, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eightie thousand horsemen were led by the sonnes of *Darius*, who commanded the late Armie of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The Fleet of Gallies were two thousand two hundred and eight, furnished by the *Phenicians*, who had Commanders of their owne Nation, and by the *Cypriotes*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Aeolians*, and *Hellefontines*; who were trusted with the furnishing of their owne Vessells, though commanded by the Princes of *Persia*, as by *Ariabignes* the sonne of *Darius*, and others. The rest of the Vessells for transportation were three thousand. There were also certaine Gallies furnished by *Artemisia*, the daughter of *Zygdamas*, Princeesse of *Halicarnassus*, 10 and the Islands adioyning, which her selfe commanded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of *Ziden*, in which *Xerxes* himselfe was imbarcked.

§. II.

XERXES Armie entertained by *Pythius*: His cutting off Mount *Athos* from the Continent: his bridge of Boates over the *Hellepont*: and the discourse betwene him and *Artabanus* upon the view of his Armie.

20



When this world of an Armie was thoroughly furnished, he caused all the Nations of which it was compounded to make their *Rendez-vous* and repaire at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when hee had assembled to the number of seuentee hundred thousand foot, as he entred the bodie of *Cleoneas*, he was by one *Pythius* the *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flockes and Heards of Cattell gaue food to *Xerxes* and his whole Armie. The Feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of Siluer, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting seuen thousand of the *Persian Daries*, which make so many of our markes.

The King ourcome with the exceeding liberaltie of *Pythius*, did not only refuse his treasure offered, but commanded that seuen thousand *Daries* should be given him to make vp his foure Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soone after, when *Pythius* besought him to spare one of his five sonnes from his attendance into *Greece* (because himselfe was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his owne sonne) *Xerxes* most barbarously caused the young man, for whose his father sought exemption, to be sundered into two parts, commanding, that the one halfe of his carcase should be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the same (with the halfe Island or Headland, wherein it stood) to be an entire Island, sundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, besides the Mountaine and the *Chersonesus* or Neck of Land it selfe: a worke of more ostentation than of vse, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent hauing but twelue furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough onely for two Gallies to passe in front. The Cities so seuered from the maine, were *Dion*, *Olophysus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus*, and *Cleoneas*.

He also gaue order, that a Bridge vpon Boates should be made over the *Hellepont* 50 betweene *Abidus* and *Sestos*, the Sea there hauing a myle of breadth, wanting an eight part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torne asunder and disfigured: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to be slaine that were masters of the worke, and caused fixe hundred threecore and foureteene

fourteene Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge, which by the art and industrie of the *Phoenicians* was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into and from the *Euxine Sea*, as the same being well boorded and rayled, the whole Armie of feuentene hundred thousand foot, and fourescore thousand Horle, with all the Moyles and Carriages, past ouer it into *Europe* in seuen daies and seuen nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armes did *Cæsar* afterward vse. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Armie brought neere to the Sea side, *Xerxes* tooke a view of all his Troupes assembled in the *Plaines of Abidus*, being carried vp and seated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he had gloried in his owne happinesse, to behold and command so many Nations, and so powerfull an Armie and Fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moued with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeares there should not any one suruiue of that maruellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when he vttered to *Artabanus* his vncke, *Artabanus* spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeares by the King remembered, is, That the life it selfe which we enioy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few daies giuen vs in the world, there is no man among all these, nor elsewhere, that cuer found himselfe so accompanied with happinesse, but that he oftentimes pleased himselfe better with the desire and hope of death than of liuing: the incident calamities, diseases, and sorrowes whereto mankind is subiect, being so many and inuitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appeare vnto vs our-long; to auoid all which, there is neither refuge nor rest but in desired death alone.

With this melancholie discourse *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanus* not to ouer-cast those ioyes which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtful conceit, that *Artabanus* vicerly condemned the inuasion of *Greece*, against which he had formerly giuen many strong reasons, desired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of *Greece* could not be prosperous? Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good success? *Artabanus* notwithstanding that he assured himselfe of the Kings resolution to go on, and dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great purpose it selfe, yet he told the King, That there were two things which maruellously affrighted him, and which the King should finde, as he feared, to be most aduers; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of so great a Fleet: in so much, as if any tempest should arise, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receiue them, nor all the Haunts thereof afford them any safetie: and therefore when such shelter shall be wanting vnto them, he prayed him to vnderstand, that in such a case of extremitie men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the vn-satiate desire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to giue resistance, yet the want of meanes to feed such an Armie, and the Famine, which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered disfigure and consume it. By these Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to haue diuerted *Xerxes*, not daring perforce to vtter what indeed he most feared; to wit, the overthrow of the Armie it selfe both by Sea and Land, which soone after followed. These Cautions were exceeding weightie, if *Xerxes* his obstinacie had not misprised them. For to inuade by Sea vpon a perillous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor succoured by any partie, may better fit a Prince presuming on his fortune, than enriched with vnderstanding.

derstanding. Such was the enterprife of *Philip* the second vpon England in the year 1588, who had belike neuer heard of this Counsell of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point, it was very likely, that *Xerxes* his Armie, which could not haue lesse in it than two millions of Soules, besides his beasts for Seruice and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer famine, and vling *Machaules* words, *Mourir sans couste, die without a knife*. For it was impossible for *Greece*, being a ragged, strait, and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (besides what serued themselves) for twentie hundred thousand strangers, whom they neuer meant to entertaine but with the sharpened points of their weapons, destroying withall whatsoeuer they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may beleue *Hierodotus*, the Armie of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopyla*, consisted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand two hundred twentie men, besides Laundrelles, Harlots, and Horles, and was therefore likely to endure a speedie famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to prouide for all things; and that whosoever should enterprife any great matter, if he gaue the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconueniences, hee should neuer pursue the same farther than the dispute and consultation: which if his predecessors, the *Persian* Kings, had done, they had neuer growne to that greatnesse, or posselt so many Kingdomes and Nations as they now did, and therefore concluded, That great enterprises were neuer vndertaken without great perils. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any necessitie had enforced him to that warre. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he alreadie commaunded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperitie of the *Persians* endured, and that *Greece* was separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* Dominions (of whose resolution his father *Darius* had made a deere experience) the fruit of this warre was answerable to the plantation, and the successe and end agreeable to the weake counsell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his owne judgement not sufficient (for he gathered in marching on, all the strength of *Thrace* and *Alcedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the *Greekes* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whome he conducted. For it is wisely said of those vncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent sed pondus, & impedimenta potius sunt quam auxilium*; They are great in brute, but weak in force, and rather a luggage than an aid.

Besides, as it was impossible to marshall such a world of men in one Armie, so the diuers Nations, speaking diuers Languages, bred the same confusion among the *Persian* Commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to worke. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded tenne Armies of fiftie thousand chosen souldiers in each, and sent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furnished, he had either preuailed by the sword, or fort them to forsake their territorie, or brought them in obedience by necessitie and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while *Xerxes* resolved to cut downe the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a sea of men vpon them, he was deceived both in his owne hopes, and in their hearts whome he employed, and beaten by the *Greekes*, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himselfe, conducted by his feare, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Armie was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which wintered in *Thessalie*, and led by *Mardonius*, who perswaded the Enterprife, was in the Summer following vterly defeated, and himselfe slaine.

neighbours busied at home, whilst *Xerxes* at his leasure hauing subdued the rest, might after ward bring his whole power vpon them, who remaining destitute of succour would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further aduised, that the said fleet of three hundred ships should seile vpon the land then called *Cythera*, now *Crete*, which lying neere to the Coast of *Laconia*, might serue as a fit place of Rendez-vous vpon all occasions either of their owne defence or endamaging the enemy: whereby that auncient speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian* should be verified, that it were better for his Countie-men to haue that Ile drowned in the Sea than stand so inconveniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might haue taken had it been followed it is not easie to guess. But a contrarie opinion of *Achamenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* fleet had bin sorely vexed with a grieuous tempest, which continued three whole daies together, wherein were lost vpon the coast of *Magnesia* foure hundred ships of warre, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseene, that if any such calamitie should ouertake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to giue them succour: Therefore *Achamenes* perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleets for if (said he) after the losse of foure hundred shippes we shall send away other three hundred to seeke aduentures, then will the *Greekes* be strong enough by Sea to encounter the rest of the Naue, which holding altogether is inuincible. To this counsell *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land-armie and fleet should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilst both held one course and lay not farre asunder. But herein he was farre deceived; for about the same time that his armie had felt the valour of the *Greekes* by Land, his Naue likewise made a sorrowfull proofe of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecian* fleet lay at that time at *Artemisium* in the straits of *Euboea*, where the *Persians* thinking to incompass them, sent two hundred saile about the land to fall vpon them behinde, vnging a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas* in a case not vnlike, but with farre different successe. For that narrow channell of the Sea which diuideth *Euboea* from the maine was in the same sort held by a Naue of two hundred three score and eleuen saile against the huge *Persian Armada*, as the straits of *Thermopylae* had formerly bene maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was so circumvented as this Naue might haue been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred shippes that were sent about the land, and the cause of their voyage, was too well knowne in the *Persian* fleet, and soone enough disclosed to the *Greekes*, who setting saile by night met them with a counter-surprise, taking and sinking thirtie vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea, where being ouertaken with foule weather they were driuen vpon the rocks and all cast away. Contrariwise the Naue of the *Greekes* was increased by the arrival of fiftie three *Athenian* ships, and one *Leonian* which came to their partie in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side: so the feare of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred vp, the other to redeeme their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their vnfortunate policie, they resolved in plaine fight to repaire their honour, and casting themselves into the forme of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the *Greekes*, who readily did present them battell at *Artemisium*.


The fight indured from noone till night, and ended with equall losse to both parts. For though more of the *Persians* shippes were sunke and taken, yet the lesser losse fell altogether as heauy vpon the *Greekish* fleet, which being small could worke beare it. Herein onely the *Barbarians* may seeme to haue had the worse, that they forsooke the place of fight, leaving the wracke and spoiles to the enemy, who nevertheless were faine to abandon presently euen the passage which they had vndertaken to defend, both for that many of their ships were sorely crusht in the battaile, and especially because they had receiued aduertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae*. Before they waied anchors, *Themistocles* generall of the *Athenians* engraued vpon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they

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they should revolt vnto the Greeke or stand neutrall; which perswasion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the Persians.

§. IIII.

The attempt of XERXES vpon APOLLO's temple: and his taking of Athens.

- 10  Hen XERXES had passed the straites of *Thermopylae* he wasted the Country of the *Phocians* and the regions adioining: as for the inhabitants they chose rather to flie, and reserve themselves to a day of battaile, than to aduventure their liues into his hands, vpon hope of sauing their wealth by making proffer vnto him of their seruice. Part of his armie he sent to spoile the Temple of *Delphi*; which was exceeding rich by meanes of many offerings that had there been made by diuers Kings and great personages; Of all which riches it was thought that *XERXES* had a better Inuentorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell vpon the companies which arriued at the Temple to haue sacked it, and of two
- 20 Rocks that breaking from the mount *Parnassus* ouerwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure somewhat superfluous. Yet *Hecataeus*, who liued not long after, saith, That the broken Rocks remained euen to his memorie in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *XERXES* was impious; for seeing he beleued that *Apollo* was a God, he should not haue dared to entertaine a couetous desire of enriching himselfe by committing sacriledge vpon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licenc to chastise his impietie in such manner as is reported, was granted vnto the Diuell, by that Holie one, who saith, *Will a man spoile his Gods?* and elsewhere; *Haue any nation changed their Gods, which yet are no Gods? Go to the Iles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Kedar and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impietie of
- 30 *XERXES* was the more inexcusable, for that the *Persians* alledged the burning of *Cybeles* Temple by the *Athenians*, when they set fire on the Citie of *Sordis* in *Asia*, to be the ground and cause of the wast which they made in burnings of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprise against *Delphi*, this Vintor of holie and zealous reuenge falling off, discouered the face of couetousnesse so much the more ouglie, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by mere mischance.

The remainder of that which *XERXES* did may be exprest briefly thus. He came to Athens, which finding forsaken he tooke, & burnt the Cittadell and temple which was therein. The Cittadell indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo's* Oracle; that *Athens* should bee safe in woods; & 272 den walls, had fortified that place with boords and *Palisadoes*: too weak to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might haue yeilded it vpon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied vpon the propheticie; whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the wordes to the present neede, than fashioning the businesse to wordes.

Met. c. 3. v. 8.
Iren. c. 2. v. 9.
p. 10.

p. V.

How THEMISTOCLES the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight
at Salamis.

THe Athenians had, before the coming of Xerxes, removed their wives and children into *Trazene*, *Agina*, and *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses, and lands, as their freedome, and the common libertie of Greece. Neuerthelesse this great zeale, which the Athenians did shew for the generall good of their Countrie, was ill requited by the other Greekes, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they removed the wives and children out of their Citie. But when the Citie of *Athens* was taken, it was presently resolved vpon, that they should forsake the Ile of *Salamis*, and with-draw the fleet to *Issmus*: which neck of land they did purpose to fortifie against the *Persians*, and so to defend *Peloponnesus* by Land, and Sea, leaving the rest of Greece, as indefensible, to the furie of the enemie. So should the Ilands of *Salamis* and *Agina* have bene abandoned, and the Families of the Athenians (which were there bestowed as in places of securitie) have bene given over into mercilesse bondage. Against this resolution *Themistocles*, Admirall of the Athenian fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possitised with feare of loosing their owne, which they would not hazard, that no perswasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their distressed friends, and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enemie at *Salamis*; As first in private vnto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedemonian*, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the selfe same feare which made them forsake those coasts of Greece, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to disleuer the fleet, and euery one of the Confederates to with-draw himselfe to the defence of his owne Citie and estate; Then to the Councell of Warre which *Eurybiades* vpon this motion did call together (forbearing to obiekt what want of courage might worke in them hereafter) he shewed that the fight at *Issmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, hauing the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the straights; and that, besides the safe guard of *Agina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should by abiding, where they then were, sufficiently defend *Issmus*, which the Barbarians should not so much as once looke vpon, if the Greekes obtained victorie by Sea: which they could not so well hope for else-where, as in that present place which gaue them so good advantage. All this would not serue to retaine the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one, vnworthy of memorie, vpbraided *Themistocles* with the losse of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speake in the Councell, that had no Countrie of his owne to inhabit. A base and shamefull obiection it was, to lay as a reproch that losse, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharpe, as auailed more than all his former perswasions. Hee told them all plainly, That the Athenians wanted not a fairer Citie, than any Nation of Greece could boast of; hauing well-near two hundred good ships of Warre, the better part of the *Grecian* fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the world, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremitie had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a Towne in *Italie* belonging of old to the State of *Athens*, of which Towne he said an Oracle had foretold, That the Athenians in proesse of time should build it a-new, and there (quoth hee) will we plant our selues, leaving vnto you a sorrowfull remembrance of my words, and

and of your owne vnthankfulness. The *Peloponnesians* hearing thus much, beganne to enter into better consideration of the *Athenians*, whose affaires depended not, as they well perceiued, vpon so weake termes, that they should be driuen to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might inforce the rest to yeeld to them, and condescend euen to the vttermost of their owne demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they first embraced that Heroicall resolution of leauing their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessitie should inforce them so farre, for the preservation of their libertie; did imploy the most of their priuate wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Naue. By these means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamitie should befall them by land, as might not well be counterpoised by great aduantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a strong fleet would either procure victorie at home, or a secure passage to any other Countrey. The other States of *Greece* held it sufficient, if building a few new ships they did somewhat amend their Naue. Whereby it came to passe, that, had they bene vanquished, they could not haue expected any other fortune than either present death, or perpetuall slavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the *Athenians*, whose forces by Sea did equall all theirs together; the whole consisting of no more than three hundred and fourescore borthomes. Wherefore these *Peloponnesians* beginning to suspect their owne condition, which would haue stood vpon desperate points, if the fleet of *Athen* had forsaken them; were soone perswaded, by the greater feare of such a bad event, to forget the illur, which they had conceiued of the *Persians*: and laying a-side their insolent brauerie, they yeelded to that most profitable counsaile of abiding at *Salamis*.

¶ VI.

How the *Persians* consulted about giuing battaile: and how *Themistocles* by policie held the *Greekes* to their resolution; with the victorie at *Salamis* thereupon ensuing.

30

IN the meane season the *Persians* had entred into consultation, whether it were convenient to offer battaile to the *Greekes*, or no. Therewith the Capitaines giuing such aduise as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soone agreed vpon the fight: but *Artemisia* Queene of *Halicanus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this warre in person, was of contrarie opinion. Her counsaile was, that the King himselfe directly should march toward *Peloponnesus*, whereby it would come to passe that the *Greece* Naue, (vnable otherwise to continue long at *Salamis* for want of prouision) should presently be discouered, and euery one seeking to preserve his owne Citie and goods, they should, being diuided, proue vnable to resist him, who had wonne so farre vpon them when they held together. And as the profit will bee great in forbearing to giue battaile; so on the other side the danger will bee more (said shee) which we shall vnder-goe, than any neede requirith vs to aduenture vpon, and the losse, in case it fall vpon vs, greater than the profit of the victorie which we desire. For if we compell the enemies to flie, it is no more than they would haue done, wee sitting still: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put vs to the worst, the iourney to *Peloponnesus* is vtterly dashed, and many that now declare for vs, will soone reuolt vnto the *Greekes*. *Marcellinus*, whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the fleet, related vnto his Master the common consent of the other Capitaines, and withall this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with her aduise, yet resolu'd vpon following the more generall, but farre-worse counsaile of the rest; which would questionlesse haue bene the same which *Artemisia* gaue, had not feare and flatterie made all the Capitaines vtter that as out of their owne indgement, which they

they thought most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeede that *Xerxes* had entertained a vaine perswasion of much good, that his owne presence vpon the shore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he incamped vpon the Sea-side, pitching his owne Tent on the mount *Agileus* which is opposit vnto the Ile of *Salamis*, whence at ease hee might safely view all which might happen in that action, hauing Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behaviour of euery Capitaine. The neare approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countreimen showed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a *Persian* Armie marching a-pace thither, did now againe so terrifie and amaze the *Peloponnesians*, that no intreatie, nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meere madnesse to fight for a Countreie already lost, when they rather should endeavour to saue that which remained vnconquered; propounding chiefly to the multitudes what miserie would befall them, if loosing the victorie, they should be driuen into *Salamis*, there to bee shut vp, and besieged round in a poore desolate Iland.

Here vpon they resolu'd forth-with to set saile for *Isthmus*: which had presently beene done, if the wisdome of *Themistocles* had not preuented it. For he perceiuing what a violent feare had stop't vp their cares against all good counsaile, did practise another course, and forth-with labour to preuent the execution of this vnwholsome decree; not suffering the very houre of performance to find him busie in wrangling altercation. As soone as the Councell brake vp, hee dispatched secretly a trustie Gentleman to the *Persian* Capitaines, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Naue about the Iland, which incompassing the *Greekes* might preuent their escape; giuing them withall a false hope of his assistance. The *Persians* no sooner heard than beleue'd these good newes, well knowing that the victorie was their owne assured, if the *Athenian* fleet ioynd with them; which they might easily hope, considering what abilitie their Maister had to recompence for so doing, both the Capitaines with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their Citie, and Territories. By these meanes it fell out, that when the *Greekes* very early in the morning were about to weigh Anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all night, sending many of their ships about the Ile of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in reare, and landing many of their men in the Ile of *Psittalea*, which lieth ouer against *Salamis*, to saue such of their owne, and kill such of the *Grecian* partie, as by any misfortune should be cast vpon the shore. Thus did meere necessitie enforce the *Greekes* to vndertake the battaile in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victorie, stemming the formost of their enemies, and chaling the rest, who falling foule one vpon another, could neither conveniently fight nor fle. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkable. Sure it is that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome taske of writing downe many disasters that befell the *Persian* Fleet, which ill acquitted it selfe that day, doing no one peece of seruice worthie the presence of their King, or the registering of his Notaries. As for the *Greekes*, they might well seeme to haue wrought out that victorie with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Aegina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did flie towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-Armie of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Aegina* hauing possessed the straights did sinke or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly giue charge vpon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

¶ VII.

of things following after the battaile of Salamis : and of the flight of XERXES.



FTER this victorie, the *Greekes* intending, by way of scrutinye, to determine which of the Captaines had beitt merited of them, in all this great seruice; euery Captaine, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write downe his owne name, but in the second place, as beitt deservyng next vnto himselfe, almost euery Suffrage did concurre vpon *Themistocles*. Thus priuate affection yielded vnto vertue, as soone as her owne turne was serued. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamitie, beganne to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in such fashion, that they which were beitt acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart, through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the warre, began to cast a warerie vpon his Master, fearing least his counsaile should bee rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to aduventure his life in pursuit of the victorie, than to cast it away by vndergoing his Princes indignation; he aduised the King to leaue vnto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces he promised to reduce all *Greece* vnder the subiection of the *Persian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to sooth *Xerxes* with many faire wordes; telling him, that the cowardise of those *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metall, nothing better than slaues, who had so ill behaued themselves in the late Sea-seruice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies bene victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athenis* selfe, against which the Warre was principally intended. These wordes found very good acceptance in the Kings eare, who presently betooke himselfe to his iourney homewards, making the more hast, for that he vnderstood, how the *Greekes* had a purpose to faile to *Hellepont*, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greekes* had no such intent, but rather wished his hastie departure; knowing that he would leaue his Armie not so strong, as it should haue bene, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Euclides* giue counsaile that by no meanes they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, least necessitie should enforce the *Persians* to take courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, vnder pretence of friendship, send a false aduertisement to this timorous Prince, aduising him to conuay himselfe into *Asia* with all speede, before his bridge were dissolved; which counsaile *Xerxes* tooke very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torne in sunder by tempests, and he thereby driven to imbarke himselfe in some obscure vessell, it is not greatly materiall, though the *Greekes* did most willingly embrace the later of these reports. Howsoeuer it were, this flight of his did well ease the Countrey; that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locusts, had before ouerwhelmed it.

555

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a false aduertisement

¶ VIII.

The negotiations betwene *Mardonius* and the *Athenians*, as also betwene the *Albanians* and *Lacedemonians*, after the flight of *XERXES*.

50



ARDONIVS with his three hundred thousand had with-drawne himselfe into *Theffalie*, whence he sent *Alexander*, the sonne of *Amynas* King of *Macedon*, as Embassadour to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses recueed, and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne desires; allowing them to retaine their

their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that Warre.

The *Athenians* had now reentred their Citie, but not as yet brought back their wives and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be secure, till the Armie of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians*, vnderstanding what faire conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, lest hee should finde good and readie acceptance. Hereupon they like wise very speedily dispatched their Embassadours for *Athens*, who arriuing before the *Macedonian* had audience, vsed the best of their perswasion to retaine the *Athenians* firme. They alleged that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre against the rest of *Greece*, but had only threatned the subuersion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that Citie, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie of iniustice could not leave them. Wee know, said they, that yee haue indured great calamities, loosing the fruit of the grounds, and being driuen to forsake the Towne, the houses whereof bee ruined, and vsfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintaine as our owne, your wives and children amongst vs, as long as the warre shall continue, hoping that yee, who haue alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into slaueerie and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their wordes and oathes are of no assurance. It was needlesse to vse many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gaue answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadours; That whilst the Sunne continued his course they would be Enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which he might seeke to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustaine themselves, only desiring the *Lacedæmonians*, that with all speede they would cause their Armie to march, for as much as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessalie*, hauing once receiued such a peremptorie answer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readinesse to invade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing deceived. For hee, as soone as *Alexander* had returned their obinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith leade his Armie towards them, and their Citie: they hauing now the second time quitted it, and conueyed themselves into places of more securitie abroad in the Countrey, where they expected the arriual of their Confederates.

From *Athens* he sent his Agent vnto them with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would bee desirous to preserue them from fire, and to haue those which were already laid waste, reedified at the Kings charges; Or if this affection tooke no place with them, but that needs they would relie vpon their old Confederates, whose succours did very slowly aduance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might bee wonne with great rewards, to draw them to his purpose; all which projects if they should faile, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good meane to please his Master King *Xerxes*, who must thereby needes vnderstand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their owne Countrey. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him) *Cyrillus*, aduised the *Senate* to accept the conditions, and propound them to the people; all the *Senators*, and as many as abiding without the Counsaile-house heard what he had said, immediately set vpon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or money, that had moued him to vtter such a vile sentence. Yea the women of *Athens* in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsaile, and bad end, assembling together, did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution.

All

All this brauerie notwithstanding, when they perceived the slacknesse of the *Peloponnesians* in giuing them aide, they were faine to betake themselves to *Salamis* againe, the old place of their securitie. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardnesse in those whom it most concerned to assilt them, they sent very seuerer messagers to *Sparta*, complaining of their slacknesse, and threatening withall, to take such course as might stand best with their owne good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatorie answers, which euery day grew colder, when as the *Peloponnesian* Wall, builded athwart the *Isthmus*, was almost finished. But as the *Lacedaemonians* waxed careless and dull, so the *Athenians* hotly pressed them to a quicke resolution, giuing them plainly to vnderstand, that if they should hold on in those dilatorie courses, it would not be long ere the Citie of *Athens* tooke a new course; that should little please them. All this while the *Persian* fleet lay vpon the coast of *Asia*, not daring to draw nearer vnto *Greece*, as being now too weake at Sea. Likewise the *Greekish* Nauie contained it selfe within the Harbours vpon *Europe* side; both to doe seruice where neede should require at home; and withall to shunne the danger which might haue befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest had aduentured ouer farre. So mutuall feare preferred in quiet the Ilands lying in the midst of the *Aegean* Seas. But it was well and seasonably obserued by a Counsaillor of *Sparta*, that the wall vpon *Isthmus* would serue to little purpose for the defence of *Peloponnesus*, if once the *Athenians* gaue eare to *Marodonius*: considering that many dores would be opened into that Demie-Iland, as soone as the Enemie should by winning the friendship of *Athens*, become the Master of the Seas about it. The *Lacedaemonians* vpon this admonition, making better percell of their owne dangers, were very carefull to giue satisfaction to the *Athenian* Embassadors, who not brooking their delays, were vpon point of taking leaue, yea as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away five thousand *Spartans* in the euening, vnder conduct of *Pausanias*; they gaue audience the next day to the Embassadors, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesse; and deeply swearing that the Armie of *Sparta* was alreadie farre vpon the journey; and giuing them leaue to take vp other five thousand *Lacedaemonians*, out of the Region adjoining, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though disliking such want of grauie, in a matter so important, were neuertheless contented with the finall conclusion; and leuying the number appointed of *Lacedaemonian* Souldiers, made what hast they could to incamp in *Attica*. The other *Graecians* were nothing slack in sending forth Companies, whose neare approach caused *Marodonius* to forsake *Attica* as a rough Countrie, and therefore of much disadvantage to Horfe, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the Citie of *Athens*, beating downe the walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly escaped the furie of Warre.

§. IX.

The great battaile of *Platæa*.

10 **T** were too long a rehearsal to shew all that happened in many skirmishes betwene the *Greekes* and him, in the Countrie of *Boeotia*, which *Marodonius* had chosen to bee the seat of that Warre. Much time was spent before the quarrell was decided by trial of one maine battaile: for both parties did stand vpon their guard, each expecting when the other should assaile them.

The Armie of *Marodonius* contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of *Xerxes* his Armie; to whom were adjoynd the forces of *Thebes*, *Maedonie*, *Thessalie*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now siding with the *Persian*, furnished

furnished his Campe with fiftie thousand men. Against these the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leaued an Armie of one hundred and ten thousand, of which fortie thousand were waightly armed, the rest were only assistants to these fortie thousand, being armed more lightly, as rather to make excursions and give chase, than to sustain any strong charges.

These two Armies hauing eleuen daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable peece of seruice; *Mardonius*, whose victuals beganne to faile, resolu'd to beginne the fray. The *Greekes* were promised victorie by an Oracle, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plaine of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, making praiers vnto certaine Gods, Demi-Gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to finde the certaine place which the Oracle designed. For the plaine of *Ceres* was indeede in the Territorie of *Athens*; but there was also an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, neare vnto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorials of those Nymphs, and Demi-Gods, were in the same place, vpon Mount *Cithæron*, and the ground serued well for foot-men against horse; only the Land belonged vnto the *Platæans*, and not vnto the *Athenians*.

Whilst the *Greekes* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull Oracle, the *Platæans*, to make all cleare, did freely bestow their Land on that side the Towne vpon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Platæans* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to reedifie their Citie, which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* warres.

All things being readie for battaile; the *Lacedæmonian* Generall thought it most meete, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should entertaine the *Athenians* and other *Greekes* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and hauing beaten them often-times before. This being agreed vpon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* vnderstanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Medes* and *Persians* had felt haime proofe, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the brauest Souldiers of *Greece*) hee did also change the order of his battaile, and oppose himselfe to *Pausanias*. All the *Greekes* might well perceiue how the Enemie did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro: Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the *Greekes* at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselves, and none to the enemie, lie neare to that Fountaine which did serue all the Camp. Hauing therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Armie being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceiued their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceede out of mere cowardise) he charged them in reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valor, That the *Lacedæmonians* being ouer-taken by the Enemies horse, and ouerwhelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victorie were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slaine, and some of especiall markel lost, before any signe of good success appeared in the entrailes.

But as soone as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Countrie accounted fortunate; hee gaue the Signall of battaile: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did sit vpon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage receiued the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging vpon them without any feare of such notable resistance. Therest of the *Greek* Armie that was in march, being reuoked by *Pausanias*, came in a-pace to succour the *Lacedæmonians*: only that part of the Armie which

which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive vnto the place of the great
bataille, because the *Thebans*, and other *Greekes* confederated with the *Perſians*;
gave them check by the way. Neuertheleſſe, the *Spartans* with other their Af-
ſitants, did ſo well acquite themſelves, that the *Perſians* were vanquiſhed, and
Mardonius with many thouſands more ſlaine in the field; the reſt fledde into the
Campe, which they had fortified with wooden walls, and there deſcended
themſelves with ſuch courage as deſperate neceſſitie enforced them vnto, hold-
ing out the longer, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the
manner of aſſaulting Fortreſſes, and Walls. In the meane ſeaſon the *Athenians*,
10 hauing found ſtrong oppoſition of the *Thebans* and *Theſſalians*, did with much la-
bour and courage obtaine victorie, which hauing not long purſued, they came
to helpe the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found wearily toiled in aſſaulting the
Campe, with more valour than ſkill. Wherefore they themſelves vnder-tooke it,
and in ſhort ſpace forced a paſſage through the Wall, at which breach firſt, and
then on all ſides, the *Greekes* entred, with ſuch furie, and iuſt deſire of vengeance,
that of three hundred thouſand they are ſaid not to haue leſt three thouſand alive,
excepting thoſe who fled away with *Artabazus*, when the *Perſian* Armie firſt fell
to rout.

If the execution were ſo great, as is reported, an eſpeciall cauſe of it was
20 the fooliſh retreat, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were ſo,
that the place was well fortified, and the number of thoſe who caſt them-
ſelves into it, greater than of the Aſſailants, yet they being of ſeueral Nations
and Languages, and hauing loſt their Generall with other principall Com-
manders, it was vnpoſſible that they in ſuch a terror and aſtoniſhment
ſhould make good that peece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemie Coun-
trie, againſt an Armie of men, ſure more valiant than themſelves, and infla-
med with preſent victorie. Therefore the ſame wall which for a few houres
had preſerued their liues, by holding out the Enemie, did now impale them,
and leaue them to the ſlaughtering furie of vnpittifull Victors. *Artabazus*
30 fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Theſſalie*, and other Countries in his way,
That hee was ſent by *Mardonius* vpon ſome peece of ſeruiſe: For hee well
knew, that had they vnderſtood any thing of that great diſcomfiture, all places
would haue bene hoſtile vnto him, and fought with his ruine to purchaſe fauour
of the vanquiſhers. Therefore making ſo large marches, that many of his Soul-
diers being feeble were left behinde and loſt, hee came to *Byzantium*, whence
hee ſhipped his men ouer into *Aſia*. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious
expedition, vnder-taken by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greekes*, vpon hope of honour,
and great Conqueſt; though ſorting otherwiſe, accordingly as *Artabazus*
had fore-ſcene, and rather worke, for as much as it beganne the quarrell, which
40 neuer ended, before the ruine of the *Perſian* Empire was effected, by that
Nation of the *Greekes* deſpiſed and ſought to haue bene brought into ſlaue-
rie. Hereby it may ſeeme, that the wiſion appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God him-
ſelfe, who had formerly diſpoſed of thoſe thinges, ordaining the ſubver-
ſion of the *Perſian* Monarchie by the *Greekes*, who, thus prouoked, entred in-
to greater conſideration of their owne ſtrength, and the weakenefſe of their
Enemies.

d. X.

The battaile of Mycale, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.

THe same day on which the battaile was fought at *Plataeae*, there was an other battaile fought at *Mycale*, a Promontorie, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* fleet rode.

Leutychedes the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admiralls of the *Greeke* Naue, at the request of some Ilanders and *Ionians* slid saile into those parts, to deliuer the *Samians*, and procure the *Ionians* to reuolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himselfe at this time lay at *Sardis*, a Citie in *Lydia*, not farre from the Sea-side, hauing left threecore thousand under the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionis* and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Antayntes* and *Ithramitres*, Admiralls of the *Persian* fleet, vnderstood that the *Greekes* bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their ships a ground, fortifying with *Palissadoes* and otherwise, as much ground as did seeme needfull for the encamping of all their Land and Sea-forces. *Leutychedes* at his arriual, perceiuing that they meant to keepe within their strength, and resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his Gallie close aboard the shore, and called vpon the *Ionians* (who more for feare than good will were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greeke* tongue to remember libertie, and vse the faire occasion which they now had to recouer it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Euboea*; trusting that either these perswasions would preuaile; or if the *Persians* did happen to vnderstand them, that it would breede some ielousie in them, causing them to fight in feare of their owne Companions. It neede not seeme strange, that this very same stratageme, which little or nothing auailed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succcede. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficultie, to perswade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to reuolt; who now, in his declining estate, gatte a willing care to the sweet sound of libertie. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former brauerie, little regarded and lesse feared any treason, to be contriued by their Subiects, were now so warie, that from the *Samians*, which were amongst them, they tooke away their armes; the *Attic*ians, whom they did suspect, but would not seeme to mistrust, they placed farre from them, as it were for defence of the straight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Attic*ians did best of all others know those places. But these deuices little auailed them. For the *Samians* perceiuing that they were held as Traitors, tooke courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold vpon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the Camp; which example the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to haue found some that durst beginne. It is said that while the *Greekes* were yet in march towards the Enemies campe, a rumour suddenly ranne in the Armie that *Mardonius* was overthrowne in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was giuen out by the Capitaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of *Plataeae* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the euening of the same day.

The like report, of that great battaile, wherein *Paulus* & *Emilius* ouerthrew *Perses* the last King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in foure daies, as *Linie* with others doe record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kind. As that of the battaile by the Riuier *Sagra* in *Italie*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the battaile against the *Tarquinians* and the *Latines*, presently notified at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the victorie obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebell to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germanie*, had corrupted his Armie with gifts and promises,

promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himselfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the Citie of *Rome*, with feare of a dangerous Warre; it was suddainly reported that *Antonus* was slaine, and his Armie defeated.

Hercupon many did offer sacrifice to the Gods, and shew all manner of publique joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquirie was made, and the Author of these tidings could not bee found; the Emperour *Domitian* betooke himselfe to his journey against the Rebell; and being with his Armie in march, hee received advertisement by *Poste*, of the Victorie obtained, and the death of *Antonus*: whereupon remembering the rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the selfe same victorie, hee found that the report and victorie were borne vpon one day; though twentie thousand furlongs (which make about five and twentie hundred miles) asunder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example giues credit vnto many the like. And indeede it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgerie or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not bee found (as happens in dreames among many thousand yaine and trifolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit wee may finde, that God himselfe doth sometimes vse to terrifie those who presume vpon their owne strength, by these light meanes of tumultuous noyses; as hee raised the siege of *Samaria*, by causing a sound of Horres and Chariots, to affright the *Aramites*; and as hee threatened *Senacherib*, saying: *Behold, I will send a blasp upon him, and hee shall heere a noise, and returne to his owne Land*. Wherefore it may well haue beene true, that God was pleased by such a meane as this, to animate the *Greekes*, who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heauie hearts, being in great feare, lest their owne aduventure should by no meanes fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their Countie of *Greece*, which was readie to bee subdued by *Mardonius*, whilst they went wandring to seeke out enemies a-farre-off, vpon the coast of *Asia*. But the fame of the battaile fought at *Platae* being noised among them; every man desired that his owne valour in the present fight, might bee some helpe to worke out the full deliuerance of *Greece*. In this alacritie of spirit, they diuided themselves into two Battailions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies campe; the *Lacedemonians* conducted the other, by the Mountaines and straight passages, to winne the higher ground. The *Athenians* did first set vpon the Campe (ere the *Lacedemonians* could arrive on the other parte) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the *Palissadoes* and *Gabions*; and made themselves Masters of the place, slaying all that could not save themselves by flight. In this fight the *Sarmians* did good service, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milefians*, who vpon the like ielousie, were placed by the *Persians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the passages; did now (as if they had beene set of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except a very few, that fled through by-patches. The *Lacedemonians*, that day did little seruice, for the businesse was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke such Companies as retired in whole troupes; making them flee disperfed in very much disorder, whereby the *Milefians* were enabled to doe the greater execution vpon them. This was the last fight of that huge Armie-leauiued against *Greece*, which was now vtterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offensue Warre.

p. X I.

Of the barbarous qualitie of XERXES: with a transition from the
Persian affaires, to matters of Greece, which from
this time grew more worthe
of regard.



XERXES lay at *Sardis*, not farre from the place of this battaile; but little minde had hee to reuenge either this or other his great losses, being wholly giuen over to the loue of his Brothers Wife: with whom when hee could not preuaile by intreatie, nor would obtaine his desire by force, because hee respected much his Brother her husband, he thought it best to make a match betweene his owne Sonne *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that meanes to finde occasion of such familiaritie, as might worke out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chaſtite of the Mother did still reject him, or the beautie of her Daughter allure him; hee soone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vitious Prince, and as ill able to gouerne himselfe in peace, as to guide his Armie in Warre. This yong Ladie hauing once desired the King to giue her the Garment which hee then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife; caused the Queene thereby to perceiue her husbands conuerſation with her, which shee imputed not so much to the beautie of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon shee conceiued extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royall feast, wherein the custome was that the King should grant euery request, shee craued that the Wife of *Masistes*, her husbands Brother, the yong Ladies Mother, might bee giuen into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either haue reformed the abuse of such a custome, or haue deluded the importunate crueltie of his Wife, by threatening her selfe with the like, to whatsoeuer shee should inflict vpon the innocent Ladie, granted the request; and sending for his brother perswaded him to put away the Wife which hee had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seemes, that hee vnderstood how villainously that poore Ladie should bee intreated, whom hee knew to bee vertuous, and whom himselfe had loued. *Masistes* refused to put her away; alleging his owne loue, her deseruing, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to moue him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reuiled him; saying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which hee had, nor haue his Daughter whom hee had promised vnto him. *Masistes* was much grieved with these wordes, but much more, when returning home, hee found his Wife most barbarously mangled by the Queene *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Eares, and Tongue to bee cut off, and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast vnto Dogs. *Masistes* enraged with this vilanie, tooke his way with his children, and some Friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Prouince hee was Gouernour, intending to rebell and avenge himselfe. But *Xerxes* vnderstanding his purpose, caused an Armie to bee leauied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Companie to the sword. Such was the tyrannicall condition of the Persian Gouernement; and such are generally the effects of Luxurie, when it is ioyned with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his ouer-throwne, and lying vpon the ground, said, That hee doubted, whether, in regard of his vertue, hee should againe erect it, or, for the mischiefe done by him to Greece, should let it lie.

But

CHAP. 6. §. II. of the Historie of the World.

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But surely whatsoever his other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently mercelike.

Therefore we may firmly beleue, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great; vpon which the foundation of the *Persian* Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickednesse and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worse Princes, could not overthrow it, vntill it was broken by a vertue almost equall to that which did establish it. In warres against the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had bene, very good; but against the generall estate of *Greece*, neither hee, nor any of his posteritie, did ever make offensive warre, but receiued many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Myale* serued but as an introduction; teaching the *Greekes*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Persian* was no better Souldier at his owne dores, than in a forraigne Countrey: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better prooue as soone as the affaires of *Athen* were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the Historie of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Persia*, as also the estate of other Countreies, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Persian* estate continued in her greatnesse, many Ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, representing the Majestie of a great Empire.

But this greatnesse depended only vpon the riches and power that had formerly bene acquired, yielding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxurie, where-with both it, and all, or the most of Empires that euer were, haue bene enervated, made vnweldie, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry swords of poore and hardie Enemies. Hereby it came to passe, that *Xerxes* and his Successours were faine to defend their Crowns with money and base Policies; very seldom or neuer (vnlesse it were with great aduantage) daring to aduerture the triall of plaine battaille with that little Nation of *Greece*, which would soone haue ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private malice and jealousie urged euerie Citie to enuie the height of her Neighbours walls, and thereby diuerted the swords of the *Greekes* into their owne bowells, which after the departure of *Xerxes* beganne very well, and might better haue continued, to hew out the way of conquest on the side of *Asia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

§. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.



FTER that the Medes and Persians had received their last blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mysale*: *Leuctides*, who then commanded the *Gracian* Armie, leauing the pursuit of the warre to the *Athenians*, assisted by the revolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedemonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta*, and o-
 20 ther places, out of which they had beene leued. The *Athenians* in the meane while belieged *Sestos*, a Citie on the strait of the *Hellepont*, betweene which and *Abydus*, *Xerxes* had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not

long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greekes*, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the *Hellepont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and hauing left their wiues and children, since the inuasion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens*, in diuers Islands, and at *Troezen*, they now found them our, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken downe, and the walls of the Citie ouer-turned, yet they resolu'd first on their common defence, and to fortifie their Citie, before they cared to couer themselves, their wiues and children, with any priuate buildings: Whereof the *Lacedemonians* being aduertised, and misliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their owne Citie of *Sparta* was vnwall'd, as also because the *Athenians* were growne more powerfull by Sea, than either themselves, or any other State of *Greece*, they dispatched messengers to the *Athenians* to dissuade them; not acknowledging any priuate millike or jealousie, but pretending, that if the *Persians* should returne to inuade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better state to defend themselves than
 40 heretofore, the same would serue to receiue their enemies, and to be made a Seat for the Warre, as *Thebes* had lately beene. To this the *Athenians* promised to giue them satisfaction by their owne Embassadors very speedily. But being resolu'd to goe on with their workes by the aduise of *Themistocles*, they held the *Lacedemonians* in hope of the contrarie, till they had rayled their wals to that height, as they cared not for their millikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedamon*, giuing him for excuse, that he could not deliuer the *Athenians* resolutions, till the arriual of his fellow-Com-
 50 missioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedemonians* expectation being conuerted into jealousie (for by the arriual of diuers persons out of *Attica*, they were told for certaine, That the wals of *Athens* were speedily growne vp beyond expectation) *Themistocles* prayed them not to beleue reports and vaine rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trustie Citizens to *Athens*, from whose relation they might resolute themselves, and deter-
 mine

mine accordingly. Which request being granted, and Commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his owne, by whome hee aduised the *Athenians*, first to entertaine the *Lacedemonians* with some such discourse as might retaine them a few dayes, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himselfe and the other *Athenian* Embassadors, then at *Sparta*, had their libertie also to returne. Which done, and being also assured by his associates and *Aristides*, that *Athens* was alreadye defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedemonians* know, That it was true that the wals of *Athens* were now rayzed to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their Citie; praying the *Lacedemonians* to beleue, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for such, as right well vnderstood what appertained to a Commonweale and their owne safetie, without direction and aduise from any other: That they had in the warre of *Xerxes* abandoned their Citie, and committed themselves to the wooden wals of their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsels and courage, and not thereto taught or perswaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre against the *Persians* they found their owne judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or lesse fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Commonweale among the *Greekes*; And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Iudges of their owne affaires, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities confedered within *Greece* should be left open, or else that the wals of *Athens* should be finished and maintained.

The *Lacedemonians* finding the time vsuit for quarrell, dissembled their dislike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diuision, and so suffered the *Athenians* to depart, and receiued backe from them their owne Embassadors.

The wals of *Athens* finished, they also fortified the Port *Pyrene*, by which they might vnder couert imbarke themselves vpon all occasions.

BOOK II.

30 The beginning of the *Athenian* greatest, and prosperous warres made by that State vpon the *Persian*.

THe *Athenians* hauing settled things in good order at home, prepared thirtie Gallies for the pursuit of the warre against the *Persians*, to which the *Lacedemonians* added other twentie; and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they set sayle for *Cypres*, vnder the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian*; where after their landing hauing possessed themselves of many principall places, they imbarked the Armie againe, and tooke land in *Thrace*, recovering from the *Persians* by force the Citie *Byzantium*, now *Constantinople*: from whence *Pausanias*, behauiuing himselfe more like a Tyrant than a Capitaine, especially towards the *Ionians* lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called backe by the Councill of *Lacedemon*, and not onely accused of many insolent behauiours, but of intelligence with the *Medes*, and Treason against his Country. In his stead they imployed *Dares*, who either gaue the same cause of offence; or else the *Athenians*, who affected the first commandement in that warre, praised the souldiers to complaine; though indeed the wise and vertuous behavior of *Aristides*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare and incomparable sinceritie, had bene able to make a good Commandeur seeme ill in comparison of himselfe; and therefore was much more available in rendring those detected, whose vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the *Lacedemonians* being no lesse wearie of the warre, than the *Athenians* were eage to pursue it: the one obtained their ease and the other the execution and honor which they desired: for all the *Greekes* (those of *Peloponnesus* excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of

of their greatness in that present age, and of their ruine in the next succeeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to raise the confederated Cities, they appointed Receiuers and Treasurers, and began to leuie money, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of Greece, and for the recouering of those places on *Europe* side, in *Asia* the lesse, and the Islands, from the *Persians*. This tribute (the first that was euer payed by the *Greekes*) amounted to foure hundred and threescore Talents; which was rayed easily by the honest care of that iust man *Aristides*, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of *Aristides*, and other worthie Citizens, brought vnto the *Athenians* great commoditie; so the desire which they conceiued of encreasing their commoditie, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall loue, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their Citie to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these foure hundred and threescore Talents were rayed to six hundred, nor long after that, ere their couctous Tyrannic had conuicted their followers into slaues, and extorted from them yearly thirteene hundred Talents. The Isle of *Delos* was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these summes were layd vp; and where, at the generall assemblie, the Capitaines of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for forme sake called to consultation. But the *Athenians*, who were stronger by sea than all Greece besides, had lockt vp the common treasure in an Island, vnder their owne protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commaunder in this Warre was *Cimon*, the sonne of *Miltiades*, who first tooke *Ereos*, vpon the Riuer *Strimon*; then the Isle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they mastered the *Carisij*, and brought into seruitude the *Naxij*, contrarie to the forme of the confederacie: So did they other the inhabitants of Greece, if at any time they fayled of their contribution, or disobeyed their commandements; taking vpon them and vsurping a kind of soueraigne authoritie ouer the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, wearie of the warre in their owne persons, and giuen vp altogether to their ease, made choise rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in shippes; leauing the prouision of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weake in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Warres; the other greatly strengthened their Naue and their experiences, being alwayes armed and employed in honourable Services, at the cost of those, who hauing lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money, leui'd vpon these their confederates, employed so well by the *Athenians* at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded vpon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was giuen. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admirall scouring the *Asiaticke* Seas, tooke in the Citie of *Phaselis*, which hauing formerly pretended neutralitie, and refused to relieue, or any way assist the *Greekes*, were enforced to pay teyne Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearely contribution.

From thence he set saile for the Riuer *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Persian* Fleet rode, being of sixe hundred saile, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fiftie, and hauing a great Land-Arme, encamped vpon the shoare; all which forces hauing bene prouided for aduancing the Kings affaires in Greece, were vtterly defeated in one day, and two hundred shippes taken by the *Athenians*, the rest being broken to pieces, or sunke, ere euer they had swomme in the *Greekish* Seas. *Cimon* hauing in one day obtained two great victories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very soone presented with a third.

third. For fourescore sayle of *Phenicians* (who were the best of all Sea-men, vnder the *Persian* command) thinking to haue joyned themselves with the Fleet before destroyed, arriued vpon the same Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing lesse than what ensued. Vpon the first notice of their approach *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called *Itydra*, did so amaze them, that they only fought to runne themselves on ground; by which meane preserving few of their men, they lost all their shippes. These losses did so breake the courage of the *Persian*, that, omitting all hope of preuailling vpon *Greece*, he condiscended to whatsoeuer Articles it pleased the *Athenians* to propound, granting libertie vnto all the *Greekes* inhabiting *Asia*; and further couenanting, That none of his shippes of Warre should sayle to the Westward of the *Illes*, called *Cyanea* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the most honourable peace that euer the *Greekes* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glorie of the whole Nation, till such time as, vnder *Alexander*, they ouerthrew the Empire of *Persia*; in which Warre few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but serued altogether vnder the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The death of *XERXES* by the treason of *ARTABANUS*.

BEsiides these losses, which could not easily haue bene repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such, as gaue iust cause to the *Persian* of seeking peace vpon any termes not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the vncle of *Xerxes*, perceiuing, that the King his maister did easily take small occasions to shed the blood of such, as in kindred or place were neere vnto him, began to repose lesse hope of safetie in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soueraignetic, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his crueltie, and despised for his cowardise and misfortunes. Having conceiued this Treason, he found meanes to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himselfe had bene innocent) he accused *Darius* the sonne of *Xerxes*, and caused him to suffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickednesse he got the Kingdome, and held it seuen moneths; or whether intending the like euill to *Artaxerxes* the sonne of *Xerxes*, he was by him preuented and surprisid, it were hard to affirme any certaintie. But all Writers agree vpon this, That taken he was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreame torments, according to the sentence, whereof the truth is more auncient than the Verbe.

*Raro antecessorem scelussum
Deseruit pede perna clauda.*

Seldome the villaine, though much haile he make,
Lame footed Vengeance failes to ouer-take.

d. IIIL.

The banishment of THEMISTOCLES: His flight to ARTAXERXES
newly reigning in Persia; and his death.

ARTAXERXES being established in his Kingdome, and having so compounded with the *Athenians*, as the present necessitie of his affaires required, began to conceiue new hopes of better fortune against the *Greekes*, than he or his predecessors had euer hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Persians* were chased out of *Greece*, did so highly value their owne merites in that seruice, that they not onely thought it fit for themselves to become the Commanders ouer many Townes and Islands of the *Greekes*, but, euen within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Government than merely *Democratically*. Herein they were so insolent, that no integritie nor good desert was able to preferue the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than; by flattering the rascall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deedes to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatnesse vpon popularitie, yet now presuming vpon his good seruices done to the State, hee thought that with great reason they might graunt him the libertie to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearling the benefits which they had receiued from him, that they layed vpon him the punishment of *Ostracisme*, whereby he was banished for tenne yeares; as a man ouer-burthened some to the Common wealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedaemonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Paulanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* vnto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles* finding no place of securitie against the malice of two such mightie Cities, was driuen, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous remouings, to aduenture himselfe into *Persia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceiued of aduancing his affaires by the counsell and assistance of *Themistocles*, proved altogether fruitlesse. For when the *Athenians*, in fauour of *Marus* the *Lybian*, (who incited *Aegypt*, causing it to rebell against the *Persian*) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Armie in *Aegypt*, and scowring those Easterne Seas, to the great hinderance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can vnderstand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had giuen, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greekes*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceiued much vnlikeliness of good successe, in leading a great Armie of dastardly *Persians* against the warlike people of *Greece*; or else (as in fauor of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to seeke honour by the ruine of it: sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to vndertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict betwene thankfulness to his well-deseruing Prince, and naturall affection to his owne ill-deseruing people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

§. V.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the Persian, were shamefully beaten in Egypt.

Then was *Artaxerxes* driven to use the service of his owne Captaines in the *Egyptian* warre, wherein it appeared well, That a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred sayle strong was sent forth vnder *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintaine, the *Persian* being vtterly broken at Sea, and thereby vnable to relieue the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had beene concluded, which was likely to haue beene kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good prooue of the *Grecian* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any shippes of warre (without which the *Greekes* could receiue no harme from him) whereof if any one should be found sayling towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole estate; yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waiste of an enemy too sure ouer-matching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were
20 in doubt, left the league which in his owne worse fortunes hee had made with them, he would breake in theirs; and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands, as might vtterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their reuenues and power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profite; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilst they might, whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and be vnable to defend.

The Isle of *Cyprus* lying in the bottome of the straights betwene *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, is very fitly feared for any Prince or State, that being mightie at Sea, doth either seeke to enrich himselfe by trade with those Countries, or to infect one or
30 more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their Ambition which had already deuoured, in conceit, this Island, was on the sodaine well-nigh choaked with a greater morzell, to snatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might easily haue swallowed and digested. For *Inarus* King of the *Libyans*, confining *Egypt*, hauing found how greatly the Country was exhausted by the late warres, and how weakly defended by very slender *Persian* garrisons, conceived rightly, that if such small forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the sodaine of his owne *Gardes*, or leuie out of the Ordinarie *Garrisons*, were by him defeated; the naturalls of the Countrey, not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a reuolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soone breake faith with him who had no other title to that kingdom than a good sword. Further, he per-
40 swaded himselfe that the people, vnable to defend themselves against the *Persian* without his assistance; would easily be drawne to accept him (the author of their deliuerance) for king. Neither did this hope deceiue him. For hauing taken and cruelly slaine *Achamenes* the *Viceroy*; diuers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclaiming him king, shewed the most of their endeuour for prosecution of the warre. But hee considering his owne weakenesse, and that the meanes of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceiued wel, that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured; at what price soeuer he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the
50 great *Athenian* fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the souldiers therein embarked; he inuited the Commanders to share with him the kingdom of *Egypt* as a farre greater reward of their aduenture, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their estate. Whether hee or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would haue beene contented with an equall share, and

not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination vnnecessarie. Hee was possessed of the peoples loue, they were of most power. But the issue of those affaires was such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally. Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopefull successe: For they entred the Land as farre as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it selfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they layd such hard siege, that neither those forces of the *Persians*, which then were in *Egypt*, were strong enough to remoue them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well deniue what meanes to vie for the recouerie of that which was lost, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by setting the *Lacedaemonians* vpon *Atheni*, to enforce the *Athenians* to looke home-wards to their owne defence. This was the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure assistance of the *Greekes* one against the other; by stirring them vp with gold to the entertainment of priuate quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treasure; who, after great expence, finding that the *Lacedaemonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force against the *Athenians*, whome in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Armie in *Egypt*; he thought it his wisest way to employ the rest of his money and meane to their reliefe, who had now the space of sixe yeares defended his matters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of *Zopyrus*, who arriuing in *Egypt*, was first encountered by the resolute people; our whome he obtained a victorie, which made him master of the Countrey; whilst the *Athenians* lay busied about *Memphis* the great Citie. It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supplie, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: sure it is, that when *Megabazus*, hauing reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it selfe, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the *Persians*, or want of necessities made the *Athenians* inferior to themselves, he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so neere, as they were foor to fortifie themselves in the Isle of *Prosopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eightene moneths siege, turning away one part of the Riuer by diuers Trenches, assaulted the *Athenian* without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the sword, save a few that saved themselves by flight into *Lybia*; the same entertainment had fiftie other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred. For those *Athenians* hauing heard nothing that their Fleet and Armie was consumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesium*, and fell vnawares among the *Phenician* Gallies and the *Persian* Armie; so as the *Persians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrians* and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* sixe yeares warre in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanitie and indiscretion to vndertake many enterprises at once.

p. VI.

Of other Warres made by the *Athenians* for the most part with good successe, about the same time.

NOrwithstanding these ouerthrowes in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-warres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the *Lacedaemonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten neere vnto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, so they obtained two great victories soone after; the one ouer the *Peloponnesians*, neere vnto *Cecryphalia*; the other ouer the *Eginets*, neere vnto *Egina*; where they sunke and carried

Prosopites an Island between the Rivers of *Taly* and *Pharminus*, two of the outlets of *Nilus*, towards *Alexandria*.

Mendesium is an Island in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the outlet called *Isotus* and *Dioletis*. But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesium*, runneth into the Sea by the Citie *Pala*. *Prosopites*.

carried away threecore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the suddaine, and besieged *Agina*, from whence they could not be moued, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to diuert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight, with equall losse, the *Corinthians*, when they returned againe to set vp their *Trophies*, as Victors in the former battaile, were vnicely broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* Garrisons, and *Megarians*, to their great losse and dishonour.

Againe, as the *Athenians* were discomfited neare to *Tanagra* by the *Lacedaemonians*, who returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians*, (at which time the *Theban* horse-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought against them) so about threecore daies after, the *Athenians* entred *Baeia* vnder the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wanne *Phocia* on the gulfie *Oeteus*, and euened the walls of *Tanagra* to the ground. Finally, they inforced *Agina* to render vpon most base conditions as to beate downe the walls of their Citie, and to giue them hostages for Tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these victories they sackt and spoiled many places vpon the Sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedaemonians*, wanne vpon the *Corinthians*, and ouerthrew the *Sicionians* that came to their succour. These were the vndertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of those fixe yeares that a part of their forces made warre in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Thebaie*, perfwaded thereunto by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the King *Pharalus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They also landed in *Sicionis*, and had victorie ouer those that resisted, after which they made truce with the *Peloponnesians* for sixe yeares, and sent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ships, but they were againe allured by *Amorges* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Maritt and Wooddie parts of *Egypt* from the *Persians*, to whom they sent sixtie of their ships. The rest of their Armie failing in their enterprise of *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the land, incountred a fleet of the *Phoenicians* and *Cilicians*, ouer both which Nations they returned victorious into Greece: as also those returned safe which were sent into *Egypt*.

¶ V. VII.

OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANVS, that he was AHASHVEROSH
the husband of QUEENE HESTER.

40 **T**Hese *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the raigne of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable, whereof the length is by some restrained into twentie yeares, but the more and better Authors giue him fortie, some allow vnto him foure and fortie. He was a Prince of much humanitie, and noted for many examples of gentlenesse. His fauour was exceeding great to the *Iewes*, as appeareth by the Histories of *Esdra* and *Nehemiah*, which fell in his time.

To proue that this was the King who gaue countenance and aide to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needlesse traile; considering that all the late Diuines haue taken very much paine, to shew that those two Prophets were licenced by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appears in their writings.

This was likewise that King *Ahashuerus* who married *Hester*. Whereof if it be needfull to giue prooffe, it may suffice, That *Ahashuerus* liued in *Susa*, raigning from *India* to *Ethiopia*, and therefore must haue been a *Persian*; That hee liued in peace, as appears by the circumstances of the Historie, and vied the counsaile of the seuen

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Princes,

Princes, the authoritie of which Princes beganne vnder *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, wherfore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continuall Warres which exercised King *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, together with the certaintie of his marriages with sundrie wiues, from none of whom he was diuorced, but left his first wife *Mossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, aliue in great honour, thee being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King; doe manifestly proue that *Hester* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Iew*, That at the perswasion of *Mardocheus*, *Iosachim* the high Priest the sonne of *Iesua*, caused the feast of *Purim* to bee instituted in memorie of that deliuerance. Now the time of *Iosachim* was in the raigne of *Artaxerxes*, at the coming of *Esdra*, and *Nehemias*: *Iesua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The same continuance of warres, with other his furious and tragical loues, wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time as hee had free from warre, are enough to proue, that the storie of *Hester* pertained not vnto the time of *Xerxes*, who liued but one and twentie yeares, whereas the two & thirtieth of *Ahasuerus* or *Artaxastha* is expressed by *Nehemias*. Againe it is well knowne, that *Xerxes* in the seventh yeare of his raigne (wherein this marriage must haue bene celebrated) came not neare to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to proue that none of them could be *Ahasuerus*, it is enough to say, that *Mardocheus* hauing been carried from *Ierusalem* captiue, with *Ischonia*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to 20 haue liued vnto their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he liued in *Susa*, raigned from *India* to *Aethiopia*, liued in peace, was contemporarie with *Iosachim* the high Priest: and further hee had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that fiftieth yeare of his raigne; which good fortune might well giue occasion to such a Roiall feast as is described in the beginning of the booke of *Hester*. This is the summe of the arguments, brought to proue the age of *Hesters* storie by the learned and diligent *Krentzschmius*, who adds the authorities of *Iosephus*, affirming the same, and of *Philo*, giuing to *Mardocheus* eightene yeares more than *Isaac* the Patriarch liued, namely one hundred fourescore and eightene yeares in all, which 30 expire in the fife and thirtieth yeare of this *Artaxerxes*, if wee suppose him to haue bene carried away captiue, being a Boy of ten yeares old.

§. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponnesian Warre.

BVit is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the *Greekes*, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their ciuill warres, suffered the *Persians* for many ages to rest in peace: this *Egyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soone after this the *Lacedaemonians* vnderooke the warre called Sacred, recovered the Temple and Ile of *Delphos*, and deliuered both to the Inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the same, and gaue it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the meane while the banished *Boeotians* reentred their owne Land, and mastered two of their owne Townes posselt by the *Athenians*, which they soone recovered againe from them; but in their returne towards *Athens* the *Boeotians*, *Eubaeans*, and *Locreans*, (Nations opprest by the *Athenians*) set vpon them with such resolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all slaine or taken, whereby the *Boeotians* recovered their former libertie, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The flanders of *Eubaea* tooke such courage vpon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to conquer, he was aduerted that the *Megarians* (who first left the *Lacedaemonians*, and submitted themselves to *Athens*) being now wearie of their yoke, had slaine the *Athenian* Garrisons, and ioyned themselves with the *Cerinthians*, *Siegiomans*, and 50 *Epi-*

Epidaurians. These newes halted *Pericles* homeward with all possible speede; but ere he could recouer *Africa*, the *Peloponnesians*, led by *Plystanax*, the sonne of *Pausanias*, had invaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whose returne *Pericles* went on with his first intent and recovered *Enbez*. Finally, the *Athenians* beganne to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yeilded to deliver vp all the places which they held in the Countrie of *Peloponnesus*: and this truce was made for thirtie yeares. After fixe of these yeares were expired, the *Athenians* (fauouring the *Milesians* against the *Samians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulles, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the citizens were forc't to yeeld themselves vpon most lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliver vp all their ships, to breake downe their owne walls, to pay the charge of the warre, and to restore whatsoever had beene taken by themselves, or by their practise, from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponnesian Warre*, whereof I haue gathered this Briefe following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie yeares after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no Cite thereof, which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell: I hold it conuenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Countrie at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Athen* and *Sparta*, vpon which all the rest had most dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

§. I.

Vpon what termes the two principall Cities of *Greece*, *Athen* and *Sparta*, stood, at the beginning of the *Peloponnesian Warre*.



GREECE was neuer vnitd vnder the gouernement of any one Prince or Estate; vntill *Philip of Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Vnion and League against the *Persian*, whereof they were Captaines, than into any absolute subiection. For euery Estate held their owne, and were gouerned by Lawes farre different, and by their owne Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeeld obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Persian warre* (deemed the General quarrell of *Greece*) and tooke the profit and honor of the victorie, to their owne vse and increase of greatnesse. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did so farre enlarge their authoritie, that all *Greece* was by them brought vnder such obedience, as differed little from seruitude: very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with armes, and sometimes with gifts, preserve their libertie; of whom the *Lacedaemonians* and *Athenians* were chiefe: which two people deserued best the plague of tyrannie, hauing first giuen occasion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countrie by perpetual Warre. For vntill these two Cities of *Athen* and *Sparta* distracted

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all Greece, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gaue beginning to the *Peloponnesian* war (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not before the time that *Philip* had ouer-masted all, forasmuch as every conclusion of one warre afforded henceforth matter to some new distraction of the whole Countre) the warres, commenced betwene one Citie of Greece and an other, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controuersies were soone decided, either by the authoritie of the *Amphictiones*, who were the generall Councell of Greece; or by the power of the *Lacedemonians*, whose aide was commonly held as good as the assurance of victorie.

These *Lacedemonians* had liued about foure hundred yeares vnder one forme of Governement, when the *Peloponnesian* warre beganne. Their education was only to practise feates of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintaine him in such manner of life as they vsed. For brauerie they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinarie meales being in common Halls, where all sared alike. They vsed money of yron, whereof they could not be couetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they liued *Stoic*-like, saue that they vsed no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glorie of their valour. Hereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all Greece followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrarie to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they vsed mercenarie Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subiects, which were for the most part Ilanders, compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in forme of policie, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference betwene these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, suddaine in their conclusions, and as hasty in the execution; The *Lacedemonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of grauitie, but very resolute, and such as would in cold blood performe what the *Athenians* did vsually in flagrant. Whereby it came to passe that the *Lacedemonians* had all the Estates of Greece depending vpon them, as on men firme and assured, that sought honour and not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in straight subjection. But the Signorie of the *Athenians* was nothing large, vntill such time as the *Persian Xerxes* had invaded Greece, pretending only a quarrell to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiuing well, that the Towne of *Athens* could not be defended against his great Armie of seenteene hundred thousand men, besoued all their wealth vpon a Naue, and (assisted by the other *Greeks*) ouerthrew the fleet of *Xerxes*, whose Land-forces were soone after discomfited by them, and the *Greekes*, who all serued vnder conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mightie in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the *Greekish* Seas vnder their obedience; imposing vpon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of warre against the *Persian*; though indeede they imploied their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Ilands, and haue-Townes, of their owne Countre, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedemonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made farre from home. But afterwards perceiuing the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much ielousie, and were very apt to quarrell with them; but much more willing to breede contention betwene them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would haue oppressed the *Plataens*, when they of *Plataa* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aide, than this aduile, That they should seeke helpe at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought,

was thought, that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their Neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did only serue to encrease their honour and puillance.

p. II.

How Sparta and Athens entred into Warre.

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Everthelſſe many Eſtates of Greece were very ill affected to *Athens*, becauſe that Citie grew very inſolent vpon ſuddaine proſperities, and maintayning the weaker Townes againſt the ſtronger; in- croched apace vpon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Eſpecially the *Corinthians* were much intraged, becauſe the people of the Iland *Coreyra*, their Colonie which had rebelled againſt them, and gluen them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who deſired to increaſe their fleet by adioyning that of *Coreyra* vnto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that reuenge which elſe they would haue taken. Now howſoeuer it were ſo, that theſe dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly againſt the conditions of peace agreed vpon among the *Greekes*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* ſo vehement, that (though with much a-do) they concluded to redreſſe by warre the injuries done to their Allies.

Fiſt therefore leeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain offences committed againſt the Gods; whereto hauing for anſwere, That they themſelues ſhould expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*; they beganne to deale plainly, and required that the people of ſome Townes, oppreſſed by the Eſtate of *Athens*, ſhould be ſet at libertie; and that a decree made againſt thoſe of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, ſhould bee reuerſed. This laſt point they ſo earnestly preſſed, that if they might obtaine it they promiſed to aſſiſt from their purpoſe of making Warre.

This they deſired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a triſle) but only that by ſeeming to haue obtained ſome what, they might preſerue their reputation without entring into a warre, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to vnder-goe.

But the *Athenians* would yeld to nothing; for it was their whole deſire that all Greece ſhould take notice, how farre they were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both ſides very ſtrongly, all that was needfull to the Warre; wherein the *Lacedemonians* were Superiour, both in number and qualitie, being aſſiſted by moſt of the Cities in Greece; and hauing the generall fauour, as men that pretended to ſet at libertie ſuch as were oppreſſed: but the *Athenians* did as farre exceede them in all poiſſions, of Money, Shipping, Engines, and abſolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held; and afterward found of greater vſe in ſuch neede, than the willing readineſſe of friends, who ſoone grow wearie, and are not eaſily aſſembled.

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§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.

THe first and second yeares expedition was very grieuous to the Citie of *Athen.* For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe; the Countrie people driuen to flie, with their Wiues, Children, and Cattel, into the Towne, whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citie, such as before they had neither felt, nor heard of. Hecunto was added the reuolt of the *Mylenians*, in the Ile of *Lesbos*, and the siege of *Plata* 10 their confederated Citie, which they durst not aduenture to raise, besides some small ouerthrowes receiued. The *Lacedamonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrie of *Attica*, and therein abide, vntill victuals beganne to faile, wasting and destroying all things round about: The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies; but vsed to send a fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which waited as fast all the Sea-coast of their Enemies, whilst they were making warre in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wanne the Towne of *Plata*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mightie by Sea, did subdue *Mylene* 20 which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that Warre, the *Lacedamonians* beganne to perceiue how vnfit they were to deale with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to such harme as they themselues might, and did receiue. Their Confederates beganne to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiuing well that *Athen* was plentifully relieued with all necessities, which came by Sea from the Lands that were subiect vnto that estate; and therefore these inuaders tooke small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mightie Citie, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territorie was the whilst afflicted. 30 Wherefore they beganne to set their care to build a strong Naue, wherein they had little good successe, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skillfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessells of theirs durst vndertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IIII.

Of the great losse which the Spartans receiued at *Pylus*.

AMong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea; they receiued 40 at *Pylus* a very fore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Coreyra*, waiting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrarie windes detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontorie, ioyning to the maine, by a straight necke of Land. Before it there lies a small barren land of lesse than two miles compasse, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head-Land and Ile. This Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in halt they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplied by the naturall strength and site of the place. By holding this peece of ground, 50 and haue, they in reason expected many aduantages against their enemies. For the Countrie adioyning was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient time had held very strong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in straight subiection, yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that by

by the near neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not bee re-
 ued. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedemonians*, and
 as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repaire to *Pylus*,
 and from thence make daily excursions into *Laconia*, which was not farre off: Or if
 other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haven, lying almost in the mid-
 way betwene them and *Coreyra*, make them able to sur-round all *Peloponnesus*, and
 wait it at their pleasure. The newes of these doings at *Pylus*, drew the *Peloponnesians*
 thither in all hast out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few daies before with their
 whole Armie: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Na-
 10 uie, to recover this peece, which how bad a neighbour it might proue in time, they
 well foresaw, little fearing the grievous losse at hand, which they there in few daies
 received. For when they in vaine made a generall assault on all sides, both by Sea
 and Land; finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute
 in the defence: they occupied the haven, placing four hundred and twentie choice
 men all of them, Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end
 whereof is a channell, that leads into the Port; but so narrow, that only two ships
 in front could enter betwene the Ille and *Pylus*; likewise but seven or eight ships
 could enter at once by the further channell, betwene the Iland and the Main. Ha-
 ving thus taken order to shut vp this new Towne by Sea, they sent part of their fleet
 to fetch wood, and other stufte, wherewith to fortifie round about, and block vp
 20 the peece on all sides. But in the meane season, the *Athenian* fleet, hearing of their
 danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entering the
 haven, did breake and sinke manie of their Enemies vessells; tooke sice, and infor-
 ced the residue to runne themselves a ground.

Now was the Towne secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as lost.
 Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the camp (as was their custome
 in great dangers) to advise what were best for the publike safetie; who when they
 did perceiue that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Ille then
 by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* a-
 bout peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at *Pylus*. The con-
 30 ditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedemonians* should deliver vp all the ships
 which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the Towne,
 nor the *Athenians* against the camp: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and
 Fleish, should bee daily carried into the Ille, but that no ships should passe into the
 Iland secretly: That the *Athenians* should carrie the *Lacedemonian* Embassadors to
Athens, there to treat of peace, and should bring them back, at whose returne the
 truce should end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point,
 should be held vterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the *Athenians*
 should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships, in as good case as they received them. The
 40 Embassadors coming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themselves had be-
 gunne the warre, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the
Athenians how great an honour it was that the *Lacedemonians* did doe to them for
 peace, advising them to make an end of warre, whilest with such reputation they
 might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation: For in stead of conclu-
 ding vpon euen termes, or desiring of meete recompence for losse sustained; the
Athenians demanded certaine Cities to bee restored to them, which had beene
 taken from them by the *Lacedemonians* long before this warre beganne, refusing
 likewise to continue the treatie of peace, vnlesse the *Spartans* which were in
 the Ille, were first rendred vnto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassa-
 50 dours returned without effect, at which time the truce being ended, it was de-
 sired from the *Athenian* Captaines that they should, according to their covenant,
 restore the ships, which had beene put into their hands. Whereto answer was
 made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all
 should bee held void; now (said the *Athenians*) yee haue assaulted our Garrisons,
 and

and thereby are we acquitted of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meere shifts; yet profit so farre o-
uer-weighted honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to vse many hard meanes, for conuincing of victualls into the Ile; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed, that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be laine. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell vpon them; the *Lacedæmonians* were now so farre from waiting *Attica*, that they suffered their owne Countrey to be continually ouer-runne, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendezous of all that were ill-affected vnto them.

§. V.

How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.

Herefore they induoured greatly to obtaine peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken vnto. For they were so puffed vp with the continuance of good successe, that hauing sent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold vp a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrells; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Ile were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had beene meere through their default, that the Ile of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it selfe, no whit inferiour vnto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their ouer-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters received, especially in *Thrace*, where in a battaile which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon*, and *Brasidas*, Generalls of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both slaine; which two had most bene aduersaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation; so the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Naue which they had receiued at *Pylus*, were faine to proceede lamely in the warre, against such as, through commoditie of their good fleet, had all aduantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently desirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new fauour should reuise the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that vtged them to bring the treatie of peace to good and speedie effect; but other dangers hanging ouer their heads, and readie to fall on them, which vnlesse they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to auoide. The estate of *Arges*, which had ancient enmitie with them, was now, after a truce of thirtie yeares well-nigh expired, readie to take the benefit of their present troubles, by ioyning with those who alone found them worke enough. *Arges* was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so vnwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could euer farre preuaile vpon it, when they had little else to doe. This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not bene regarded. For it was then thought that by waisting the Territories of *Athens* with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time haue bene ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* should haue bene brought to good order, but the *Corinthians* and others, for whose sake the waire was vnder-taken haue bene so firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should for loue of them haue abandoned the *Argives*, to their owne fortunes. But now the vanitie of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in readie money, and meanes

to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet, from any great harme, that the *Peloponnesians* wanting wherewith to maintaine a Naue, could doe vnto them, yea as Masters of the Sea, to wearie them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily trauailes, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* were glad to vse the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, which with much adoë they procured, as seemed equall and easie; but were indeede impossible to be performed, and therefore all their trauaile was little effectuall.

- 10 The resolution of prisoners and places taken being agreed vpon; it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedemonians* should restore first. These had won more townes vpon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not wonne absolutely. For they had restored some Townes to such of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athen* had taken them; some, and those the most, they had set at libertie (as reason required) which had opened their gates vnto them, as to their friends and deliuerers, and not compelled them to break in as Enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands; but had beene rendred vnto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found meanes to giue some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had gotten in the warre; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themselves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by reuolting, notwithstanding what former articles were drawn, and concluded, for their securitie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing those things which on their part were required; so that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest, vntill such time as they might receiue the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the *Lacedemonians* entred into a more straight alliance with the *Athenians*; making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moued by the backwardnesse of the *Argines*, who being (as they thought) likely to haue succed for peace at their hands, as loone as things were once compounded betwene *Athen* and *Sparta*; did shew themselves plainly vnwilling to giue care to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure worke, the *Spartans* regarded not the afflictions of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deferuing in the late warre, or found so troublesome, that their enmitie (if perhaps they durst let it appeare) were little worse than friendship. It bred great
- 40 Ielousie in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceiue such a conjunction betwene two so powerfull Signories: especially one claue threatening euery one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud concepts, of subduing the whole Countrey, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For besides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutuall consent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their professed Enemies, was violently throwne vpon the *Lacedemonians* their vnjust friends: whereby it came passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe sway in *Greece*, might haue beene abandoned
- 50 to the discretion of their Enemies, as already in effect they were, had the Enemies wisely vsed the aduantage.

B. VI.

Of the negotiations, and practises, held betwene many States of Greece,
by occasion of the peace that was concluded.

THe admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of *Sparta* as vnr-
littable, and able to make way through all impediments, had bene
so excessiue, that when by some sinitler accidents, that Citie was
compelled to take and seeke peace, vpon termes not founding very
honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-
pens vually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was ne-
uer thought that any *Lacedamonian* would haue endured to lay downe his weapons
and yeeld himselfe prisoner, nor that any misfortune could haue bene so great, as
should haue drawne that Citie to releue it selfe otherwise than by force of Armes.
But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were
some of especial marke, being ouer-laid by enemies, in the Iland before *Pylus*,
had rather chosen to liue in captiuitie, than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it selfe,
sticking as a thorne in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as
vterly wearying the accustomed *Spartan* resolution, had made it sit downe, and
seeke to refresh it selfe by dishonourable ease; then did not only the *Corinthians* and
Thebans beginne to conceiue basely of those men which were vertuous, though vn-
fortunate; but other lesser Citiees joyning with these in the same opinion, did cast
their eyes vpon the rich and great Citie of *Argos*, of whose abilitie, to doe much,
they conceiued a strong beleife, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is
the bale condition, which through foolish enuie is become almost naturall in the
greater part of mankind. We couriously search into their vices, in whom, had they
kept some distance; we should haue discerned only the vertues; and comparing in-
iuriously our best parts with their worst, are iustly plagued with a false opinion of
that good in strangers which we know to be wanting to our selues.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whose ve-
hement entreaty (though moued rather by enuie at the greatnesse of *Athens* day-
ly encracing) the *Lacedamonians* had entred into the present warre. But these *Cor-*
inthians did only murmure at the peace, alleading as grieuances, that some towne
of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Minians* who during the time of
warre, had procured some part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and for-
sake their dependency vpon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily discouer
themselves; feare of ruenge to come working more effectually, than indignation at
things already past. The *Argiues* feeling the gale of prosperous Fortune that began
to fill their sailes, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand vnder;
giving for that purpose vnto twelve of their citizens, a full and absolute com-
mission to make alliance betwene them and any free cities of Greece (*Athens* and
Sparta excepted) without any further trouble of propounding euery particular bu-
sinesse to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were let thus open to all com-
mers; the *Minians* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnesus* fol-
lowing them entred into this new confederacy; some incited by priuate respects, o-
thers thinking it the wisest way to doe as the most did. What inconuenience might
arise to them by these courses, the *Lacedamonians* easily discerned, and therefore sent
Embassadors to stoppe the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the
mischiefe had bene hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very
rough disposition, with a grauity expressing the opinion which they had conceiued
of their present aduantage ouer *Sparta*. They had caused all Cities which had not
entered yet into the alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose pre-
sence they gaue audience to the *Lacedamonians*; the purport of whose Embassie was
this:

this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not for sake the alliance, which they had long since made with *Sparta*, and that reason did as well binde them to holde themselves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy, forasmuch as it had been agreed between the *Spartans* and their associates, that the consent of the greater part, (which had yielded vnto peace with *Athens*) should binde the lesser number to performe what was concluded, if no Diuine impediment withstood them. Heereunto the *Corinthians* made answer, that the *Spartans* had first begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had lost many places, without prouision of restitution; & that the very clause, alledged by the Embassadors, did acquire them from any necessity of subscribing to the late peace, forasmuch as they had sworn vnto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against *Athens*, that they would neuer abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in reason and religion to vse all meanes of vpholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oth was no lesse to be accounted a Diuine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things vndertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they said that they would doe as they should finde cause. Having dismissed the Embassadors with this answer, they made all halt to ioyne themselves with *Argos*, and caused other States to do the like; so that *Sparta* and *Athens* were in a manner left to themselves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being also vpon the point to haue entred into this new confederacie. But as the affections were diuers, which caused this hasty confluence of sudden friends to *Argos*, it so likewise came to passe that the friendship it selfe, such as it was, had much diuersitie both of sinceritie and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the *Lacedemonians*; as the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*: these did firmly betake themselves to the *Argues*, in whom they knew the same affection to be inueterate; others did only hate the peace concluded; and these would rather haue followed the *Spartans* than the *Argues* in warre, yet rather the *Argues* in war than the *Lacedemonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like vnto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the societie of the *Argues*, as they had done: but the different formes of gouernement, vied in *Thebes* and *Argos*, caused the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by ioyning with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This bulinefle hauing ill succeeded, the *Corinthians* beganne to bethinke themselves of their owne danger, who had not so much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were vnprepared for warre. They sought therefore to come to some temporarie agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment, with one citie that shewed against them more stomach than force; but gaue them to vnderstand that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made, with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally they granted vnto these *Corinthians* (which were loath to acknowledge themselves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they desired, but into priuate confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one should not make peace nor warre without the other.

Heerein, as in many other passages, may clearly be scene the great advantage so which absolute Lords haue as well in peace as in warre, ouer such as are torued by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any one Signorie, that hath bene so constantly followed as *Sparta* was by so many States and some of them little inferior to it selfe, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulsion meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants.

But

But in performance of conditions agreed vpon, the *Athenians* were able to make their wordes good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and giuing vp such places as were agreed vpon: of which the *Lacedemonians* could doe neither the one nor the other. For such Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their meanes in the late warre, could not bee restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the Towne of *Panacté*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the *Lacedemonians* (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof vnto the *Athenians*, as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recover *Pylus*) vntlesse they would agree to make a priuate alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were faine to doe, though knowing it to bee contrarie to the last agreement betwene them and *Athen*.

The *Lacedemonians* having broken one article of the league made between them & the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not giue vp the Towne of *Panacté*, till first they had vtterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was sought to haue beene excused by the *Lacedemonian* Embassadors, who coming to *Athen* (whither they had sent home all prisoners that had beene detained at *Thebes*) hoped with gentle wordes to salve the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enimie to *Athen* should reside in *Panacté*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deale with tame 20
fools. For the *Athenians* told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed vpon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but vsed such base collusion as stood not with their honour: hauing made priuate alliance with the *Thebans*; hauing destroyed a Towne that they should haue restored; and not hauing forced their dependants by warre, to make good the covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough wordes, meaning with as rough deedes to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time, both in *Athen* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that yeare, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades* a powerfull young Gentleman in *Athen*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the warre, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to bee rendred to them by covenant, especially *Pylus* that had so 30
forely troubled them. *Alcibiades* whose Nobilitie, riches, and fauour, with the people, made him desire warre, as the meanes, wherby himselfe might procure some honourable employment, vsed all meanes to set the quarrell on foot, whilst the *Athenians* had yet both aduantage enough, as not hauing rendred ought sine their prisoners, and pretence enough to vse that aduantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedemonians* (though indeede against their wills) had broken all covenants with them. Now the State of *Athen* had fully determined to retaine *Pylus*, and to performe nothing that the *Lacedemonians* should, and might require, vntill 40
they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles whereunto they were bound, euen to the vmoost point. This was enough to make them sweate, who hauing already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the deliuerie of their Citizens, which were prisoners. But *Alcibiades* withling a speedie beginning of open warre, sent priuily to the *Argines*, and gaue them to vnderstand how fitly the time serued for them to associate themselves with *Athen*, which was enough to giue them securitie against all Enemies.

The *Argines* vpon the first confluence of many Estates vnto their societie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should haue had the conduct of all Greece against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as hauing ill vsed it, and thereby leauing their old enemies in case of much contempt and disability. But these suddaine apprehensions of vaine joy, were suddainly changed into as vaine feare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately beene conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance; when the *Corin-*
thians

thians had sought securitie from *Athens*; and when a false rumour was noised abroad, that *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement vpon all points of difference; then beganne the *Argines* to let fall their creits, and sue for peace vnto the *Lacedaemonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauitie; and were not ouer-hastie to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alibiades* came very welcome to the *Argines*, which were not now consulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to saue themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athens*, their owne Embassadours, accompanied with the *Antinians* and *Eleans*, to make a league offensive, and defensive, between

10 their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this businesse the *Lacedaemonians* knew not what to thinke: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to preuent it; but to keepe the loue of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than stood with their honour, or profit; others held it the wisest way, hauing done so much, not to stick vpon a little more, but rather by giuing full satisfaction to retaine the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued than all the rest of *Greece*. This resolution preuailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who coming to *Athens* with full commission to make an end of all controuersies, did earnestly labour in the Coun-

20 cell-houfe, to make the truth of things appeare, saying; that their Confederacie with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recouerie of *Panafe*: concerning which Towne, or any other businesse, that it much grieved the *Lacedaemonians*, to see things fall out in such wise as might giue to the *Athenians* cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters euen betwene them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that *Dylus* might bee restored vnto them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the *Argines* might be called a-side. Faourable audience was giuen to this proposition, the rather because they which promised amends, had power to make their wordes good. But all

30 this faire likelihood of good agreement was dashed on the suddaine, by the practise of *Alibiades*, who, secretly dealing with the *Lacedaemonian* Embassadours, perswaded them well of his friendship towards their Citie, and aduised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be knowne to the Communitie of *Athens*, least the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptorie, and yeeld to nothing, vnlesse they could draw them to vnreasonable conditions. The Embassadours beleued him, and fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people, as hee had aduised them. Herevpon the same *Alibiades* taking presently the aduantage, which their double dealing afforded, inuighed openly against them, as men of no sinceritie, that were

40 come to *Athens* for none other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthening themselves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argines* and their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrarie to their oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleasing errand would hardly haue satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedaemonians*, (whose honest meanings had so ill beene seconded with good performance) were now so incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadours, and the strong perswasions of *Alibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the present so farre did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preuaile with them, that the businesse was put off, till he himselfe with other Embassadours might fetch a

50 better answer from *Sparta*.

It may seeme a great wonder, how so poore a trick of *Alibiades* was able to carrie a matter of such importance, when the *Spartan* Embassadours might haue cast the load vpon his owne shoulders, by discouering the truth.

But the grauitie which was vſually found in the *Lacedemonians*, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handſomely againſt ſo nimble a wit; and they might well haue been thought vntruſty men, had they proteſted themſelves ſuch as would ſay and vn-ſay for their moſt advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a ſowre meſſage to deliuer at *Sparta*, being preſumptoriſly to require performance of all conditions, and among the reſt, that the *Lacedemonians* ſhould take the paines to rebuild *Panſſte*, and ſhould immediately renounce their alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them vnderſtand that otherwiſe the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the *Argiues*, and their Adherents. Theſe *Ephors* at *Sparta* had no minde to forſake the *Thebans*, aſſured friends to their State; but wrought ſo hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was ſuffered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate they would doe no more, than only (at the requeſt of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not ſeeme to haue eſteemed nothing) ſwore a-new to keepe the articles of the league betwene them and *Athens*. Immediately therefore vpon returne of the Embaſſadours, a new league was made betweene the *Athenians*, *Argiues*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, with very ample prouiſion for holding the ſame common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedemonians* were paſſed ouer with ſilence, yet was it manifeſt that the whole intent of this confederacie did bend it ſelfe chiefly againſt them, as in ſhort while after was proued by effect.

At this time the *Lacedemonians* were in ill caſe, who hauing reſtored all that they could vnto the *Athenians*, and procured others to doe the like, had themſelves recovered nothing of their owne (prifoners excepted) for default of reſtoring all that they ſhould. But that which did moſt of all diſable them, was the loſſe of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late warre by miſfortunes, than in ſundry paſſages betweene them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keepe whoſe Amicitie, they had left ſundry of their old friends to ſhift for themſelves. Contrariwiſe the *Athenians*, by the treatie of peace, had recovered the moſt of that which they loſt in warre; all their gettings they had retained; and were ſtrengthened by the acceſſe of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the peace betweene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the *Argiues* and their fellows had found buſineſſe, wherewith to ſet the *Athenians* on worke, and make uſe of this conjunction. For preſuming vpon the ſtrength of their ſide, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So many acts of hoſtilitie were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did not (as principals) ſeet each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aide of their ſeueral friends.

By theſe occaſions the *Corinthians*, *Boeotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece*, began a-new to range themſelves vnder the *Lacedemonians*, and follow their enſignes. One victorie which the *Lacedemonians* obtained by their meere valour in a ſet battaile. neare to *Mantineæ*, againſt the *Argiue* ſide, helped well to reſtore their decayed reputation, though otherwiſe it yeelded them no great profit. The ciuill diſſention ariſing ſhortly after within *Argos* it ſelfe, betweene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almoſt throwne downe the whole frame of the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the vpper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded ſo farre as to renounce the amicitie of the *Athenians* in expreſſe wordes, and forced the *Mantineans* to the like. But in ſhort ſpace

space of time the multitude prevailing, reversed all this, and having chased away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themselves to the *Athenians* as closely as before.

Beside these vproes in *Peloponnesus*, many assaies were made to raise vp troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewise in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whose forces and readinesse for execution, prevented some things, reuenged other, and required all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrell, and the *Lacedemonians* growing wearie, they beganne to be quiet, retaining till that enmitie in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into termes of open warre.

§. VIII.

The *Athenians* sending two fleets to sacke *Siracuse*, are put to flight and utterly discomfited.

DVing this intermission of open warre, the *Athenians* re-intertained their hopes of subduing *Sicily*, whither they sent a fleet lo mightie as neuer was let forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all necessaries to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades* Author of that voiage, and one of the Generalls of their fleet, was driuent to banish himselfe, for feare of such iudgement, as else he was like to haue vnder-gone, among the incensed peoples; partly by the insuall which the *Lacedemonians* made vpon *Attica*, whilst the forces of that State were so farre from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of *Persia*, who supplied the *Peloponnesians* with money.

Neither was the successe of things in *Sicilia* such, as without helpe from *Athens*; could giue any likelihood of a good end in that warre. For although in the beginning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they besieged *Siracuse*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, and one of the fairest Townes which the *Greekes* inhabited, obtaining the better in sundrie battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was relieved with strong aide from *Peloponnesus*, it came to passe that the *Athenians* were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise that their fleet was shut vp into the haven of *Siracuse*, and could not issue out.

As the *Athenian* affaires went very ill in *Sicily*, so did they at home stand vpon hard termes, for that the *Lacedemonians*, who had beene formerly accustomed to make weanefome ycarely iournies into *Attica*, which hauing pillied and foraged, they returned home; did now by counsell of *Alcibiades*, (who seeking reuenge vpon his owne Citizens was fled vnto them) fortifie the Towne of *Decelea*, which was neare to *Athens*, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harie all the Countrey round about, and sometimes giue alarme vnto the Citie itselfe.

In these extremities, the peruerse oblinacie of the *Athenians* was very strange; who leauing at their backs, and at their owne dores, an enemye little lesse mightie than themselves, did yet send forth an other fleet into *Sicily*, to inuade a people no lesse puissant, which neuer had offended them.

It often happens that prosperous euent makes foolish counsaile seeme wiser than it was, which came to passe many times among the *Athenians*, whose vaine conceits *Pallas* was fild to turne vnto the best. But where vnfound aduice, finding bad prooffe, is obligately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can iustly be blamed for a miserable issue. This second fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might haue serued to conuoy home the former, that was defeated; after some attempts made to smale purpose against the *Siracussians*, was finally (together with the other part of the Nation, which was there before) quite vanquished, and bard vp into the haven of *Siracuse*.

cuse, whereby the campe of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driven to breake vp and flie away by Land, in which flight they were ouer-taken, routed, and quite ouerthrowne in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischief well deferred fell vpon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pindarus* Generalls, formerly sent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in *Sicil*, whereas indeede there was not any means or possibilitie to haue made warre. Hereby it came to passe, that *Nicias*, who had the chiefe command in this vnhappy enterprise, did rather choose to hazard the ruine of his Countrey by the losse of that Armie, wherein consisted little lesse than all the power of *Athen*; than to aduenture his owne estate, his life, and his honour, vpon the torments of shamelesse accusers, and the sentence of Iudges before his triall resolved to condemne him, by retiring from *Syracuse*, when wisdom and necessitie required it. For (said he) they shall giue sentence vpon vs, who know not the reason of our doings, nor will giue care to any that would speake in our behalfe, but altogether hearken to suspicious and vaine rumours that shall be brought against vs, yea these our Soldiers who now are so desirous to returne in safetie, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to doe what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth, and to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others) yet it may be excused; since he had before his eyes the iniustice of his people; and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a precedent and patterne, whereby oppression beginning vpon one, is extended as warrantable vpon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily haue ouer-mastered; but when afterwards the Armie, hauing no other expectation of safetie than the faint hope of a secret flight, was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moone, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to haue the camp breake vp till leuen and twentie daies were past. His timorousnesse was euen as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not haue thought that the power of the Heauens, and the course of Nature, would be as vnjust as his *Athenians*, or might pretend lesse euill to the slouthfull, than to such as did their best. Neither doe I thinke that any Astrologer can allege this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armys destruction, otherwise than as the follic of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confusion. Had *C. Cæsius* the *Roman*, he, who slew *Iulius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retrying the broken remainder of *Cæssars* Armie defeated by the *Parthian* Archers was aduised, vpon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of *Scorpio*; he made answer that he stood not in such feare of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So aduenturing rather to abide the frowning of the Heauens, than the nearer danger of Enemies vpon earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and giue a faire example to that good rule,

— *Sapiens dominabitur astris.*

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily workes by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Governours of vnderstanding, when he intends euill to the multitude; and that the wickednesse of vnjust men is the readie meane to weaken the vertue of those who might haue done them good.

§. IX.


Of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens fell, after the great losse of the Fleet, and Armie, in Sicilia.

THe losse of this Armie was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accompted a very little lesse calamitie to that Estate, than was the subuersion of the walls, when the Citie about seuen yeares after was taken by *Isander*. For now beganne the Subjects of the *Athenian* Estate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced vnder their obedience; others held out; some for feare of greater inconuenience were set at libertie, promising only to be their good friends, as formerly they had beene their Subjects; others hauing a kind of libertie offered by the *Athenians*, were not threewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among these troubles it fell out very vnseasonably, that the principall men of *Athens* being wearied with the peoples insolencie, tooke vpon them to change the forme of that Estate, and bring the gouernement into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captaines which were abroad, they caused them to set vp the forme of an Aristocratie in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, some that were most likely to withstand this inuouation, being slaine at *Athens*, the Commonaltie were so dismayd that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but euery man was afraid of his Neighbour, least he should be a member of the league. In this generall feare the Majestie of *Athens* was vsurped by foure hundred men, who obseruing in shew the ancient forme of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded vnto the people, and concluded vpon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were only such as were first allowed in priuate among themselves; neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than only to approue and giue consent, for who soeuer presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murder. By these meanes were many decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new Authoritie, which neuertheless indured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was at the Ile of *Samos*, did altogether detest these dealings of the foure hundred vsurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they reuoked *Alcibiades* out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the *Persian* King had promised vnto the *Lacedaemonians*, were by *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, made vnprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first bene very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilst his seruice done to that State was not growne to be the object of enuie. But when it appeared that in counsaile and good performance he so farre excelled all the *Lacedaemonians*, that all their good successe was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens wearie of his vertue; especially *Agis* one of their Kings, whose wife had so fit yielded her selfe to the loue of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends there could not forbear to call her yong child by his name. Hereupon order was taken that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discouering the *Spartan* treacherie, conuicighed him selfe vnto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great beautie, sweet conuersation and sound wit, that he soone became the Master of that barbarous Vice-roi's affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings treasures and forces in those parts. Then beganne he to aduise *Tissaphernes*, not so farre forth to assist the *Lacedaemonians*, that they should quite overthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to help the weaker side, and let them one consume another, where by all should fall at length into the hands of the *Persian*. By this counsaile hee made way to other practises, wherein by strenght of his reputation (as the only fauourite

of so great a Potentate) hee plaied his owne game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the Armie, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the foure hundred) hee laboured greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the Gouernors; or at least to diuert their heat another way, and turne it vpon the common Enemie. Some of the foure hundred approued his motion, as being wearie of the tyrannie whereof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure, and partly for that themselves being lesse regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtaine peace of the *Lacedaemonians*, desiring chiefly to maintaine both their owne authoritie, and the greatnesse of their Citie, if they might, but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preferue their owne power, or safetie at least, than the good estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made sundrie ouertures of peace to the *Lacedaemonians*, desiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to bee trusted than the wauering multitude; especially considering that the Citie of *Sparta* was gouerned by an *Aristocratie*, to which forme they had now reduced *Athens*. All these passages betwene the foure hundred (or the most and chiefe of them) and the *Lacedaemonians*, were kept as secret as might be. For the Citie of *Athens*, hoping without any great cause, to repaire their losses, was not inclined to make composition; from which vponiustler ground the enemie was much more auerse, trusting well that the discord of the *Athenians* (not vnknowne abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunitie to the destruction of it selfe, which in effect (though not then presently) came to passe. And vpon this hope King *Agis* did sometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, hee receiued some small losses. Likewise the Naue of *Peloponnesus* made thiew of attempting the Citie, but seeing no likelihood of successe, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly haue bene regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seemes without any disparagement to their wisdome, they should rather haue forborne to present vnto the Citie, or to the Countries neare adioyning 30 any terrour of the warre. For the dissention within the walls might soone haue done more hurt than could be receiued from the Fleet or Armie without, which indeede gaue occasion to let the Citizens at vniue, though it lasted not very long. The foure hundred, by means of these troubles, were faine to resigne their authoritie, which they could not now hold, when the people hauing taken armes to repell forraigne enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed them selves from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of gouernement a full restitution of the forwaigne command vnto the people, or whole body of the Citie, but only to fise thousand; which companie the foure hundred (when their authoritie beganne) had pretended to take vnto them as assistants: herein seeming to doe little wrong or none to the Commonaltie, who seldome assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeede into the hands of so many, it was soone agreed that *Alciades* and his Companions should bee recalled from exile, and that the Armie at *Samos* should bee requested to vndertake the gouernement: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

§. X.

How *Alcibiades* wonne many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile, made their Generall, and againe deposed.

10  His establishment of things in the Citie, was accompanied with some good successe in the waies. For the *Lacedemonians* were about the same time ouerthrowne at Sea, in a great battaile, by the *Athenian* fleet which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joyning such forces as he could raise, obtained many victories. Before the Towne of *Abydus*, his arriuall with eghteen ships gaue the honour of a great battaile to the *Athenians*; hee ouerthrew and vtterly destroyed the fleet of the *Lacedemonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*, tooke the Townes of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ransom their Citie, and fortified *Chrysolis*. Hereupon letters were sent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians*, intercepting, found to containe the distresse of the Armie in these few wordes: *All is lost; MINDARVS is slaine; the Souldiers went victuals; we know not what to doe.*


20 Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* ouerthrew the *Lacedemonians* in fight by Land at *Chaledon*, tooke *Selymbria*, besieged and wanne *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*, which euen in those daies was a goodly, rich, and very strong Citie. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the Nauie.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and hee driven to banish himselfe againe; only because his Lieutenant, contrarie to the expresse command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the fleet.

30 The second banishment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the first; and the losse which thereupon they receiued, was (though more heauie to them, yet) lesse to be pittied of others, than that which ensued vpon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought reuenge vpon his owne Citie; now, as inured to aduersitie, he rather pittied their furie, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should haue repaired their weak estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himselfe after iniurie receiued. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arriued at the fleet, hee presented battaile to *Lysander* the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, who was not so confident vpon his former victorie, as to vndertake *Alcibiades* himselfe, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former losse of fiftene) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had bene vnder his Lieutenant. But when the
40 decree of the people was published in the Nauie, then did *Alcibiades* with-draw himselfe to a Towne vpon *Hellefpont*, called *Bizantke*, where hee had built a Castle.

§. XI.

The battaile at *Arginusæ*, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaines by the people.

50  After this time the *Athenians*, receiuing many losses and discomforts, were driven to flee into the Hauens of *Mytilene*, where they were straightly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege necessitie inforced them to man all their Vessells, and to put the vttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile was

was fought at *Arginosa*, where *Callistidas*, Admirall of the *Lacedaemonians*, loosing the honor of the day, perserued his owne reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well haue bene expected, that the ten Captaines, who joyntly had command in chief ouer the *Athenian* fleet, should for that good daies seruice, and so happie a victorie, haue receiued great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise they were forth-with called home, and accused, as if willfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunke, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessells to take them vp, they might haue saued them from being drowned. Hereto the Captaines readily made a very iust answer; That they pursuing the victorie, had left part of the fleet, vnder sufficient men, to saue those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse auailed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himselfe escaping in a meale-tubbe, had bene intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to desire of the people reuenge of their deaths vpon the Captaines. It was very strange that, vpon such an accusation maintained with so slender euidence, men that had well deserued of their Countrey should bee overthrowne. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolue them, saue only *Socrates* the wife and vertuous Philosopher, whose voice in this iudgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much a-doe releued by other vessells in the storme: but the Captaines which were absent escaped; for when the furie of the people was ouer-past, this iudgement was reuerfed, and the accusers called into question for hauing decciued and peruered the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselves from the infamie of iniustice; but the diuine justice was not a-sleepe, nor would be so deluded.

§. XII.

The battaile at *Egos-Potamos*, wherein the whole State of *Athens* was ruined;
with the end of the *Peloponnesian* Warre.

THe *Peloponnesian* fleet vnder *Lysander*, the yeare next following, hauing scoured the *Aegean* Seas, entred *Hellepont*, where (landing Souldiers) it besieged and rooke the Towne of *Lampsacus*. Hereupon all the Nauike of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourescore saile, made thither in haste, but finding *Lampsacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Seistos*, where hauing refreshed themselves, they failed to the Riuer called, *Egos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goates-brooke*, or the Riuer of the *Goate*; being on the Continent, oppositite to *Lampsacus*: and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lysander*, who rode at *Lampsacus* in the harbour. The next day after their arriuall they presented fight vnto the *Peloponnesians*, who refused it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned againe to *Egos-Potamos*, and thus they continued fise daies, brauing euery day the Enemie, and returning to their owne harbour when it drew towards euening.

The Castle of *Alciades* was not farre from the Nauie, and his power in those places was such as might haue greatly auailed his Countymen, if they could haue made vse of it. For he had waged Mercenaries, and making warre in his owne name vpon some people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiuing the disorderly course of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired vnto them, and shewed what great inconuenience might grow, if they did not soone fore-see and preuent it. For they lay in a roade subject to eue-

ry weather, neither neare enough to any Towne where they might furnishe themselves with necessaries, nor so farre off as had bene more expedient. *Sesius* was the next Market-Towne thither both Souldiers and Mariners resorted, flocking away from the Naue every day, as fone as they were turned from brauing the Enemie. Therefore *Achilles* willed them either to lie at *Sesius*, which was not farre off, or at the least to consider better how neare their enemie was, whose feare proceeded rather from obedience to his Generall, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so farre despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne matters, and to remember that his authoritie was out of date. Had it not bene for these opprobrious wordes, hee could (as hee told his familiars) haue compelled the *Lacedaemonians*, either to fight vpon vnequall termes, or vterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that hee might so haue done, by transporting the light armed *Thracians* his Confederates, and others his Followers ouer the Straights, who assaulting the *Peloponnesians* by Land, would either haue compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leaue their ships to the mercie of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counsaile no better than hath bene rehearsed, hee left them to their fortune, which how cuill it would bee hee did prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himselfe by the advantage of his Hauen, was not carelesse in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was to lend forth some of his swiftest Vessells after them, who observing their doings, related vnto him what they had seene. Therefore understanding in what carelesse fashion they romed vp and downe the Countrie, hee kept all his men a-board after their departure, and the fifth day gave especiall charge to his Scouts, That when they perceiued the *Athenians* disembarking, as their custome was, and walking towards *Sesios*, they should forthwith returne, and hang vp a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readinesse, made all speede that strength of Oares could giue, to *Agos-Potamos*, where he found v-
30 ry few of his enemies a-board their ships, not many neare them, and all in great confusion vpon the newes of his approach.

In so much that the greatest industrie which the *Athenians* then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that losse imported, gaue ouer *Athens* as desperate, and made a long flight vnto the Ile of *Cyprus*, all the rest were taken, and such of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in peeces. Thus was the Warre which had lasted sixe and twentie yeares, with variable success, concluded in one houre, and the glorie of *Athens* in such wise eclipsed, that shee neuer afterward shone againe in her perfit light.

Immediately vpon this victorie, *Lysander*, hauing taken in such Townes as readily did yeeld vpon the first fame of his exploit, set sail for *Athens*, and ioyning
40 his forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, summoned the Citie, which finding too stubborne to yeeld, and too strong to bee wonne on the sudaينه, hee put forth againe to Sea, and rather by terror than violence, compelling all the Ilands, and such Townes of the *Ionians*, as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to submit themselves to *Sparta*, hee did thereby cut off all prouision of vituals, and other necessaries, from the Citie, and enforced the people by mere famine to yeeld to these conditions. That the long walls, leading from the Towne to the Port, should be throwne downe; That all Citie subiect to their Estate, should bee set at libertie; That the *Athenians* should bee Masters only of
50 their owne Territories, and the fields adioyning to their Towne. And that they should keepe no more than twelue ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the *Lacedaemonians* did, and follow the *Lacedaemonians* as Leaders in the Warres.

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These articles being agreed vpon, the walls were throwne downe with great rejoycing of those who had borne displeasure to *Athens*; and not without some consultation of destroying the Cite, and laying waile the Land about it. Which aduise, although it was not entertain'd, yet were thirtie Governours, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed ouer the people, who recompensed their former insolencie and iniustice ouer their Captaines, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slauerie.

The only finall hope then remaining to the *Athenians*, was, that *Alibiades* might perhaps repaire what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirtie Tyrants perceiuing this, aduertised the *Lacedemonians* thereof, who contriued, 10 and (as nowe domineering in euerie quarter) soone effected his suddaine death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian* Warre. After which the *Lacedemonians* abusing the reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew verie odious to all *Greece*, and by Combination of manie Cities against them, were dispossessed of their high authoritie, euen in that very Age, in which they had subdued *Athens*. The greatell foile that they tooke was of the *Thebans*, led by *Epaminondas*, vnder whom *Philip* of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his education. By these *Thebans*, the Cite of *Sparta* (besides other great losses receiued) was sundrie times in danger of being taken. But these haughtie attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the seuerall Estates: and Signories of *Greece*, were growne so jealous one of anothers greatnesse, that the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, *Argines*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker partie, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one Cite could extend the limits of her iurisdiction so farre as might make her terrible to her Neighbours. And thus all parts of the Countrey remained rather euenly 20 ballanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*,

Kings of *Macedon*, (whose forefathers had bene dependants, and followers, yea almost meere Vassalls to the Estates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found

meanes, by making vse of their factions, to bring them all into

seruitude, from which they neuer could be free, till

the *Romans* presenting them with a shew

of libertie, did themselves in-

deede become their

Masters.

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CHAP.

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CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian Warre,
or shortly following it.

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§. I.

How the affaires of Persia stood in these times.



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URING the times of this Peloponnesian Warre, and those other lesse expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, having peaceably enjoyed a long raigne over the *Persians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the *Basard*, whom the Greeke Historians (lightly passing over *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as Vsurpers, and for their short raigne little to be regarded) place next vnto him, or to *Xerxes* the second, who, and his brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to haue bene the sonnes of *Hecstey*) held the Kingdome but one year betweene them, the yonger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I haue said before) to pursue the Historie of the *Persians* from henceforth, by rehearfall of all the particulars, otherwise then as they shall bee incident to the affaires of Greece. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second, being a vitious Prince, did perish after a moneth or two, if not by surfeit, then by treacherie of his as riotous brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he slew vnjustly *Bagoasus* a principall Eunuch, and would haue done as much to his brother *Darius* the *Basard*, had not bee forecene it, and by raising a stronger Armie than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leaue, seized at once vpon the King and Kingdome. *Darius* hauing slaine his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeares. *Amyrtus* of *Sis* an *Egyptian* rebelled against him, and hauing partly slaine, partly chased out of the Land the *Persian* Garrisons, allied himselfe so firmly with the *Greekes*, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliuered it ouer to his posteritie, who (not withstanding the furie of their euill Warres) maintained it against the *Persian*, all the daies of this *Darius*, and of his sonne *Artaxerxes*. Likewise *Amorges*, a subject of his owne and of the Roiall blood, being Lieutenant of *Caris*, rebelled against him; considering himselfe with the *Athenians*. But the great calamitie, before spoken of, which fell vpon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, hauing put new life into the *Spartans*, and giuen courage to the flanders and others, subject to the State of *Athen*, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedemonians* being destitute of moneie, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Naue, without which it was impossible to aduance the warre against the State of *Athen*, that remained powerfull by Sea, were driuen to craue his assistance, which he granted vnto them, first vpon what conditions best pleased himselfe, though afterwards the articles of the league betweene him and them were set downe in more precise termes, wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make warre jointly vpon the *Athenians*, and vpon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Asia*, which had formerly bene his, or his Predecessours, should returne to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the warre ensuing

412 *mythos*
 fuing (of which I haue already spoken) he recovered all that his Grand-father and Father had lost in *Asia*. Likewise by assistance of the *Lacedemonians* he got *Amorges* a-lie into his hands, who was taken in the Citie of *Iesus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to succour him. Neuertheless *Egypt* still held out against him; the cause whereof cannot bee the employment of the *Persian* forces on the parts of *Greece*, for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his naturall enemies, what the valour of his owne Subjects was insufficient to performe. *Darius* had in marriage *Parysatis* his owne sister, who bare vnto him (besides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mne-* 16
mon, that is to say, the Mindfull, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdome; and *Cyrus* the yonger, a Prince of singular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that euer *Persia* bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius* intending to leaue vnto his elder sonne *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a jealousye vpon the doings of yong *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, tooke more vpon him than befitted a Subject: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to haue taken some very sharpe course with him, had not his owne death preuented the comming of his yonger sonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre betwene these brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, wee shall haue occasion to speake some- 20
 what in more conuenient place.

§. II.

How the thirtie Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place most conuenient to shew the proceedings of the *Greekes*, after the subversion of the walls of *Athens*, which gaue end to that warre called the *Peloponnesian* warre, but could not free the vnhappie Countrie of *Greece* from ciuill broiles. The thirtie Gouver- 30
 noures, commonly called the thirtie Tyrants of *Athens*, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a bodie of their Law, and make a collection of such ancient Statutes, as were meetest to be put in practise: the condition of the Citie standing as it did in that so fodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authoritie, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessitie of the times did so require it, wherein the Law being vncertaine, it was fit that such men should giue iudgement in particular causes, to whose iudgement the Lawes themselves, by which the Citie was to bee ordered, were become subiect. But these thirtie hauing so great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deferre it by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them 40
 in trust.

elate authors
 Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellowes, as were odious to the citie, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; proceeding was by all men highly approved, who considered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bebinke themselves, how easie a thing it would bee vnto these thirtie men, to take away the liues of Innocents, by calling them perturbors of the peace; or what else they listed, when condemnation without due trial and proofe had bene once well allowed. Hauing thus plausibly entred into a wicked course of gouernement, they thought it best to fortifie themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authoritie. Wherefore dispatching two of their owne companie to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedemonians*, that it was the full intent of the thirtie, to keepe the Citie free from all rebellions motions, to which purpose it behoued them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired the *Lacedemonians* to send them 50

them a Garrison, which they promised at their owne cost to maintaine. This motion was well approued, and a guard sent, the Captaine of which was so well entertained by the thirtie, that none of their misdeeds could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants beganne to take heart, and looking no more after bafe and detested persons, invaded the principall men of the Citie, sending armed men from Houfe to Houfe, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely, or able, to make any head against this wicked forme of gouernement: wherby there was such effusion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirtie) seemed very horrible, and vnable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discovered, caused his followes to bethinke themselves, and provide for their owne securitie, and his destruction, least he should make himselfe a Captain of the discontented (which were almost the whole Citie) and redeme his owne peace with their ruine. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gaue vnto them some part of publique authoritie, the rest they disarmed; and hauing thus increased their owne strength, and weakened their opposites, they beganne afresh to shed the blood, not only of their private enemies, but of such whose money, or goods, might enrich them, and enable them for the payment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that euery one of them should name one man vpon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* vntoed his detestation of so wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirtie was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one maine priuiledge of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirtie, but haue the accustomed triall) he tooke vpon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and so reduced him vnder the triall and sentence of that order. It was well alleged by *Theramenes*, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any other mans, vpon which consideration hee aduised them all to conceiue no otherwise of his case, than as of their owne, who were liable to the same forme of proceeding: but (euery man choosing rather to preserve his owne life by silence, than presently to draw vpon himselfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would neuer come neare him) the Tyrants interpreting silence as consent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drinke poison.

§. III.

The conspiracie against the thirtie Tyrants, and their deposition.

40 **A**fter the death of *Theramenes*, the thirtie beganne to vse such outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For hauing three thousand (as they thought) firme vnto them, they robbed all others without feare or shame, despoiling them of lands and goods, and causing them to flee into banishment, for safeguard of their liues. This flight of the Citizens procured their libertie, and the generall good of the Citie. For the banished Citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into consultation, and resolved to hazard their liues in setting free the Citie of *Athens*. The very thought of such a practise had been treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Sentient men, or thereabout, were the first vndertakers, who with their Captaine *Thrasybulus* tooke *Phyle*, a place of strength in the Territorie of *Athens*. No sooner did the thirtie heare of their exploit, than seke meanes to prevent further danger; assembling the three thousand, and their *Lacedemonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyle*, but were with some losse of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by means of snow that fell, and other stormie weather,

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weather, against which they had not made prouision. Retiring therefore to the Citie, which aboue all they were to make good, they left the moit of their guard, and two companies of Horle, to weare out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying liege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thraſybulus* were encreased from ſeuentic to ſeuen hundred, which aduentured to giue charge vpon thoſe guards, of whom they cut off aboue an hundred & twentie. The ſmail, but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of thoſe in *Phyla*, who now with a thouſand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the ſuburbe of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their coming, the thirtie had reſolued to fortiſie the Towne of *Eleuſine*, to their owne uſe, wherinto they might make an ealie retreat, and ſaue themſelues from any ſuddaine perill. It may well ſeeme ſtrange, that whereas their barbarous manner of gouernement had brought them into ſuch danger, they were ſo ſure from ſeeking to obtaine mens good will, that contrariwiſe, to aſſure themſelues of *Eleuſine*, they got all of the place who could beare armes into their handes by a traine, and wickedly (though vnder forme of iuſtice) murdered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutum per ſclera citi iter*, the miſchiefs which they had alreadie done were ſuch, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparant likelihood of ſafety, than by extending their crueltie vnto all, ſeeing few or none were left, whom they could truſt. When *Thraſybulus* and his fellowes, who as yet were termed conſpirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thouſand armed againe by the Tyrants, and brought to aſſault it; but in this enterpriſe *Thraſybulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom althoug there were ſlaue to the number of ſeuentic, only yet the victorie ſeemed the greater, becauſe *Critias*, & one other of the thirtie, periſhed in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the ſtout defence of *Piræus*, together with ſome exhortations vſed by *Thraſybulus* to the Citizens, wrought ſuch effect that the thirtie were depoſed. Neuertheleſſe there were ſo many of the three thouſand, who hauing communicated with the thirtie in their miſdeedes, ſented to be called to a ſharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet forme of gouernement could bee eſtabliſhed. For Embaſſadors were ſent to *Sparta*, who crauing aide againſt *Thraſybulus*, and his followers, had fauourable audience, and a power ſent to their aſſiſtance, both by Land and Sea, vnder the conſult of *Lyſander*, and his Brother; whom *Pauſanias* the Spartan King did follow, railing an Armie of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared firſt the iealouſie, wherein ſome people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Boeotians*, and *Corinthians*, who in the late warres had bene the moſt bitter enemies to *Athens*, reſuſed to follow *Pauſanias* in this expedition; alleging that it ſtood not with their oathes, to make warre againſt that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing, indeede, leaſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould annexe the Territorie of *Athens* to their owne Demaines. It is not to be doubted that *Pauſanias* tooke this anſwere in good part. For it was not his purpoſe to deſtroy thoſe againſt whom he went, but only to croſſe the proceedings of *Lyſander*, whom he enuied. Therefore hauing in ſome ſmall ſkirmiſhes againſt them of *Thraſybulus* his partie, made a ſhew of warre, he finally wrought ſuch meanes that all things were compounded quietly: the thirtie men, and ſuch others, as were like to giue cauſe of tumult, being ſent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, hauing with-drawne themſelues to *Eleuſine*, were ſhortly after found to attempt ſome inuouation, whereupon the whole Citie riſing againſt them, tooke their Capitaines, as they were coming to Parlie, and ſlew them: which done, to auoide further inconuenience, a law was made that all injuries paſt ſhould be forgotten, and no man called into queſtion for wrongs committed. By which order, wiſely made, and carefully obſerued, the Citie returned to her former quietneſſe.

CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of CYRVS the yonger.

§. I.

10 The grounds of CYRVS his attempt against his brother.



THE matters of Greece now standing vpon such termes, that no one Estate durst oppose it selfe against that of *Lacedemon*; yong *Cyrus*, brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, hauing in his fathers life time very carefully profecuted the warre against *Athens*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requetting that their loue might appeare no lesse to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous warre against the *Athenians*. To this request, being generally, the *Lacedemonians* gaue a futable answer, commanding their Admirall to performe vnto *Cyrus* all seruice that hee should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discouered himselfe, and the *Lacedemonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdome of *Persia* should haue been the recompence of his deserts, or that he perishing in battaile, as after he did, the subuersion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew vnto the *Greekes* the waies, which vnder the *Macedonian* Ensignes, the victorious foot-steps of their posteritie should measure; and opening vnto them the riches, and with all the weaknesse of the *Persians*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that conquest, which he referred to another generation; than to giue into their hands that mightie Kingdome, whose houre was not yet come. The loue which *Parysatis* the Queene-Mother of *Persia* bare vnto *Cyrus* her yonger sonne, being seconded by the earnest fauour of the people, and readie desires of many principall men, had moued this yong Prince, in his fathers old age to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before bene shewed) whose meaning was to curbe this ambitious youth; hee found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* established so surely by the old Kings fauour, that it were not safe to attempt any meanes of displanting him, by whose disfauour himselfe might easily loose the place of a Viceroy, which he held in *Asia* the lesse, and hardly bee able to maintaine his owne life. The nearest neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Asia*, was *Tissaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardise, treacherie, craft, and all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, vling by the way all faire shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might well bee thought that Queene *Parysatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mightie Empire. And it was very true that *Parysatis* had vsed the best of her endeuour to that purpose, alleaging that (which in former ages had bene much auailable to *Xerxes*, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was borne whilest his father was a priuate man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a crowned King. All which not sufficing, when the most that could bee obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adioyning: then did this *Tissaphernes* discouer his nature, and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Vpon this accusation, whether true or false, very

easily belecued, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreatie of his Mother very hardly deliuered, and sent back into his owne Prouince.

§. 11.

The preparations of CYRUS, and his first entrie into the Warre.

THe forme of gouernement which the *Persian* Lieutenants vsed in their feuerall Prouinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made Warre and Peace, as they thought it meete, not only for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; vsually indeede with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their owne heads were held only at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings, to his will, whatsoeuer it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being settled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himselfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the small assurance of his brothers loue, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his owne people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedaemonians*, whom he had bound vnto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himselfe. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waighting till occasion should present it selfe: but rather enterprise somewhat whilest yet his Mother liued, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon hee first beganne to quarrell with *Tissaphernes*, and seized vpon many Townes of his jurisdiction, annexing them to his owne Prouince; which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that hee was of condition somewhat simple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accustomed Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in priuate quarrells. But *Tissaphernes*, whose base conditions were hated, and cowardise despised, although he durst not aduenture to take armes against *Cyrus*, yet percciuing that the *Milesiens* were about to giue vp themselves into the hands of that yong Prince, as many other Townes of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terror to preferue his reputation, and keepe the Towne in his owne handes. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, which was no small part of his desire. In leauing Souldiers he vsed great policie; for he tooke not only the men of his owne Prouince, or of the Countries adjoining, whose liues were readie at his will; but secretly he furnished some *Grecian* Captaines with money, who being very good men of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thessalie*, others elsewhere in *Greece*; but all of them readie to crosse the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their feuerall warres, that the Souldiers might bee held in continuall exercise, and readie in armes vpon the sodaine. *Cyrus* hauing sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greekes*, who very readily came ouer to his assistance, being thirteene thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Armie, and that which he had leuied before, he could very easily haue forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the lesse: but his purpose was not so to looke time in small matters, that was to be employed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that the *Pisidians*, a people of *Asia* the lesse, not subiect to the *Persian*, had invaded his Territories, he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leauing *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leasure to reioyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himselfe, when he considered that so great an Armie, and so strong was neuer leuied against the Routers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which

cause taking a band of five hundred horse, hee posted away to carrie tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

§. III.

How *CYRUS* took his journey into the higher Asia, and came up close to his Brother.

10 **T**He tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queene *Statira*, against *Parjatis*, the Queene-Mother, whom shee called the Author and occasioner of the warre. But whilest the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger haltened vpon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, hauing his numbers much increased, by the repaire of his Countreimen, though most strengthened by the access of seven hundred *Greekes*, and of other four hundred of the same Nation, who resorted vnto him from the King. How terrible the *Greekes* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by triall in a Multier, which (to please the Queene of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aide) hee made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greekes* by his direction making offer of a charge vpon the rest of his Armie, which
20 contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Campe (not perceiving that this was but a brauerie) fled a-maine, the victuallers and baggers forsaking their cabins, and running all away for very feare. This was to *Cyrus* a joyfull spectacle, who knew very well, that his Brother was followed by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were preit to the warre against their will and dispositions; whereas his Armie was drawne along by mere affection and good will. Neuerthelesse he found it a very hard matter to perswade the *Greekes* to passe the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore he was driuen, being yet in *Cilicia*, to seeke excuses, telling them that *Abrocomas* one of
30 the Kings principall Captaines, and his owne great enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requied them to assit him. By such deuices, and excesseue promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*, where some of the *Greekes* considering, That who so passed the River first, should haue the most thanks, and might safely returne if the rest should refuse to follow them, they entred the Forde, whereby were all finally perswaded to doe as some had begunne, and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seeke out *Artaxerxes*, whersoever he was to be found. The King in the meane time hauing raised an Armie of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident vpon this huge multitude, as to aduenture them in triall of a plaine battaile. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thousand men had vnder-taken to
40 make good the Straights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to seeme impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himselfe toward the Kings forces, not daring to looke *Cyrus* in the face, who despairing to finde any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedaemonian* fleet, by the benefit whereof to haue transported his Armie. I doe not finde that this cowardise of *Abrocomas*, or of his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Campe till five daies were past after the battaile, receiued either punishment, or disgrace; for they, toward whom he with-drew himselfe, were all made of the same mettall.

50 Therefore *Artaxerxes* was vpon the point of retiring to the vttermost bounds of his Kingdome, vntill by *Teribazus*, one of his Captaines, he was perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Prouinces to the Enemy, who would thereby haue gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharpe disputation of Title to a Kingdome is most aduantageable) would haue growne superior in reputation. By such aduice the King resolved vpon meeting with his brother, who now beganne to be se-

cure, being fully perswaded that *Artaxerxes* would neuer dare to abide him in the field. For the King hauing cast vp a Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirtie foot broad, and eightene foot deepe, intended there to haue encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe as to be farre distant from his enemies.

p. 1111.

The battaile betweene *CYRUS* and *ARTAXERXES*.

THe Armie of *Cyrus* hauing ouer-come many difficulties of euill waies, and scarcitie of victualls, was much encouraged by perceiuing this great feare of *Artaxerxes*, and being past this trench, marched carelesly in great disorder, hauing belowed their Armes in Carts, and vpon Beasts of carriage; when on the sodaine one of their Vauit-curtors, brought newes of the Kings approach: Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselues, and had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the side of the River *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was after-noon. But when they saw the clowd of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and percciued by their neare approach how well they were marshalled, comming on vry orderly, in silence, whereas it had bene expected, that rushing violently with lowd clamours, they should haue spent all their force vpon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so vnequall in distent, being all embattailed in one bodie and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the midst of his owne, did not with the corner and vtmost point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greeks* beginne to distrust their owne manhood, which was not accustomed to make proofe of it selfe, vpon such excessive oddes. It was almost incredible, that so great an Armie should bee so easily chased. Neuerthelesse, it quickly appeared, that these *Persians*, hauing learned (contrarie to their custome) to giue charge vpon their enemies with silence; had not learned (for it was contrarie to their nature) to receiue a strong charge with courage. Vpon the very first offer of on-set, made by the *Greekes*, all that basely rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and sithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twentie) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gaue so much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his Followers, that such as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had bene assured vnto him that day, had not he sought how to declare himselfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiuing that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the *Greekes*, and to let vpon them in the reare, he aduanced with fixe hundred Horse, and gaue so valiant a charge vpon a Squadron of fixe thousand which lay before the King, that hee brake it, slaying the Captaine thereof, *Artageres*, with his owne hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole companie of fixe hundred, very few excepted, beganne to follow the chase, leauing *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiuing where the King stood in troupe, vncertaine whether to fight, or leaue the field, could not containe himselfe, but said; *I see the man*, and presently with a small handfull of men about him ranne vpon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the brest. Hauing giuen this stroke, which was his last, he receiued immediately the fatall blow, which gaue period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded vnder the eye with a dart, throwne by a bala-fellow, wherewith astonished,

hee fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was vnpossible to haue recouered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his saluetic; not caring afterwards for their owne liues, when once they perceiued that *Cyrus* their Master was slaine. *Artaxerxes* caused the head and right hand of his brother to bee forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them fled apace, calling vpon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troups, and vtterly dismayed such *Persian* Capitaines, as were now, euen in their owne eies, no better than rebells; it was not long ere the Campe of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned, from whence *Artaxerxes*, making all speede, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greekes*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There hee met with *Tissaphernes*, who hauing made way through the battaile of the *Greekes*, was readie now to ioyne with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, bene sufficient to counteruaile all disasters receiued; the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking through the *Greekes* would haue yeelde dittle comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slaine any one man of the *Greekes*, but contrariwise, when he gaue vpon them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great slaughter through them, in such wise that hee rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the Squadron of the *Greekes*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greekes*, as Masters of the field, gaue challe to all that came in their fight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these *Greekes*, intending to set vpon them in reare. But these good Souldiers perceiuing the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a brauerie, than with purpose to attempt vpon these bold-fellows any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom hee would seeme to haue slaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to giue reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough by shewing a manly looke, halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore hee aduanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displayed on the top of a Spere. This ensigne might haue encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greekes* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neare them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discouering their approach, fled vpon the spurre; so that none remained in the place of battaile, save only the *Greekes*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondered that they heard no newes of *Cyrus*, but thinking that hee was pursuing the Armie, they thought it was fittest for them, hauing that day done enough, to returne to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings comming had giuen them no leisure to Dine.

¶ V.

The hard estate of the *Greekes* after the fight; and how *ARTAXERXES* in vaine sought to haue made them yeeld vnto him.

150 **T** was now about the setting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe spoiled, little, or nothing being left, that might serue for foode: so that wanting victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their wearie bodies with sleepe. In the meane season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entered by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceiued

perceiued that the basenesse of his people, and weakenesse of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greekes*: which gaue him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shamefull demeanor of his Armie, should liue to carrie tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signorie. Wherefore hee resolved, to trie all meanes, whereby hee might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carrie tidings of that which hee had scene: to which purpose hee sent them a braue messaghe the next morning. Charging them to deliuer vp their Armes, and come to his Gate, to awaite there vpon his Mercie. It seemes that he was in good hope to haue found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceiued in that thought. For the *Greekes* being aduertised that morning from *Arius*, a principall Commander vnder *Cyrus*, that his Master being slaine, he had retired himselfe to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into *Ionis*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would joyne with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer back to *Arius*, that hauing beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Arius* himselfe in the Kings Throne, if he would joyne with them, and pursue the victorie. Before they receiued any reply to this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Campe, whose errand seemed to the Captaines very insolent: One told them that it was not for the Vanquishers to yeeld their Weapons; another, that hee would die ere hee yeelded to such a motion; a third asked, whether the King, as hauing the victorie, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie hee meant to requite their kindnesse. To this question *Phalimus a Grecian*, waiting vpon *Tissaphernes*, answered, That the King hauing slaine *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdome; in the midst whereof hee held them fast enclosed with great Riuers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold vp their throats, for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These wordes, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalimus*, that hauing nothing left, but their Armes and Valour, whilst they kept their Armes, their Valour would be seruiceable, but should they yeeld them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat *Phalimus* laughed, saying; This young man did seeme a Philosopher, and made a pretie speech; but that his deepe speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Armes, and his Valour, to preuaile against the great King. It seemes that *Phalimus* being a Courtier, and imployed in a businesse of importance, thought himselfe too profound a Statesman, to be cheekt in his Embassage by a bookish discoureur. But his wisdom herein failed him. For whatsoever hee himselfe was (of whom no more is knowne than that hee brought an vn honest message to his owne Countreimen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Lises, to the mercilesse *Babarians*; this young Scholler by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principall Commanders were surprisid by treacherie of the *Persians*, being a private Gentleman, and hauing neuer scene the warres before, vnder-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which hee brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalimus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithfull to the King, as they had beene to *Cyrus*, offering their seruice in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might haue vse of them. But the final answer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalimus* deliuered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing Warre if they stirred thence; Whereunto hee required their answer. *Clearchus* the Generall told him, they liked it. How faith *Phalimus* must I understand

CHAP. 10. §. 6. of the Historie of the World.

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stand you as choosing peace if we stay, otherwise warre, said *Clearchus*. But whether warre or peace? quoth this politique Embassadour. To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose.) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wiser than he came. All that day the *Greekes* were faine to feede vpon their Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which they rolled with arrowes, darts, and wooden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

10

How the *Greekes* beganne to retorne hom-wards.



T night they tooke their way towards *Arius*, to whom they came at mid-nights; being forsaken by foure hundred foote, and fortie horse, all *Thracians*, who fled ouer to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not finde. Like enough it is that they were cut in peeces; for had they been kindly vsed, it may well be thought that some of them should haue accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and serued as Stales to draw in the rest. *Arius* being of too base a temper, and birth, to thinke vpon seeking the King-
 20 dome for himselfe, with such assistance as might haue given it vnto *Cyrus*, was very well pleas'd to make couenant with them for mutuall assistance vnto the last: Whereunto both parts hauing sworne, he aduised them to take another way home ward, which should bee somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to releue them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, hauing made a wearisome march, and tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coasted them, lodged in certaine Villages, where they purposed themselves to haue encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because hee would not seeme by declining them to shew feare, or weakenesse. That the Kings men were contented to remoue, and giue place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; Nor strange, that the *Gracians* being wearie and hungry, and lying among enemies in an vnknowne Countrey, should be very feare-
 30 full: but it is almost past beleefe, that the noise which was heard of these poore men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition inforced them to doe, should make the *Persians* flie out of their Campe, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Armes, he should craue peace of them. The next day very early, came Messengers from *Ariaxerxes*, desiring free access for Embassadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars doe best open the qualitie of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to runne ouer the generall passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkeable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Mes-
 40 sengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, because the *Greekes* (as he said) wanting wherupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; *Ariaxerxes* dissembling the indignitie, was contented sweetly to swallow downe this pill, sending them guides who conducted them to a place where was plentie of victuals to releue them.

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§. VII.

§. VII.

How TISSAPHERNES vnder colour of peace betrayed all the Captaines of the Greekes.



Itherto the *Greekes*, relying vpon their owne vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought themselves into any straights or termes of disaduantage. But now came vnto them the subtile Fox *Tissaphernes*, who circumventing the chiefe Commanders by finelights, did miſchieuouſly entrap them, to the extreme danger of the Armie. 10
 Herold them, that his Prouince, lying neare vnto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliuerance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countymen at home, would not bee vnthankfull for such a benefit. Herewithall hee forgot not to rehearse the great seruice that he had done to his Master, being the first that aduertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and hauing not only brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battaile shewed his face to the *Greekes*, when all others turned their backs: that hee, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gaue chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth hee) did I allege to the King, entreating that he would giue me leaue to conduct you safe into *Greece*, in which suite 20
 I haue good hope to speede, if you will send a milde answer to him, who hath wiled me to aske you, for what cause yee haue borne Armes against him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to giue gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he said) that peace should bee granted: the conditions whereof were; That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for what they tooke, and committing no spoile: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open Market. Hereunto both parties hauing sworne, the League was concluded, and *Tissaphernes* returning to the King to take leaue, and end all businesse, came vnto them againe after twentie daies, and then they set forward. 30
 In interim of twentie daies, which *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministred great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breed doubt; the Brethren, and Kindred of *Arians*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldiers, did worke him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that hee daily grew more strange to the *Greekes*, than formerly he had beene. This caused many to aduise *Clearchus*, rather to passe forward as well as he might, than to relye vpon couenants, and sit still whilst the King laid snares to entrap them. But he on the contrarie perswaded them, to rest contented whilst they were well, and not to cast themselves againe into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting 40
 withall their owne wants, and the Kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually giuen and taken, wherewith hee saw no reason why the enemy should haue clogged himselfe if he meant mischief, hauing power enough to doe them harme by a faire and open Warre.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable Man (if honour may be valued by greatness and place in Court) which caused his Oath to bee the more esteemed; for as much as no enforcement, or bafe respect, was like to haue drawne it from him. But his fallshood was such, both in substance and in successe, as may fully expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, *I hate a rich man after I* 50
A lie may finde excuse when it grows out of feare: for that passion hath his originall from weakenesse. But when Power, which is a Character of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of vntruth, the fallshood is most abhominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, advancing his owne strength against the diuine Iustice, doth commit that sinne with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentation.

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table effects, and is followed with fure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to destroy all the Captaines, whom hee subtilly got into his power by a traine; making the Generall *Clearchus* himselfe the meane to draw in all the rest. The bulinesse was contriued thus: Having trauailed some daies together, in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encampe with the *Greekes*, who were very jealous of the great familiaritie, appearing betwene *Tissaphernes*, and *Arius*; *Clearchus* thought it conuenient to roote out of *Tissaphernes* his braines all causes of distrust, whereof many had growne in that short time. To which purpose obtaining priuate conference with him, hee rechar'd the oath of Confederacie, which had paſt betwene them, shewing how religiously he meant to keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the *Greekes* did receiue by the helpe of *Tissaphernes*, hee promised that their loſe should appeare to him not vnfruitfull, if he would make vse of their seruice againſt the *Myſians* or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infect his Province, or against the *Aegyptians*, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all diuine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not giue place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow suddaine inconuenience to either of them, vpon no iust ground. The faithfull *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministred faire occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to minde how many waies hee could haue vsed to bring them to confusion, without perill to himselfe, especially by burning the Countrey, through which they were to passe, whereby they must needs haue perished by mere famine. For which cause hee said that it had bene great folly, to ſecke by perjurie, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were already in his handes; But the truth was, that his owne loue to them had moued him to worke their safetie, not only for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himselfe, and the King, by their assistance, but for that he might by their friendship, hope to obtaine what *Cyrus* had miſt. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Captaines with him to the same place, where, in preſence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by secret information sought to raise diſſention between them. *Clearchus* himselfe being thus deuiſed, with great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the campe of *Tissaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had bene to some common Faire. But being there arriued, *Clearchus* with other the ſiue principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a ſigne was giuen, vpon which they within were apprehended, and the residue ſlaine. Forthwith certaine bands of *Persian* Horse-men ſcoured the field, killing as many *Greekes* as they met, and riding vp to the very Campe of the *Gracians*, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, cleaping ſorely wounded, informed them of all that had bene done. Hereupon the *Greekes* tooke Armes in halt, thinking that the enemy would forthwith haue aſſailed their Campe. Anon they might perceiue the Embaſſadours of *Tissaphernes*, among whom were his owne brother, and *Arius*, followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principall men in the Armie, ſaying, That they brought a meſſage from the King, which *Arius* deliuered to this effect. That *Clearchus* hauing broken his faith, and the league made, was juſtly rewarded with death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the ſiue Coronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to ſurrender their Armes, which were due to him, as hauing belonged vnto his ſeruant *Cyrus*. When ſome alteration had followed vpon this meſſage, *Xenophon* told the Embaſſadours, that if *Clearchus* had in ſuch ſort offended, it was well that he was in ſuch ſort puniſhed: but he willed them to ſend backe

Menon

Alcnon and *Proxenus*, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greekes* might be aduised how to answer the *Persian*. Hercunto the Embassadours knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clearchus*, and the other foure were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by whose commandement their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amiss to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousnesse of *Tissaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Prouince wasted by the *Greekes*, against whom receiving from his Master conuenient aide of men and money, hee did so ill manage his affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor perjurie (to which he failed not to haue recourse) auailing him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, who took it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treachery, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the service which he could not doe, he was thought vpon private ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flee from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let vs returne to the prosperitie, wherein hee triumphed without great cause, hauing betraied brauer men than himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischicke vpon the whole Armie.

§. VIII.

How *Xenophon* hentened the *Greekes*, and in despite of *Tissaphernes* went off safely.


Great was the heauinesse of the Souldiers, being now destitute of Leaders, and no lesse their feare of the euill hanging ouer their heads, which they knew not how to auoide. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe sadnesse of the whole Armie to be such, as hindered them from taking any course of preventing the danger at hand, beganne to aduise the vnder-Officers of *Proxenus*, his companies, whose familiar friend he had beene, to bethinke themselves of some meane, whereby their safetie might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: setting before their eyes whatsoever might serue to giue them hope, and aboue all perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercie of their barbarous enemies.

Hercupon they desired him to take vpon him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the same night calling vp such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succede in the places of those who were slaine, or taken. This being done, and order set downe for disburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the losse of *Tissaphernes* his assistance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheape than he had beene wont to sell them; To which purpose they intended to take vp their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentifull Villages, and so to proceede, marching towards the heads of those great Riuer, which lay in their way, and to passe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made vpon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, seruing all on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they received by the *Persian* Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the *Greekes* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* provide slings, wherewith he ouer-reachd the enemy; and finding some Horses fit for seruice, that were imployed among the carriages, he set men vpon them; training likewise his Archers, to shoote compass, who had beene accustomed to the point blanke. By these meanes did hee beare off the *Persians* who assailed him; and sometimes gaue them chace with that band of silitic Horses, which being well backt, with a firme bodie of footmen, and seconded with troups of the light-armed shot and slingers, compelled the enemy to lie a-loose. *Tissaphernes* not daring to come to handie-gripes with these

these resolute men, did possesse the tops of Mountaines, and places of aduantage, by which they were to passe. But finally, when their valour made way through all such difficulties, he betooke himselfe to that course, which was indeede the surest, of burning the Countrey. With great sorrow did the *Greekes* behol'd the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victualls cut off. Some aduised to defend the Countrey, as granted by the enemy himselfe to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the *Persians* might be ashamed to doe that which were the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner; But these were faint comforts. The best counsaile was, That being neare vnto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Persian*, they should enter into their Countrey, passing ouer some high Mountaines which lay betwene them. This course they followed, which could not haue auailed them if *Tissaphernes* had begunne sooner to cut off their victualls, rather then to seeke to force, or to circumuent them by his fine wit.

¶ I X.

The difficulties which the Greeke Armie found in passing through the Land of the *Carduchi*.

10  Niring vpon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountered with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge Armies of the *Persian*, were no way inferior to the *Greekes* in daring, but only in the Art of warre. They were very light of foot, skilfull Archers; and vsed the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrey, were of much vse against these poore trauailers, afflicting them in seuen daies, which they spent in that passage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Betwene the Territorie of these *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ranne *Centrites* a great Riuer, vpon which the *Greekes* refreshed themselves one day, rejoycing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would proue easie. But the next morning they saw certaine troupes of Horse, that lay to forbid their passage. These were leauied by the Kings Deputies in those parts; *Tissaphernes* and his Companies hauing taken their way towards *Ionia*. The Riuer was broad and deepe, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite banks. To increase these dangers the *Carduchi* following vpon them, lay on the side of a Mountaine, within lesse than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discouer a Ford, by which the greater number of them passing ouer, did easily chafe away the Subjects of the *Persian*, and then sending backe the most expedite men, gaue succour to the Reare ward, against which the *Carduchi* being lightly armed, could not on plaine ground make resistance hand to hand. These *Carduchi* seeme to haue inhabited the Mountaines of *Xiphates*, which are not farre from the Spring of *Tigris*; though *Ptolomie* place them farre more to the East vpon the Riuer of *Cyrius* in *Media*, wherein hee differs much from *Xenophon*, whose relation being grounded vpon his owne knowledge, doth best in this case deserve credit. Of the Riuer *Centrites* (as of many other Riuers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may indure the Censure of a Critick. For *Ptolomie*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, adde small light to this expedition: only of this last, I thinke it the same which falleth into *Tigris*, not much above *Artasagarta* springing out of *Xiphates*, and running by the Towne of *Sardena* in *Gardene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greekes* hauing passed *Centrites* did arriue.

§. X.

How TERIBAZVS Governour of Armenia, seeking to entrap the Greekes with termes of fained peace, was disappointed and shamefully beaten.

THe Armie finding in Armenia good prouision, marched without any disturbance about fittie or threescore miles to the heads of the Riuer Tigris, and passing ouer them, trauailed as farre further without resistance, till they were encountered by Teribazus at the Riuer Telehoa, 10 which Xenophon commends as a goodly water, though small; but Ptolemie and others omit it. Teribazus gouerned that Countrie for the Persian, and was in great fauour with Artaxerxes, whose Court may seeme to haue bene a Schoole where the Art of fallhood was taught as wisdom. He desired peace of the Greekes, which was made vpon this condition, that they should take what they pleased, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As soone as he had made this league, he leauied an Armie, and besetting the straights of certaine Mountaines which they were to passe, hoped wel to make such benefit of their securitie as might giue him the commendations of being no lesse craftily dishonest than Tissaphernes. Yet this cunning failed of successe. For a great snow fell, which caused the Greekes 20 to make many fires, and scatter themselves abroad in the Villages. Teribazus also made many fires, and some of his men wandered about seeking reliefe. By the fires he was discouered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the Greekes, taking this captiue with them for a guide, sought him out; and coming vpon his Campe, did so affright him, that before the whole Armie could arriue there, the shout which was raised by the Vaunt-currors, chased him away. They tooke his Paulion, wherein (besides many slaues, that were Artificers of voluptuousness) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Armie went northward, and passing Euphrates, not far below the Springs thereof, trauailed with much 30 difficultie through deepe snow, being followed aloofe by the enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found stragling behinde. The Inhabitants of the Countrie, through which they marched, had their wintering houses vnder ground, wherein was found great plentie of victuals, and of cattail, which likewise did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable journey, which had consumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-slaues, and taking away (besides other Horses and Cattail) some Colts that were bred vp for the great King. 40

§. XI.

The passage of the Armie to Trabizonde, through the Countreies bordering vpon the Riuer of Phasis, and other obscure Nations.

SO without impediment they came to the Riuer Phasis, neare whereunto the people called Phasiani Taochi, and Chalybes were seated. These Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaines, which the Greekes were to passe, made countenance of warre: 50 but some companies being sent by night to seize vpon a place of equall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the peeces of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to flie, every one retreating to the defence of his owne. The first vpon whose Countrie the

the *Greekes* did enter were the *Taochi*, who conuaying all their prouision or victuals into strong holds, brought the Armie into much want, vntill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of cattail were taken; the people, to auoide captiuitie, threw themselves head-long downe the rocks, the very women throwing downe first their owne children, and then casting themselves vpon them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cattail, which serued to feed them, traualing through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountered the *Greekes* hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions liuing; who were glad, when after seuen daies journey they escaped from those continuall kirmishes, wherewith they had been vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence traualing through a good corne-Countrie, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *sestians*, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoyning, vsed them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might discouer the *Euxine-Sea*. From *Gymnias* (which was the name of his Towne) heeled them through the Territorie of his enemies, desiring them to wait it with sword and fire. After siue daies march, they came to a Mountaine called *Teches*, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called *Mochebi*, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macones*, (with whom by means of an interpreter, found among themselves, who borne in that place had bene sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the land of *Colechi*, the *Colechi* entertaining them with hostilitie, were requited with the like; for the Armie, hauing now good kisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoile the Countrie thirte daies together, for bearing only the Borders vpon *Trabizonde*, at the Citizens request.

* Trabizond a Colonne of the *Greekes*, stands in the borning of the *Euxine* Sea.

30

§. XII.

How the Armie beganne at *Trabizond* to prouide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of *Sinope*, and there prosecuted the same purpose to effect.



Hauing now found an Hauent Towne, the Souldiers were desirous to take shipping, and change their tedious Land iourneys into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Chersophus* a *Lacedaemonian*, one of the principall Commanders, promised by means of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedaemonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that hee would prouide 40 Vessells to imbarke them. Hauing thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for the stowing of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to vie them for their navigation. Least all this prouision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Armie, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adjoyning to cleare the waies, and make an easie passage for them by Land; wherunto the Souldiers were vterly vnwilling to giue care, being desirous to returne by Sea: but the Countrie fearing what inconuenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, for taking their 50 Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabizonde*: the other tooke Merchants and Passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessells were staid to increase the fleet. After long abode, when victuals beganne to faile, by reason that all the Land of the *Colechi*, neare unto the Campe, was already quite wasted, they were faine to imbarke their sick-men, with

a *Mosynesi* a
Nation of *Pan-*
tiscappadunians

b *Cotyora* a
Port-Towne
in the same
Region.

c *Sinope* a
Port-Towne
in *Leucopis*,
a Colonie of
the *Mysians*.

the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Armie tooke their way by Land to *Cerajus*, a Greeke Towne, where the fleet likewise arrived. Here the Armie being mustered was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Countie of the *Mosynesi*, who were divided into factions. The stronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to joyne with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

The next place of their abode was *Cotyora*, a Greeke Towne likewise, and a Colonie of the *Sinopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerajus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick-men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sicke in convenient lodgings, taking into their owne hands the custodie of the Gates. Provision for the Armie they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territorie of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were vnnelcome to *Sinope*, whence Embassadors were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatening to joyne with the *Paphlagonians*, if redresse could not other wise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, that mere necessitie had entred the Armie to teach those of *Cotyora* a good manners in so bad a methode: letting them know, that he feared not to deale with them and the *Paphlagonians* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonians* would be glad to take *Sinope* it selfe, to which, if cause were given, they would lend assistance. Upon this answer the Embassadors grew better aduised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Towne of *Cotyora* to releaseth the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them vnderstand how difficult the passage by Land would proue, in regard of the manie and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halyx*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsaile, and the faire promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armie, which well perceived, that the Citie of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; provided, that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serue to imbarke every one man of them, then would they not put from the shore.

§. XIII.

Of dissention which arose in the Armie; and how it was embarked.



herto the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firme vnities which now beganne to dissolue, and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of Greece, warming their heads with priuate respects to their seuerall ends and purposes. Whilist they, who were sent as Agents from the Campe, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunitie of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honorable worke to build a Citie in those parts, which were soone like to proue great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puillance, and of the great repaire of the Greekes into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countie, divining of his successe by the entrails of beastes. The Sooth-sayer, whom he imploied, had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battaile in ten daies: hee therefore, having preferred his money carefully, was desirous to be soone at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was diuulged, which was interpreted according to the diuersitie of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the greater

greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclæ*, being informed of this consultation, were sore afraid, lest the povertrie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselves at home, should giue successe to the project. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the Armie with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the Captaines, who thereupon vnder-tooke to giue the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set saile for *Greece*: One of these Captaines being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Troas*, an other offered to leade them into *Cherronesus*. *Xenophon* who desired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that hee would haue them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a Traitor that should forsake the Armie, before such time as they were arrived at their journeyes end. *Silanus* the Sooth-sayer, who had vnterd *Xenophons* purpose, was hereby staied from out-running his fellowes, and driuen to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than stood with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were much troubled and afraid, when they perceiued, that ships were prepared sufficient for their Navigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope* and *Heraclæ*, knowing that the Armie was now resolu'd for the voiage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution; thought it the wildest way to furnish them with a Nauie whilst they were in good readinesse to depart, but to keepe the money to themselves. The Captaines therefore who being disappointed by these Townes, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceiued with faire hopes, repented much of their hastic offers, and signifying as much to *Xenophon*, praised him to make proposition to the Armie, of taking the ships, and sailing to *Phasis*, where they might seize vpon Lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the buisinesse, they began to worke the principall of their owne followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These newes becomming publike, bred a suspicion of *Xenophon*, as if he had wonne the rest of the Captaines to his purpose, and meant now to carrie the Armie quite an other way from their owne home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gaue them satisfaction and withall complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redresse. A generall inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*, which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadours from *Corylus*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents desired peace of the *Greekes*: the Embassadours were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to haue beene sought, for that the *Greekes* hauing now their Fleet in a readinesse, did soone weigh Anchors, and set saile for *Harmene*, the Port of *Sinope*, whether *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admirall *Anaxibius*, who promised to giue the Armie pay as soone as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

¶ XIII

Another great dissention and distraction of the Armie. How the mini-
sters were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by
XENOPHON.

150 **T**He nearer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make prouision for themselves, that they might not returne home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, hee might the more conueniently procure the good of them all, they determi-

ned to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose fauour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedaemonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitive who forsooke the Armie at *Trabizand*, flying with one of their two ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails, that threatened ill success to his government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laied vpon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedaemonian*. It seemed that *Xenophon*, considering the vexations incident to the conduct of a voluntarie Armie, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens as forbade him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their desire, which was, by right or by wrong to get wealth wheresoeuer it might be found, without all regard of Friend or of Foe. *Cherisophus* had bene Generall but sixe or seuen daies, when hee was depofed, for hauing bene vnwilling to robbe the Towne of *Heraclaea*, which had sent presents to the Camp, and bene very beneficiall vnto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had sailed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Riuer, which would haue giuen impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclaea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man began to put them in minde of seeking to get somewhat for them selues; telling them that all their prouision would be spent in three daies, and that being now come out of the enemies Countrey, victuals, and other necessaries, could not bee had without money; for which cause he gaue aduice to send messengers into the Towne of *Heraclaea*, giuing the Citizens to vnderstand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pices of money, called *Cyziceniens*, which summe amounteth to two thousand and fise hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the summe raised to ten thousand *Cyziceniens*: at least which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*, as being Generall, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*: but in vaine, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Least therefore either of these should faile in managing the businesse which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudencie and lesse discretion were sent, who in such wise deliuered their insolent message; that the Citizens taking time to deliberate vpon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the walls. When the Souldiers perceiued themselves to bee disappointed of their rauenous purpose, they fell to mutinie, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians*, and *Achaens*, they forsooke immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, choosung new Leaders out of their owne number. About foure thousand and fise hundred they were, all heauily armed, who electing ten Captaines, sailed vnto the Port of *Calpas*, which is in the mid-way between *Heraclaea* and *Bizantium*, with purpose to assaile the *Bythinians* on the suddaine. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and foure hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and fortie horse, which small band had done good seruice already, and could not haue bene sparred now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Gouvernour of *Bizantium*, to meete him at the mouth of the Riuer *Calpas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to conueigh him ouer into Greece; for which cause hee tooke his way thither by Land, leauing to *Xenophon* such shipping as he had, who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed vpon the Confinnes of *Heraclaea*, and *Thracia Asiatice*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Countrey to the *Propont*. The Mutiniers who had landed at *Calpas* by night, with purpose to take spoiles in *Bythinia*, diuided themselves into ten Companies, euery Captaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, fise or sixe miles from the Sea; in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered; and so was that part of the countrey surprised on the suddaine, and sacked all at one time.

The

The place of Rendezvous was an high peece of ground, where some of them arrived, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaping, the rest were all put to the sword. For the *Thracians* which had slipped at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Countrey, and finding the *Greekes* loden with bootie, tooke the advantage of their disorder, cutting in peeces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from these *Arcadians*, and *Acheans*: who wanting the assistance of horse, and having
 10 neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to stand merely upon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received, the Larts and Arrows of the *barbarians*, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to craue parlie. Whatsoever the articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but pledges for assurance they would give none, without which the *Greekes* well knew, that all promises of such people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the meane time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Travellers, whether they knew
 20 ought of any *Gracian* Armie, passing along those parts: and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly throwne themselves, hee marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him guides them who gave him the intelligence. His horse-men he sent before to discover, and to secure the waies; the light armed foot-men tooke the hill-tops on either hand; all of them setting fire on whatsoever they found combustible, whereby the whole Countrey seemed to bee on a light-flame, to the great terror of the enemies, who thought that some huge Armie had approached. That night he encamped on a Hill, within five mile of the *Arcadians*, increasing still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to bee quenched soone after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that hee would have fallen upon them in the darke, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early the next morning
 30 *Xenophon* comming thither in very good order, to have given battaile, found that his device, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but hee marvelled that the *Greekes* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquire, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by signes that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calpas*, in which journey hee over-tooke them. They embraced Him, and His, with great joy; Confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the enemies did, looking that hee should have come by night, wherein finding themselves deceived, they were afraid least he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away, to overtake him, and joyne with him. So they arrived at the Haven of *Calpas*, where it was decreed, That whosoever from thenceforth made a
 40 ny motion to disloyne the Armie, should suffer death.

§. XV.

Of divers peeces of service done by *XENOPHON*; and how the Armie returned into Greece. The occasions of the Warre betwene the *Lacedaemonians* and the *Persian*.

150 **T**He Haven of *Calpas* lay vnder a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Olives. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very convenient seate for a great Citie. All which commodities, that might have allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused

caused them to hast away, fearing least *Xenophon* should finde some device to haue
 fetled himselfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good
 meanes to liue at home, neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow *Cyrus*
 in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the loue which they bare vnto him:
 the poorer sort were such as left their Parents, Wiues, and Children, to whom
 (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now
 delirous to returne. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found aduantage by
 their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or
 whether the signes appearing in the entrails, did indeede forbid their departure:
 so long they were intored to abide in the place till victualls failed, neither would
 the Capitaine, leade them forth to forrage the Countrey, vntill the Sacrifices should
 promise good successe. *Cherisophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone,
 being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers
 were joyned to the rest of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more prouision
 it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronell
 into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needes aduenture to gratifie the Souldiers with
 the spoile of some Villages that stood neare at hand; in which enterprife he found
 ill successe, the whole Countrey lying in wait to entrap him, and an Armie of
 Horse being sent by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or *Viceroy* of *Phrygia*, to the assistance
 of these *Bythinian Thracians*, which troupes falling vpon the *Greekes* that were scat-
 tered abroad in seeking bootie, slew fiftie hundred of them, and chased the rest to
 a certaine Mountaine thery. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to *Xenophon*,
 he led forth a part of the Armie to the rescue of those that suruiued, and brought
 them safe to the Campe; vpon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and
 breaking a *Corps du garde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This
 new courage of the enemie, together with the present condition of the Armie, so
 disheartened and vnfurnished of necessaries, caused the *Greekes* to remoue their
 Campe to a place of more strength; which hauing intrenched, and committed to
 the defence of such as were least able to indure trauaile, *Xenophon* with the firme-
 st and best able men went forth, both to burie those which were lately slaine, and to
 abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their Assistants. In this journey his demean-
 our was very Honourable. For hauing giuen buriall to the dead, the Enemie
 was discovered, lying on the tops of the Hills adioyning, to whom (notwith-
 standing that the way was very rough, and troublesome, so that some thought it
 a matter of too great danger, to leaue at their backs a wood scarce passable) he
 marched directly, telling his men plainly, that hee had rather follow the enemie
 with halfe the number, than turne his back to them with twice as many, and letting
 them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarian*, hee would not faile
 with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely re-
 tire to the campe, yet what should they doe there, wanting victualls to sustaine
 them in the place, and ships to carrie them away? wherefore hee willed them ra-
 ther to fight well that day, hauing eaten their dinners, than an other day fasting;
 and not to regard the vncasie returne, which might serue to stay Cowards from
 running away, but to wish vnto the Enemie a faire and easie way, by which hee
 might flie from them. These perswasions were followed with so valiant execu-
 tion, that both *Persians* and *Bythinians* being chased out of the field, abandoned
 the Countrey forthwith, removing their Families, and leauing all that could not
 sodainely bee conuighed away, to the discretion of the *Greekes*, who at good
 leisure gathered the harvest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last
 fight which they had on the side of *Asia*. For they were not only suffered quietly
 to enioy the spoile of the Countrey, but when the opinion grew common in those
 parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colonie on the Port of *Calpas*,
 Embassadors were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and
 make

- make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no minde to stay. When forecentring further into *Bythinia*, they tooke a great bootie, which they carried away to *Chrysopolis*, a Citie neare unto *Chalcedon*, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly feare, leaſt their long lay in that Countie might breede in them a deſire to viſite his Prouince, wherethey might haue found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore hee ſent to the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, entreating him with much inſtance and large promiſes to waite them ouer into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condeſcending, promiſed to giue the Souldiers pay, as ſoone as they arriued at *Bizantium*. So were they carried out of *Asia* at the intreatie of the *Perſian*, who in the heighth of his pride had thought them ſo ſurely imprifoned with mightie Riuers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to ſurrender their Armies into his handes, and ſo yeeld their lues to his diſcretion. How diſcourteouſly they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they ſeized vpon *Bizantium*, which by *Xenophons* perſuaſion they forbore to ſack, I hold it ſuperfluous to relate. For the reſidue of their doings appertaine little to the generall courſe of thinges. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, ſo did it both diſcouer the ſecrets of *Asia*, and ſtirre vp the *Greekes* to thinke vpon greater enterpriſes, than euer their forefathers had undertaken. Likewiſe it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of *Italia*; and in *Greece* all thinges were quiet, the *Lacedemonians* ruling inſolently, but without diſturbance. True it is, that the ſeedes of the Warre ſhortly following, which the *Lacedemonians* made vpon *Artaxerxes*, were alreadie ſowne, before theſe companies returned out of the high Countries of *Asia*. For the Townes of *Ionia*, which had ſided with yong *Cyrus* againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, if not againſt the great King, prepared to rebel, which they thought ſafer, than to fall into the handes of *Tiſſaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* beſought the
- 30 *Lacedemonians* to ſend them aide, whereby to recouer their liberties; and obtained their requeſt.
- For a power was ſent ouer, vnder conſult of *Timbro* a *Spartan*, who beſtowed his men in ſuch Townes as had alreadie reuolted, to ſecure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offenſive Warre.
- 40 *

CHAP. XI.

*Of the affaires of Greece, whilst they were menaged by
the Lacedæmonians.*

þ. I.

*How the Lacedæmonians took courage by example of XENOPHONS
Armie, to make Warre vpon ARTAXEXES.*



It seemes that the *Lacedæmonians* did well perceiue
in how ill part *Artaxexes* tooke their fauour thewed
vnto his brother, and yet were timorous in begin-
ning an open warre against him, thinking it sufficient
to take all care that no aduantage might slip, which
could serue to strengthen their estate, by finding the
Persian worke beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons*
Armie had reuealed the basenesse of those effeminate
Asiaticques, and rehearsed the many victories which
they themselves had gotten, vpon termes of extreme
disaduantage; then was all *Greece* filled with desire of
vndertaking vpon this huge vnweldie Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the
joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Susa*, whereof one hand-
full had opened the passage to *Babylon*, and further, finding no power that was able
to giue them resistance, in that long journey of foure and thirtie thousand two
hundred and fiftie five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of Eng-
lish miles about foure thousand two hundred foure score and one, a very painefull
march of one year and three moneths. Neuertheless the cluill distraction where-
with *Greece* was miserably torne, and especially that hot fire of the *Theban* Warre,
which, kindled with *Persian* gold, brake forth sodainly into a great flame, drew back
out of *Asia* the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the defence of their owne estate; lea-
uing it questionable whether *Agesslaus*, hauing both the fame, and farre greater
forces, could haue wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole
space of two yeares, which he spent in *Asia*, his deedes procured more commendation
of magnanimitie and faire behauiour, than of stout courage, and great, or profit-
able artificements. For how highly lo cuer it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend,
and Tollower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being on-
ly a few incurfions into the Countries lying neare the Sea, carrie no proportion to
Xenophons owne journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the
famous retreat of *Canon* the *Briton* with six thousand men from *Aquileia*, to his owne
Country, through all the breadth of *Italie*, and length of *France*, in despite of the
Emperour *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equall. But of *Agesslaus* and his warres
in *Asia* and *Greece*, we shall speake more in due place.

þ. II.

B. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the warre in Asia.



HIMBRO receiuing *Xenophons* men, beganne to take in Townes, and to entertaine all such as were willing to reuolt from the *Persian*, who were many, and some of them such, as had beene highly beholding to the King; who seeme to haue had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to liue vnder the gouernement of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Maister did loue him. The managing of the warre begunne by *Himbro*, was for his oppressions taken out of his handes, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaued himselfe as a good man of Warre, and a wise Commander. For whereas the rule of the low Countries of *Asia* was diuided betwene *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes fauour the greater, and hauing the chiefe command in those warres against the *Greekes*; *Dercyllidas* who did beare a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischieuous nature, and would not be forrie to see his Cornuall throughly beaten, though to the Kings losse) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Eolis*, which was vnder the iurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province, in few daies, he brought into his owne power.

That Countrie of *Eolis* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gaue easie successe to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a *Dardanian* had been Deputie to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein shee behaued herselfe so well, that shee not only was beloued of the people vnder her gouernement; but enlarged her Territorie, by the conquest of certaine Townes adioining; and sundric times gaue assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his warres against the *Myssians* and *Pisidians*. For shee had in pay some Companies of *Greekes*, whose valour by her good vsage did her great seruice. But somewhat before the arrivall of *Dercyllidas* in those parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called *Atidias*, whom shee trusted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to stifle her, and kill her sonne of seuentene yeares old; which done, he seized vpon two of her principall Townes, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to haue beene admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers, that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him *Gouernour* in the place of *Mania*. His presents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but reuenge of his fowle treason threatened, whereby the wicked villaine was driuen into teares of almost vtter desperation. In the meane time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Townes of *Mania*, that held against *Atidias*, did quickly open their Gates. One only Towne stood out foure daies (against the will of the Citizens, who were couetous of libertie) the *Gouernour* striuing in vaine to haue kept it to the vse of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities *Gergebe* and *Scepis*, which the *Traitor* held, who fearing all men, as being loued of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercyllidas*, desiring leaue to speake with him, and pledges for his securitie: vpon the deliuerie of which hee issued out of *Scepis*, and comming into the Campe, made offer to ioine with the *Greekes* vpon such conditions, as might seeme reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at libertie. And presently vpon these wordes they marched toward *Scepis*. When *Atidias* perceived that it was in vaine to striue against the Armie, and the Townes-men, who were all of one minde; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who remaining but a few houres in the Citie, did a sacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the Garrison of *Atidias*, he left the Citie free, and departed toward *Gergebe*. *Atidias* did not forsake his Companie, but followed him, earnestly intreating that hee might bee suffered to re-

traite

tane *Gergethe*: but comming to the Gates he was bidden to command his Souldiers
 that they should be opened, for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise doe a sacri-
 fice to *Minerva*. The Traitor, not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercinaries
 to open the Gates, wherby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendred pay
 to the Garrison, who did notrefuse to serue vnder his Ensignes. This done, all the
 goods of *Mama* were seized vpon, as belonging to one that had bene subject to
Pharnabazus, who was enemie to the *Greekes*: and so the murderous wretch was sent
 away naked, not knowing in what part of the World hee might finde any place to
 hide his detested head. *Dercyllidas*, hauing in eight daies taken nine Cities, purpo-
 sed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in *Bythinia*, to which end hee tooke
 Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of Warre. That Winter, and the
 Sommer ensuing, the Truce being recontinued held; in which time, besides the
 waiting of *Bythinia*, the neck of Land joyning *Cherronea* to the Maine, was fortified,
 being foure or five miles in breadth, by which means eleuen Townes with much
 good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild *Thracians*,
 and made fit and able to victuall the Campe. Likewise the Citie of *Aarne* was ta-
 ken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with prouision. After this,
Dercyllidas had command from *Sparta*, to diuert the warre into *Caria*, where was the
 seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not vncleafe to recouer all the
 Townes of *Ionis*: *Phurax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yearly Office)
 being appointed to ioyne with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had
 neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessitie, yet was he not in his owne danger requi-
 red with the like. For *Pharnabazus* hauing respect to the Kings seruice, came to as-
 sist his private enemie *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into *Caria*, they thrust Garrisons in-
 to all places of strength; which done, they marched towards *Ionis*, hoping to finde
 the Townes ill manned for resistance. As these *Persians* were desirous to keepe the
 warre from their owne doores, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the
Ionians from the spoile and danger of the warre, by transferring it into *Caria*. For
 which cause he passed the Riuer of *Maender*, and not looking to haue been so soone
 encountered, marched carelesly through the Countrie: when on the very sodaine
 the whole Armie of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of *Pers-*
ians, *Carians*, and some Mercinarie *Greekes*, who were all marshalled in very good
 order to present battaile. The oddes was too apparent, both in numbers of men,
 and in readinesse, as also in aduantage of ground: for the *Persian* had a great multi-
 tude of Horse, the *Greeke* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine.
 Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the *Flanders* and others, of such places as
 bordered vpon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselues to present
 flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they
 meant not to be more bold than wise. Only *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponnesians*
 regarding their honor, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs haue brought
 them to destruction, if the counsaile of *Pharnabazus* had bene followed, who per-
 ceiuing the opportunitie of so great a victorie, was not willing to let it slip. But
Tissaphernes, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance
 was made, beganne to consider what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had
 shewed, and thinking that all the *Greekes* were of the like resolution, held it the wis-
 est way to craue parlie; the conclusion of which was, That a truce should be made,
 to last vntill *Tissaphernes* might receiue answer from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from
Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treatie, which were on the one
 part, that all the *Greekes* in *Asia* might enjoy their owne libertie and lawes, but con-
 trariwise on the other side, that the *Lacedaemonians* should depart *Asia*, and leaue the
 Townes to the Kings pleasure. This Treatie was of none effect; only it serued to
 free the *Greekes* from the present danger, and to gaine time vnto *Tissaphernes*, who
 desired to auoid the warre by procrastination, which he durst not aduenture to fi-
 nish by trial of a battaile.

§. III.

*How the Lacedæmonians tooke reuenge vpon the Eleans for old displeasures. The
discontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, concerned against the
State of Sparta.*

IN the meane season the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to with-
stand them in *Greece*, beganne to call the *Eleans* to accompt for some
disgraces receiued by them during the late warres, when leasure was
wanting to the requittall of such petty injuries. These *Eleans* being
Presidents of the *Olympique* games, had set a fine vpon the Citie of
Sparta, for Non-payment of which, they forbade them to come to the solemnities;
and publicly whipt one of them, that was a man of note, for presuming to con-
tend against their decree. Likewise they hindred *Agis* King of *Sparta*, from doing
sacrifice to *Iupiter*; and in all points vsed great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who
now had no business that could hinder them from taking reuenge: and therefore
sent a peremptorie message to the *Eleans*, commanding them to let at libertie the
Cities which they held in subjection. This was the vnuall pretence which they
made the ground of all their warres: though little they cared for the libertie of such
Townes, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than
meere Vassals to themselves. In their late warres with *Athens*, the strong
opposition which they found caused this goodly Title of libertie to worke very
slowly: but hauing now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gaue
present successe to their desires. Two yeares together they sent an Armie into the
Countrie of the *Eleans*: the first yeare an earthquake (held in those times a prodi-
gious signe, and which did alwaies forbid the prosecution of any enterprize in hand)
caused them to retire: the second yeare, all the Townes of the *Eleans* did hastily re-
uolt, and the Citie it selfe was driuen to submission; consenting both to suffer their
old subjects freely to enioy their libertie, and to haue her owne walls throwne
downe. Only the Presidentship of the *Olympian* games was left vnto them, which,
it was not to be doubted that they would, in time comming, vse modestly, finding
themselves to stand at the mercie of *Sparta*. In this expedition all the *Greekes* were
assistant to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Boeotians*, whose aide ha-
uing beene of as much importance in the late *Peloponnesian* Warre, as the force of
Sparta it selfe, they could not smother their dislike of their vnequall diuision fol-
lowing the victorie; which gaue to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes*, and
Corinth, only securitie against *Athens*, but such a securitie as was worse than the
danger. For when the equall greatnesse of two mightie Estates did counterpoise
each the other, it was in the power of these Neutrall Common-weales to adhere to
either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to reuenge injuries,
they had by mortall hatred prosecuted the warre to extremitie, leauing the one Ci-
tie naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreased in both, it was then (if
not necessarie to obey the greatnesse which themselves had made yet) foolish and
dangerous to prouoke it. Nevertheless, it was not the purpose of the *Spartans* to
take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time
as they had by victorie or composition made some good end with the *Persians*, to-
ward whom they bent all their care and forces.

d. IIIL

*The passage of AGESILAUS into Asia. His warre with TISSAPHERNES.
How TISSAPHERNES was put to death, and the warre diuerted into an
other Prouince, through perswasion and gifts of TITHRAUSTES
his successor. How carelesse the Persian Lieutenants
were of the Kings good.*



AGESILAUS newly made King of *Sparta*, was desirous to haue the honour of the victorie, which, not without cause, he expected vpon those of *Asia*; and therefore procuring a great Armie to ioyne with that of *Dercylus*, he tooke his way in great pompe to *Aulis* in *Boeotia*, a Hau-
uen, lying oppolite to the Iland of *Eubaea*, in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the warre against *Troy*, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon* hee meant also to doe sacrifice in *Aulis*, which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Countrey, would not permit, but saying that the performance of such ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers, they were so vnable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Agesslaus* to entangle himselfe and his Countrey in any new warre; therefore, waiting better opportunitie of reuenge, he quickly swallowed the contumelie, and followed his maine intendment. Having landed his men at *Ephesus*, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treate of peace, wherein *Agesslaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Persian* should restore to libertie all the *Greece* Townes in *Asia*, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought only to winne time of making prouision for the warre, and getting supply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*; whilest *Agesslaus* was busie in seeing the Estates of his Confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from warre was at the comming downe of these forces, which *Artaxerxes* had sent: at what time *Agesslaus* received a plaine message from *Tissaphernes*, that either hee must forth-with depart out of *Asia*, or make good his abode by strong hand. *Agesslaus* returning word that he was glad to heare that his enemies had by perjury deserued vengeance from Heauen, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the Townes which lay betwene him, and *Caria*, that they should provide victuals, and other necessities for his Armie, did easily make *Tissaphernes* beleue, that his intent was to invade that Prouince wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was vsit for horse, in which part of his forces the *Persian* had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies of foot in *Caria*, entred with his horse into the plaines of *Maander*, hoping thereby to stoppe the passage of a heauie foot-Armie, not suffering them to passe into that Countrey which was fittest for their seruice. But the *Greekes* left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they tooke great spoile without resistance, till such times as the Horse-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish hauing the better of the *Greekes*, were the occasion that *Agesslaus* returned to *Ephesus*. Although in this last fight only twelue men were lost, yet *Agesslaus* perceiving by that triall how hard it would be to preuaile, and hold the maiestie of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, tooke all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which meanes hauing enabled himselfe, whilest winter lasted, hee entred vpon the Countrey of *Tissaphernes*, as soone as the season of the year would permit, and not only tooke a great bootie, but finding the Horse-men of *Tissaphernes* in the plaines of *Maander*, without assistance of their infanterie, hee gaue them battaile, and had a great victorie, taking their Campe in which hee found great riches. The blame of this losse fell heauie vpon

Tissaphernes

Tisaphernes, who either vpon cowardise had absented himselfe from the battaile, or following some other bulincse, was then at *Sardes*. For which cause his Maier hauing him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which hee much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the *Greekes*, were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts *Tithraustes* a *Persian*, to cut off the head of *Tisaphernes*, and succcede him in the gouernement. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by perjurie hee could aduance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much ouerweening of his owne wisdom, euen in that part of cunning wherein he thought himselfe most perfect. For supposing, that by his great skill in subtile negotiation hee should one way or other circumuaint the *Greekes*, and make them wearie of *Alex*, he did not seeke to finish the warre, and, according to his Matters with, bring all things speedily to quiet; but rather to temporise till he might finde some opportunitie of making such end as best might stand with the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it seemes that he much misooke his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would hee much more gladly haue taken it, if he could haue found such meanes whereby the danger it selfe might haue bene auoided: as not louing to haue warre whilest by any conditions (honorable or not) he might obtaine peace. And this appeared well by the course which *Tithraustes* tooke at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he sent Embassadours to *Agessilau*, in very friendly sort, letting him know, that the man who had bene Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the *Greekes* enjoy their owne lawes and libertie, vpon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Armie be forthwith dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by *Agessilau* referred to the Councell of *Sparta*; in the meane season he was content to transferre the warre into the Prouince of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of *Tithraustes*, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

This was a strange manner of Warre, both on the offensive and on the defensive part. For *Agessilau* hauing entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbear his seuerall Prouinces, at the entreatie of the Lieutenants: and those Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed they knew that their heads might easily bee taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Prouinces, which were subiect likewise to the same Crowne of *Persia*, so long as their owne gouernement could be preferred free from wast and danger. The cause of this disorder on the *Persian* side I can ascribe to nothing so deservedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eunuches, Concupines, and Ministers of pleasure, were able by partiall construction to countenance, or dis-
40 grace, the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so viall that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Prouinciall Gouernour, according to the benefit or losse, which the Countrey giuen in charge vnto each of them receiued, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as euery one was desirous to make his owne Terri-
50 torie yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure; so no man was carefull to assist his borderers, if losse or danger might thereby grow to himselfe and his; but sat still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces it had not bene vnease to recompence the spoile of one Countrey, by conquering another, or defending a third from farre greater miseries.

§. V.

The Warre and Treatie betwene AGESILAVS and PHARNABAZVS.



AGESILAVS having thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and wasting the Countrey without resistance. Hee tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. These actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not winne Cities and Places of strength, which might haue encreased his power, and giuen assurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him some that were discontented and stood vpon bad termes with the great King, whom hee lost againe as easily, by means of some slight iniurie done to them by his vnder-Captaines. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himselfe in any Towne for feare of being belieged, but kept the field, lying as neare as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which hee found not vn easie to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their most needitie, had bene so great, that when hee (obtaining parlie) did set before their eyes his bountie towards them, and his loue (which had bene such, that besides many other hazards of his person, hee had for the rescue of their selfe, when it was driuen to runne a shore at *Abydus*, adventured to ride into the Sea as farre as he could finde any ground, and fight on horse-back against the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had neuer bene violated in word or deede: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise then by telling him, That hauing warre with his Master, they were inforced, against their will, to offend him. *Agessilus* did make a faire offer to him, that if hee would reuolt from the King to them; they would maintaine him against the *Persian*, and establish him free Prince of the Countrey wherein hee was at that time only Deputie to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make warre against them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as bay their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and hee commanded to obay another, hee would then shift side, and betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parlie was, That the Armie should no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor againe returne into it, whilest employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agessilus*, and the with-drawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not inuaded for want of more necessarie businesse elsewhere; but because his Countrey would yeeld great bootie; and for the hire of thirtie Talents. By this meanes the *Lacedaemonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their vntankesfullnesse with full reuenge.

§. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with gold from the Persian.



IN the meane while *Tithraustes*, perceiving that *Agessilus* meant nothing lesse than to returne into Greece, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in *Asia*, tooke a wife course whereby the Citie of *Sparta* was not only driuen to looke to her owne, and giue ouer her great hopes of subverting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had bene gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained vnto the narrow bounds of her

her owne Territorie. He sent into *Greece* fiftie talents of silver, to bee imployed in railing warre against the *Lacedæmonians*; which treasure was, by the subtile practise of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed, among the principall men of the *Thebans*, *Argues*, and *Corinthians*; that all those Estates hauing formerly borne secret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open war. And least this great heate of the incesed multitude should, for want of present exercise, beginne to faint, and vanish away in idle wordes, occasion was found out to thrust the *Lacedæmonians* into Armes, that they themselves might seeme Authours of the quarrell. Some land there was in the renure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claime; but the *Phocians* either hauing the better title, or finding the greater fauour, had it adjudged vnto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or perswaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning so to loose their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recovering a great deale more than their owne; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tennants) requited with an inuasion made vpon *Phocis*, waiting that Countrie in the manner of open warre. Such were the beginnings of professed hostilitie betwene *Thebes* and *Sparta*, and the first breaking out of their close enmitie, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embassadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, and requesting succour, they had very favourable audience, and readie consent to their suite, it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*; to deferre the acknowledgment of injuries received, vntill occasion of reuenge were offered, and then to discover their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunitie to worke their owne wills, hauing no other war to disturbe them in *Greece*; and hearing out of *Asia* no newes, that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lysander* to raise all the Countreys about *Phocis*, and with such forces as he could leaue, to attend the coming of *Pausanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath bene shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of *Peloponnesus*. *Lysander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to reuolt from *Thebes*. *Pausanias*, likewise raised all *Peloponnesus*, except the *Corinthians*, (who refused to assist him in that enterprise) meaning to ioyne with *Lysander*, and make a pcedie end of the war. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the *Thebans* to seeke what helpe they could abroad, forasmuch as their owne strength was farre too little to make resistance against such mightie preparations. It was not vnknowne to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwise affected in heart than they durst vtter in countenance; but the good willes of such people were lide auailable, considering that the most which could be expected from them, was that they should doe as little hurt as they could; by which manner of tergification, the *Corinthians* did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the safest course to procure the assistance of some Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, & make their partie strong. To this end they sent Embassadors to *Athens*, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompensed with friendship lately shewen in their refusal of assisting *Pausanias*, when he came in behalfe of the thirtie Tyrants, against the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their owne Honours sake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of *Athens* to her former Estate and Dignitie. *Thrasybulus* and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirtie, had bene well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the Citie to make a large requitall of the courtesie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* should not only refuse to aide the *Lacedæmonians* in this Warre; but that it should assist the *Thebans*, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilest *Pausanias* lay

still, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates; *Lysander* being desirous to doe somewhat that might advance the businesse in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though *Pausanias* did not meete him, as had beene appointed, yet he attempted the Towne, and was slaine in fight by the *Thebans*, who came hastily to the rescue. As this victorie did encourage the *Thebans*, so the comming of *Pausanias* with his great Armie did againe amaze them, with presentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were sooner revived by the strong succour which was brought from *Athens*, in consideration of which, and of the late battaile, *Pausanias* durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slaine, by composition, departed out of their Territorie, for which, either cowardise or indiscretion, he was at his returne to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flee into *Tegea*, where he ended his daies in banishment.

§. VII.

How AGESILAVS was called out of Asia to helpe his Countrey. A victorie of the Spartans. CONON the Athenian, assisted by PHARNABAZVS, overcomes the Lacedemonian fleet; recovers the maiestie of the Seas; and rebulds the walls of Athens.

THis good successe, and the confederacie made with *Athens*, gave such reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Euboeans*, *Locrans*, and *Acarnanians*, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong Armie, determined to give battaile to the *Lacedemonians*, as neare as they might, to their owne dores; Considering that the force of *Sparta* it selfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, sent for *Agessilavus*, who readily obeyed them, and promising his friends in *Asia* to returne speedily to their assistance, passed the straights of *Hellefont* into *Europe*. In the meane time the Cities of the new league had given battaile to the *Lacedemonians*, and the remainder of their Associates, but with ill successe. For when the right-wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chace in some disorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedemonians*, who meeting them in good order, wonne from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedemonians*, and made the victorie of that day entirely their owne. The report of this battaile meeting *Agessilavus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him sent out into *Asia*, where it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friend, who had since his departure seene the *Spartan* fleet beaten, and *Lysander* the Admirall slaine. The same man, whose endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order, by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedemonians* with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power of *Athens* grew strong at Sea, when the Citie was despoiled of her old reputation, and scarcely able to maintaine an Armie by Land for her owne defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the King his Master, to haue the *Greekes* divided into such factions, as might vtterly disable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himselfe, during these broiles, to take such order, that he should not neede any more, to seeke peace by entreatie and commemoration of old benefites, at their hands, who vnprovoked had sold his Ioue for thirtie Talents. To which purpose he furnished *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight ships, who had escaped, when the fleet of *Athens* was surprised by *Lysander* at *Argos-Potamos*; giving him the command of a great Naue, wherewith he requited the losse received at *Argos-Potamos*; by repaying the *Lacedemonians* with the like destruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victorie *Conon* failed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberalitie of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victorie, so strong a Naue, and so much gold, as encouraged the

Athenians to rebuild their walls, and thinke more hopefully vpon recouering the Signoric which they had lost.

§. VIII.

Of sundrie small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedemonians loose all in Asia; The Athenians recover some part of their old Dominion.

10 **N** Euerthelesse the *Lacedemonians*, by many victories at Land, maintained for some yeares the honour of their estate, endangered very greatly by this losse at Sea. For *Agefilas* obtained the better with his horse-men, from the *Thessalians*, who were accounted the best riders in *Greece*: He watted *Bavatia*, and fought a great battaile at *Coronea* against the *Thebans*, and their Allies, whom hee ouerthrew; and by his *Marshall Gylis* forraged the Countrie of *Locris*: which done, he returned home.

The gaine of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battailes of *Coronea* vanquish the *Orchomenians*, who stood opposit vnto them, and retired vnbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agefilas* charged them in their returne from the pursuit. Likewise *Gylis* was slaine with a great part of his Armie by the *Locrians*; and some other exploits by the *Lacedemonians* performed against the *Corinthians*, were repaid with equall damage receiued in the parts adjoining; many Townes being easily taken, and as easily recovered. The varietie of which enter-seats was such, that the *Thebans* themselves were drawne by the losse of the Haven of *Corinth*, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the newes came of a great victorie obtained by *Iphicrates*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces at *Lechaum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embassadors being sent for, and willed to doe their mesage, required only in forme, to haue a safe conduct giuen them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while only by incursions wherein the *Achaens*, confederates of *Sparta*, felt most losse, their whole state being endangered by the *Acarnanians*, who held with the contrarie side, vntill *Agefilas* repaid these inuaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought vpon their owne Lands, which did so afflict the *Acarnanians* that they were driuen to sue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of most consequence, vpon which the successe of all depended. For when the Townes of *Asia* perceiued, that the *Lacedemonians* were not only intangled in an hard warre at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, having lost their fleet at *Cnidus*; they soone gaue care to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should vse their owne lawes, if they would expell 40 the *Spartan* Gouvernours. Only the Citie of *Aridus* did stand firme, wherein *Dercylidas* lay, who did his best to containe all the Townes about *Hellisponi*, in the alliance of the *Lacedemonians*; which he could not doe, because the *Athenian* fleet vnder *Thorsibulus* tooke in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of *Leibos* to their ancient acknowledgement of *Atheni*.

§. IX.

The base conditions offered vnto the Persian by the Lacedemonians. Of sundrie fights and other passages in the warre. The peace of ANTALCIDAS.

50 **A** Bout this time the *Spartans* beganne to perceiue, how vnseale a thing it would bee, to maintaine the warre against men as good as themselves, assisted with the treasures of *Persia*: wherefore they craued peace of *Artaxerxes*, most basely offering, not only to renounce the *Greekes* inhabiting

habiting *Asia*, and to leave them to the Kings disposition, but withall to set the Islanders, and every Towne in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute libertie, whereby they said that all the principall Estates of their Countrey would be weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to stirre against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Countrey being so broken, and rent into many small peeces, could neither have disquieted the *Persian*, by an offensive warre, nor have made any good defence against him, but would have left it easie for him in continuance of time, to have taken the Cities one after another, till hee had made himselfe Maister of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with envie, that perceiuing how the Dominion of the Seas was like to returne to *Athen*, they chose rather to give all from themselves and others, and make all a-like weake; than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalfe joynted together against the *Lacedemonians*, did by their severall Embassadors oppose themselves vnto it, and for that it was thought safest for *Alexander*, rather to weaken the *Lacedemonians* yet more, than by interpoling himselfe to bring friends and foes on the suddaine to an equalitie. Especially *Struthas*, whom *Alexander* did send as his Lieutenant into the low-Countries, did seeke to repay the harme done by *Agessius* in those parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cutoff; *Thimbro* was sent into *Asia* to make war vpon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the warre, being scattered about, all the Isles and Townes on the firme Land grew almost to the manner of piratic and robbrie, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthe of remembrance. *Thimbro* was slaine by *Struthas*; and in his place *Diphridas* was sent, who demeaned himselfe more warily; *Dercyllidus* was removed from his charge at *Abydus*, because hee had not impeached *Thrasylbulus* in his enterprises about *Hellepont*; *Anaxibius*, who succeeded him; was surpris'd and slaine in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thrasylbulus*, departing from *Leibes* toward *Rhodes*, was slaine by the way at *Aspendus*; the Citie of *Rhodes* having long before joynted with the *Lacedemonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Aristocratic*, or the Governement of a few the principall Citizens, where as contrariwise the *Athenians* were accustomed to put the Sovereignetie into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves, by erecting in the Townes of their Confederates a Governement like vnto their owne: which doing (where more especiall cause did not hinder) caused the Nobilitie to fauour *Sparta*, and the Commons to incline to *Athen*. The people of *Egina* roused vpon the coast of *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to land an Armie in *Egina*, and besiege their Towne: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the *Lacedemonian* fleet, the Islanders beganne a new to molest *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to man their ships againe, that returned beater, having lost foure of thirteene. The loss of these ships was soone recompensed by a victorie which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* Generall had in *Egina*, whereupon the Islanders were faine to keepe home, and leaue to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well seeme strange that the Citie of *Athen*, having but newly raised her walls; having not by any fortunate and important battaile secured her estate from dangers by land; but only depending vpon the assistance of such Confederates, as carried vnto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause; would send a fleet and an Armie to *Cyprus* in defence of *Euaforas*, when the maistr of the Seas was so full assured, that an Island lying in the eie of *Pirats*, had abilitie to vex the coast of *Attica*. But as the over-weening of that Citie did cause it usually to embrace more than it could compasse; so the insolencie and shamelesse iniustice of the people, had now bred in the chiefe Commanders, a desire to keepe themselves farr out of sight, and to seeke employments at such distance as might secure them from the eies of the enuious, and from publike iudgements, out of which few

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few or none escaped. For which cause *Timotheus* did passe away much part of his time in the Isle of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carrie away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Countrey well could have spared, with which hee returned not when the businesse in *Cyprus* came to an end, but sought new adventures in *Aegypt*, whereby arose neither thanks to himselfe, nor profit to his Citie, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus carelesse of things at hand, had a notable blow giuen vnto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, euen within their owne Hauens. For *Telamenes*, a *Lacedemonian*, being made Governour of *Argina*, conceived a strong hope of surprisling the Naue of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking a-right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twentie lying in harbour, whose Mariners were a sleepe in their Cabbins, or drinking in Taverners. Wherefore hee failed by night vnto the mouth of the Port, which entering at the breake of day, he found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, & few or none left aboard to make resistance: by which means hee tooke many ships laden with marchandizes, many fisher-men, passengers, and other Vessells, also three or foure Gallies, hauing funke or broken, and made vneruicicable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time *Phonibazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters giuen to him in marriage, with whom hee liued about the Court; and many Officers that fauoured the *Lacedemonians* were placed in the lower *Asia*; by whose assistance, the fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Hellepont*; in such wise, that perhaps they should not haue needed the peace, which they themselves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giuing freedom to all the Cities of *Greece*, and diuiding the Countrey into as many seuerall States as there were petty Boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* hauing bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become arbitrator and decider of Controversies between the *Greekes*, disposing of their businesse in such wise as stood best with his owne good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes* his decree was, That all *Asia* and *Cyprus* should be his owne; the Iles of *Lenno*, *Imbrus*, and *Seirus* be subject to *Athens*; all other *Greece* Townes, as well the little as the great, bee set at libertie; and that whosoever should refuse this peace, vpon them the approuers of it should make warre, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The *Athenians* were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the *Lacedemonians* by revolt of their Confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the warre, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did consent vnto these Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedemonians* taking vpon themselves the execution, did not only compell the *Argines* to depart out of *Corinth* (which vnder pretence of defending they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leaue *Boeotia* free, of which Prouince *Thebes* had alwaies held the government: the *Thebans* themselves being also comprehended vnder the name of *Boeotians*; but caused the *Maninæans* to throw downe their owne Citie, and to dwell in Villages: alleging that they had formerly bene accustomed so to doe, though purposing indeede to chastise them, as hauing bene ill affected to *Sparta* in the late war. By these courses the *Lacedemonians* did hope that all the small Townes in *Greece*, would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities hauing lost all their dependants, would be vnable to make opposition.

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p. X.

The warre which the Lacedæmonians made upon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason; and Olynthus by famine.

WHilst these warres, which ended without either victorie or profit, consumed the riches and power of Greece, the Citie of Olynthus in Thracia was growne so mightie, that shee did not only command her Neighbour-Townes, but was become terrible to places farre removed, and to Sparta it selfe. Great part of Macedonia, together with Pella, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the Olynthians, who following the vsuall pretence of the Lacedæmonians, to set at libertie the places over which King Amyntas did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of Acanthus and of Apollonia, being nearell vnto the danger of these incroching neighbours, acquainted the Lacedæmonians with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the Olynthians would bee too siring for all Greece, if some continuance of time should giue it reputation, which only it wanted, wherefore they requested assistance, but in such termes as did found of compulsion, protesting that either they must warre vpon Olynthus, or become subiect vnto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hattie leaue of men, two thousand being presently sent away with promise to bee seconded by a greater Armie. Whilst these two thousand gaue such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the bodie of the Armie following them surpris'd the Cittadell of Thebes, which was betraied into the handes of Phæbidas the Lacedæmonian, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the flatterie of their Countrie. The Thebans were ill affected to Sparta, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made betwene them; which caused the Lacedæmonians to doubt whether this act of Phæbidas were more worthie of reward or of punishment; In conclusion, profit so farre ouer-weighed honestie, that the decde was approued, many principall Citizens of Thebes condemned to death, manie driven into banishment, and the T raitors rewarded with the gouernment of the Citie: by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garrison, the Thebans were compelled to serue the Lacedæmonians, in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power hauing strengthened the Lacedæmonians, caused them to entertaine the greater forces about Olynthus, which (notwithstanding the losse of one great battaile, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it selfe to their obedience.

p. X I.

How the Thebans recovered their libertie, driving out the Lacedæmonian Garrison.

AFTER this Olynthian Warre, which endured almost three yeares, it seemed that no Estate in Greece was able to make head against that of Sparta: but it was not long ere the Thebans found meanes to shake off their yoke, and gaue both example and meanes to others to doe the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a scribe of the Theban Magistrates, comming to Athens, that the tyrannie wherewith his Countrie was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for feare of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laied betwene these two, that soonc found very good successe, being managed thus. Seuen of the banished men forsooke Athens priuily, and entred by night into the fields of Thebes; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the euening to the Gates like husband-men returned

turned from worke, and so passed vndiscouered vnto the house of *Charon*, whom *Phylis* as the Scribe had drawne into the conspiracie. The day following, a solenne feast being then held in the Citie, *Phylidas* promised the *Gouernours*, who were insolent and lustfull men, that hee would conueigh vnto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheared them with such hope, and plentie of good wine, hee told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came, that hee could not make good his promise, vnlesse they would dismisle their followers; because the Gentlewomen, who attended without in a chamber, would not endure, that any of the seruants should see their faces. Vpon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the 10 Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; who taking aduantage of the *Gouernours* loose behauiour, slew them all vpon the sodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden vnder their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where faining themselves to come to the *Gouernours* vpon buisnesse, they got admittance, and slew those which were of the *Lacedaemonian* faction. By the like deuice they brake into the prison; slew the *Geolers*; and set at libertie such as they thought meete, and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants knowne. The Capitaine of the Castle hearing the proclamation, thought the Rebels to bee 20 stronger than indeede they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a practise to discouer such, as would be forward vpon occasion of reuolting. But as soone as day-light revealed the paine truth, all the people tooke armes and besieged the Castle, sending halntie to *Athen* for succour. The Garrison also sent for aide vnto the Townes adjoyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side the banished *Thebans* did not only make speede to asist their Countreimen, but procured some *Athenians* to ioyne with them, and thereby came so strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yelded, more through feare than any necessitie, vpon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which composition the 30 Capitaine at his returne to *Sparta* was put to death. When the newes of the doings at *Thebes*, and the successe arrived at *Sparta*, an Armie was raised forth-with, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recouering of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had bene taken from the *Lacedaemonians*, and not a Towne perfidiously vsurped by them, restored to her owne libertie. *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was sent on this expedition, who having wearied his followers, with a toilsome Winters journey, returned home without any good or harme done; leauing *Sphodrias*, with part of his Armie, at *Thespie*, to intell the *Thebans*, who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt vpon the Hauens of *Athen*, which failing to take, hee wasted the Countreie adjoyning, and 40 draue away Cattle, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the Warre, out of which they were before very carefully looking how to with-draw themselves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battaile of Leuctra to the battaile of Mantinea.

§. I.

How Thebes and Athens ioyned together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battaile of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatnesse.



THE *Lacedemonians* were men of great resolution, and of much gravitie in all their proceedings, but one dishonorable rule they held, that all respects withstanding the commoditie of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practise of which doctrine, even by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate, but when it was put in execution by insufficient overweening men, it seldome failed to bring vpon them instead of profit vnjustly expected, both shame and losse. And so it befell them in these enterprises of *Pharidas*, vpon the Castle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* vpon the *Piræus*.

For howsoever *Agessilaus* did spoile the Countrie about *Thebes*, in which he spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good successe of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise beganne to looke abroad, failing to the Ile of *Coreyra*, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and hauing in some fights at Sea prevailed, began as in the *Peloponnesian* warre, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a Nauie; afflicting so the *Lacedemonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their insolencie wearied their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had beene very likely that the course of this war, should haue soone come to a good end, which neuertheless, being persecuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the Citie of *Sparta* as much dejected as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiuing how *Thebes* encreased euery day vpon her weake Neighbours, not sparing such as had beene dependants vpon *Athens*, and finding themselves, whilst engaged in such a warre, vnable to relieue their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affaires of *Greece* by renewing that forme of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent Messengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily signifying, that it was their intent to finish the Warre; to which purpose they willed the *Thebans* to send Embassadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condescended, fearing otherwile that they should be left out of the Treatie of peace, which came to passe being so wrought by the couragious wisdom of *Epaminondas*, who vnderstood farre better than his Countrymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* did soone agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the *Boeotians*; *Agessilaus* required them to sweare in their owne name, and to leaue the *Boeotians* free, whom they had lately reduced vnder their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made answer, that the Citie of *Sparta* should giue example to *Thebes* by setting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signorie of *Boeotia* did by as good right appertaine to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience: For *Agessilaus* bearing a vehement hatred vnto those of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawne back out of *Achaia* into *Greece*, and disappointed of all the glorie which he had hoped to attaine by the *Persian* Warre, did

now

now very passionately vrge that point of setting the *Bacotians* at libertie, and finding it as obstinately refused, he dalht the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the same time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta* forthwith to enter vpon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power, which he did, and was there slaine at *Leuctra*, and with him the flowre of his Armie. This battaile of *Leuctra* being one of the most famous that cuer were fought betwene the *Greekes*, was not so notable for any circumstance forgoing it, or for the managing of the fight it selfe, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*, but especially, for that after this battaile (betwene which and the conclusion of the generall peace there passed but twentie daies) the *Lacedemonians* were neuer able to recouer the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted farre and neare; whereas contrariwise the *Thebans*, whose great ambition had in former times confined it selfe vnto the little R region of *Boeotia*, did now beginne to vndertake the leading and command of many People and Estates, in such wise that soone after they brought an Armie of threecore and ten thousand strong vnto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much doe the afflictions of an hard warre, valiantly indured, aduance the affaires of the distressed, and guide them into the way of Conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxurie, fecklescence, and many other vices on vnanc ties, made rullie and effeminate.

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§. II.

How the Athenians took vpon them to maintaine the peace of Greece. New troubles hence arising. EPAMINONDAS inuadeth and wasteth the Territories of Lacedemon.



He Athenians, refusing to take aduantage of this ouerthrow fallen vpon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedemonians*, did neuertheless finely giue them to vnderstand, that their Dominion was expired and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For, taking vpon themselves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, which *Agesslaus* (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left vnperfect, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at *Athenis*, where the generall libertie of all Townes, as well small as great, was ratified, vnder the stile Of the *Athenians*, and their Associates. Hercupon beganne fresh garboles. The *Mantineans*, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their owne pleasure, did (as it were) in despight of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their towne, reedifie it, and allie themselves with such of the *Arcadians* as stood worst affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondence with the *Lacedemonians*, some to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedemonians* durst not giue impeachment to the *Mantineans*; nor take vpon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called in forraigne helpe. Then was an Armie sent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Teges* against the *Mantineans*, but indeed against them both. *Agesslaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued the *Phocians*, & were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Euboeans*, and many others, with the power of which Countries they entered *Peloponnesus* in fauor of the *Arcadians*, who had, vpon expectation of their coming, abtained from giuing battaile to *Agesslaus*. The Armie of the *Spartans* being dismissed, and *Epaminondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*; the Region of *Laconia* was inuaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could haue found beliefe if any had foretold it. Almost fixe hundred yeares were spent, since the *Dorians*, vnder the posteritie of *Hercules*, had seized vpon *Laconia*, in all which time the found of an

enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrey: Ten yeares were not fully past since all Greece was at the deuotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Armie could once looke vpon, nor the mightie forces of *Athens*, and other Enemie States had dared to set foot on, sauing by health, was all on a light fire, the very smoke whereof the women of *Sparta* were alhamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithstanding, the *Lacedemonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preferue the Towne, setting at libertie as many of their *Helotes* or *Slaues*, as were willing to beare Armes in defence of the State, and somewhat pittifully entreated the *Athenians* to giue them succour. From *Cerirab* and some Townes of *Peloponnesus* they received speedie assistance, the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaninondas* returned without battaile, hauing rebuilt the Citie of *Messene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedemonians* many Ages before had chased away into other Countries, possessing their Territories themselves.

§. III.

The composition betweene *Athens* and *Sparta* for command in warre against the *Thebans*; who againe invaded and spoile *Peloponnesus*. The unfortunate presumption of the *Acadians*.

THis Iourne therefore vterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raised, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, vnto *Athens*, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might bee Generalls by Land. This had bene a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to haue serued vnder the *Lacedemonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the authoritie should be diuided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five daies, the *Lacedemonians* other five, & so successiuelly that each of them should haue command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vaine ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessitie be very slowly aduanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second inuasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so vnable to impeach them, that hauing fortified *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driuen out of their strength by *Epaninondas*, who foraged the Countrey without resistance. But as the Articles of this league betweene *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by diuiding the conduct in such manner, disable the societie, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the *Acadians* considering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and hauing found by many trials that their people were not inferior to others in strength of bodie, in courage, or in good Souldier ship, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the gouernement, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by encreasing whose greatest they should strengthen their owne yoke. Herevpon they began to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbours, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of generall peace hauing been made (which tooke not effect, because the Citie of *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedemonians*) the next enterprize of the *Spartans* and their friends was vpon these *Acadians*, who relying too much vpon their owne worth, were overthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitie being as pleasing to their Confederates as to their Enemies.

§. IIII.

affaires of Greece beene so composed, that any one Citie might without empeachment of the rest haue transported an Armie, to assist the reuoluing *Satrapes*, or *Viceroyes* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phoenicia*, humane reason can hardly finde the means, by which the Empire could haue beene preferred from that ruine, which the diuine Councell had deterred vnto the daies of *Alexander*. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthie Provinces, wanting a firme bodie of good and hardie Souldiers, was in short space dissolved and vanisht like a mist, without effect: these enimie *Asiaticques* wearied quickly with the troubles and dangers incident to warre, forsaking the common cause, and each man striving to bee the first that by treason to his companie should both redeeme the former treason to his Prince, & purchase with all his owne promotion with encrease of riches. Of this common, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I haue rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; both for that it was like a suddaine storme, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly laid downe, hauing made a great noise without effect, and hauing small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole raigne of *Artaxerxes*, from the warre of *Cyrus*, to the inuasion of *Alexander*, I finde nothing (this insurrection, and a fruitlesse journey against the *Cadusians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much lesse of digression from the course of the businesse in Greece. All, or the most of his time, passed away so quietly, that he enjoyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could afford vnto so absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only or chiefly Domestical; growing out of the hatred which *Parysatis* the Queen Mother bare vnto his wife *Statira*, and to such as had been the greatest enemies to her sonne *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: vpon whom, when by poison and mischievous practises shee had satisfied her feminine appetite of reuenge, shee forth the wholly applied her selfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the leud desire of marrying his owne Daughter, and filling him with the perswasion, which Princes, not endued with an especiall grace doe readily entertaine. That his owne will was the supream law of his subject, and the rule by which all things were to be measured, and adjudged to be good or euill. In this imaginarie happinesse *Pelopidas*, and the other Embassadors of Greece, both found and left him, but left him by so much more assured that they found him, by how much the conclusion of his Treatie with them, being altogether to his owne aduantage, did seeme to promise, if not the perpetuall, a long endurance of the same felicitie to him and his, or (at the least) a full securitie of danger from Greece, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternitie laid by mortall men in this transitorie world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from heauen, or made vaine and vnprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Estates of Greece that had sent Embassadors to the *Persian*. For whereas it had beene concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, should bee set at libertie, and the *Thebans* made protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Iudges of all controversies that might arise, and Leaders in warre of all that would enter into this Confederacie; the Kings letters being solemnely published at *Thebes* in the presence of Embassadors, drawne thither from all parts of Greece, when an oath was required for obsecration of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatorie answer was made by the Embassadors, who said that they were sent to heare the articles; not to sweare vnto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driven to fend vnto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vaine. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, That they did not need it; others tooke courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gaue neither addition nor confirmation of greatness, but left them as it found them to rely vpon their owne swords.

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8. V.

How all Greece was diu'd, betwene the Athenians and Lacedemonians, on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

THe condition of things in Greece at that time did stand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each vpon enuie of the others greatnesse drawe all her followers into a cruell intestine warre, by which the whole Countrie, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conioyn their forces against the *Thebans*, who sought to make themselves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaïans*, followed the partie of these ancient governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits receiued, or in dislike of those who by strong hand were readie to become Rulers, to which authoritie they could not sodainely aspire without some iniurie and much enuie. The Citie of *Thebes* abounding with men whom necessitie had made warlike, and many victories in few years had filled with great spirits, & being so mightie in dependants, that shee had reduced all the continent of Greece without *Peloponnesus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beside excepted) vnder such acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meer Vassallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already shee had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argues* had bene alwaies bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre vnder them in valour, hauing bene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of loosing all: which caused them to suspect and enuie nothing more than the greatnesse and honor of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when shee was at rest and had leisure to bend her whole force against them, but firmly joyning with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the *Argues* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure friends of *Thebes*, so the *Arcadians*, transported with a great opinion of their owne worthinesse, had formerly renounced and prouoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedemonians*, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to send an Armie into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wauering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worth of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*, which was very strange, and seemed no lesse to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firme league with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did neuertheless accept this new Confederacie, not relinquishing the old, because they found that, howsoever these *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedemonians*, they should hereby be drawne somewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was vnlike to inuade *Peloponnesus* with a strong Armie. But this did rather halten, than by any meanes slay, the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way somewhat more cleare for him (because the Citie of *Cormth*, which lay vpon the *Isthmus*, and had bene aduerser to *Thebes*, was now, by miseries of this grievous warre, driuen to become Neutrall) tooke occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Arcadians*, to visite *Peloponnesus* with an Armie, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had risen in *Arcadia* about consecrated money, which many principall men among them had laied hands on, vnder pretence of employing it to publike vses. In compounding the differences growne vpon this occasion, such, as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Capitaine of some *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take prisoners many of their Countymen, as people desirous of inuocation. This was done: but the vp-roare thereby

thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken *Armes*, with much a-doe leaſe pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame vpon them who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to iudge of their fidelitie, by the assistance which they should giue him, in that warre, which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly wordes did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aide of so mightie a power as he drew a-long with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to bee made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before sought meane to settle the affaires of their Countrey, by drawing thinges to some good conclusion of peace, did now forth-with send to *Athens* for helpe, and withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Embassadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now readie to be inuaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the *Lacedamonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, against whom they well knew that all their forces, and best prouisions, would bee no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatiues, they (who had bene accustomed vnto such a supremacie, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerfull Cite of *Athens*, till other hope of securing their owne Estate could not be thought vpon) did now verie gently yeeld to the *Arcadians*, that 20 the command of the Arme in eliect, should be giuen, for the time, to that Cite, in whose Territorie it lay.

§. VI.

A terrible inuasion of *Peloponnesus* by *EPAMINONDAS*.

Entaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a verie firme consent, and vniforme care of the common safetie. For beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of Greece, the *Argi- 30* nes, and *Meſſenians*, prepared with all their strength to ioyne with *Epaminondas*; who hauing lien a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, receiued there intelligence, that the Arme coming from *Athens* would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to *Tegea*, which Cite, and the most of all *Arcadia* besides, forth-with declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the *Thebans*, would be vpon such of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which caused the *Lacedamonian* Captaines to fortifie *Mantinea* with all diligence, and to send for *Ageſilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men, which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held so good espiall vpon his Enemies, 40 that had not an vknowne fellow brought haffie aduertisement of his purpose to *Ageſilaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantinea*, the Cite of *Sparta* had sodainly bene taken. For thither with all speede and secrecie did the *Thebans* march, who had surely earried the Cite, notwithstanding anie defence that could haue bene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that *Ageſilaus* in all flying hast got inoit with his Companies, whom the Arme of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arriual of the *Lacedamonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, so it presented him with a faire aduantage vpon *Mantinea*. It was the time of Haruest, which made it very likely that the *Mantineans*, finding the warre to be carried from their walls into an other quarter, would vse the commoditie of that vacation, by fetching in their corne, and turning out their cattaile into their fields, whilest no enemie was neare that might empeach them. Wherefore hee turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinea*, sending his horse-men before him, to seize vpon all that might 50 be

be found without the Citie. The *Mantineans* (according to the expectation of *Paminondas*) were scattered abroad in the Countrey; farre more intent vpon their narrowest business, than vpon the warre, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattle, being vnable to recover the Towne, were in a desperate case; and the Towne it selfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy should haue taken all their prouision of victuals with so many of the people, as had not ouer-dearly bene redeemed, by that Citie returning to societie with *Thebes*. But at the same time, the *Athenians* comming to the succour of their Confederates, 10 whom they thought to haue found at *Mantineæ*, were very carnally entreated by the Citizens to relieue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any couragious aduenture to deliuer those who otherwise were giuen as lost. The *Thebians* were knowne at that time to bee the best Souldiers of all the *Greekes*, and the commendation of good horsemanship had al- 20 waies bene giuen to the *Thebians*, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations; yet the regard of honour so wrought vpon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this warre, vpon no necessitie of her owne, but only in desire of relieuing her distressed friends, they issued forth of *Mantineæ*, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their horses with meat, and giuing a lu- 20 sive charge vpon the enemy, who as brauely received them, after a long and hot fight they remained masters of the field, giuing by this victorie a safe and easie retreat to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Boeotians* arrived in the place soone after this battaile, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their Assistants were not farre behinde.

B. VII.

The great battaile of *Mantineæ*. The honourable death of *EPAMINONDAS*, with his commendation.

30 **E**PAMINONDAS, considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprising *Sparta* and *Mantineæ* ha-
ving failed, the impression of terrour which his name had wrought
in the *Peloponnesians*, would soone vanish, vnlesse by some notable act
he should abate their courage in their first growth, and leaue some
memorable character of his expedition; resolved to giue them battaile, whereby he
reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his owne Associates, and
to leaue the *Spartans* as weak in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly
to bring them into subiection. Hauing therefore warned his men to prepare for
40 that battaile, wherein his glorie should be rewarded with Lordship of all *Greece*; and
finding the alacritie of his Souldiers to be such, as promised the accomplishment of
his owne desire, he made shew of declining the enemy, and intrenching himselfe
in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fight-
ing that day, he might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward strike their
senses with amazement, when hee should come vpon them vnexpected. This opi-
nion deceived him not. For with verie much tumult, as in so great and sodaine a
danger, the enemy ranne to Armes, necessitie enforcing their resolution, and the
consequence of that daies seruice vrging them to doe as well as they might. The
Theban Armie consisted of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *La-*
50 *cedæmonians* and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot,
by a third part. The *Mantineans* (because the warre was in their Countrey) stood
in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*: the *Athenians* had the left
wing, the *Achaens*, *Eleans*, and others of lesse account, filled the bodie of the Ar-
mie. The *Thebians* stood in the left wing of their owne battaile, opposite to the *La-*
cedæmonians,

Lacedæmonians, hauing by them the *Arcadians*; the *Eubæans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Megæ-*
nians, and *Theſſalians* with others, compounding the maine battaile; the *Argiues*
 held the right wing; the horſe-men on each part were placed in the flanks, only a
 troupe of the *Eleans* were in reare. Before the footmen could joyne, the encounter
 of the horſe on both ſides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* preuailed,
 notwithstanding the valiant reſiſtance of the *Athenians*; who not yeelding to the
 enemy either in courage or ſkill, were ouer-laid with numbers, and ſo beaten vpon
 by *Theſſalian* ſlings, that they were driuen to forſake the place, and leaue their in-
 fanterie naked. But this reſtrait was the leſſe diſgracefull, becauſe they kept them-
 ſelues together, and did not fall backe vpon their owne foot-men; but finding the
Theban horſe to haue giuen them ouer, and withall diſcouering ſome Companies of
 foot, which had bene ſent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battaile in the
 reare, they brake vpon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the
 meane ſeaſon the battaile of the *Athenians* had not only to doe with the *Argiues*,
 but was hardly preſſed by the *Theban* Horſe-men, in ſuch wiſe that it beganne to
 open, and was readie to turne back, when the *Elean* Squadron of Horſe came vp to
 thereliſe of it, and reſtored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the
Lacedæmonians and *Thebans* meete, theſe contending for Dominion, the other for
 the maintenance of their ancient honour, ſo that equall courage and equall loſſe on
 both ſides made the hope and appearance of victorie to either equally doubtfull:
 vniſſe perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firme abiders, might ſeeme the more
 likely to preuaile, as hauing borne the firſt brunt, and ſune of the on-ſet, which
 was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by Diſcipline, as it were by Nature,
 to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by praſtice of a few yeares, canhot bee
 thought to haue gotten a habite ſo ſure and generall. But *Epaminondas* perceiving
 the obſtinate ſtiffeneſſe of the Enemies to bee ſuch, as neither the badde ſuccelſſe
 of their owne horſe, nor all the force of the *Bæotian* Armie, could abate ſo farre, as to
 make them giue one foote of ground; taking a choiſe Companie of the moſt able
 men, whom he caſt into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the aduantage of
 that figure againſt a Squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied
 with the great ſtrength and reſolution of them which followed him, did open
 their ranks, and cleaue the whole battaile in deſpight of all reſiſtance. Thus was
 the honour of that day wonne by the *Thebans*, who may juſtly bee ſaid to haue
 carried the victorie, ſeeing that they remained Maſters of the ground whereon the
 battaile was fought, hauing driuen the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which
 was alledged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victorie was partly theirs, the
 ſlaughter of thoſe Mercenaries vpon whom they lighted by chance in their owne
 flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the retayning of their dead bodies;
 it was a Ceremonie regardable only among the *Greekes*, and ſerued merely for
 oftentation, ſhewing that by the fight they had obtayned ſomewhat, which the
 Enemy could not get from them otherwiſe than by requeſt. But the *Thebans* ar-
 rived at the generall immediate end of battaile, none daring to abide them in the
 field: whereof a manifeſt confeſſion is expreſſed from them, who forſake the place
 which they had choſen or accepted, as indiſſerent for triall of their abilitie and
 prowelſe. This was the laſt worke of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*,
 who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the *Lacedæ-*
monian Squadron, and forced it to giue back in diſaray, was furioſly charged on
 the ſodaine, by a deſperate Companie of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their
 Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, hee neuertheleſſe with a
 ſingular courage maintayned the fight, vſing againſt the Enemies many of their
 Darts, which hee drew out of his owne bodie; till at length by a *Spartan*, called
Antierates, hee received ſo violent a ſtroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake,
 leauing the yron and a peece of the tronchion in his breſt. Herevpon hee ſunke
 downe, and was ſoone conueighed out of the fight by his friends; hauing by his
 fill

tail somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who faine would haue got his bodie) but much more inflamed with reuengefull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heauie mischance did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leaue the field; though long they followed not the chafe, being wearied more with the sadnesse of this disaster, than with all the trauaile of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the *Philutians*, That when the head of the Dart should bee drawne out of his bodie, hee must needs die. Hearing this, hee called for his shield, which to haue lost was held a great dishonour: It was brought vnto him. Hee bad them tell him which part had the victorie; answere was made, 10 that the *Boeotians* had wonne the field. Then said hee, it is faire time for mee to die, and withall sent for *Solidas*, and *Diophantes*, two principall men of Warre, that were both staine; which being told him, He aduised the *Thebans* to make Peace, whilst with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall he willed that the head of the weapon should be drawne out of his bodie; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantineæ* were two faire Daughters, in whom his memorie should liue.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthiest man that euer was bred in that Nation of Greece, and hardly to bee matched in any Age or Countrie: for hee equallled all others in the severall vertues, which in each of them were singular. His Iustitie, and Sinceritie, his Temperance, Wisedome, and high Magnanimitie, were no way inferior to his Militarie vertues; in every part whereof hee so excelled, That hee could not properly bee called a Warre, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Proud Captain; all these Titles, and many other, being due vnto him, which with his notable Discipline, and good Conduct, made a perfect composition of an Heroique Generall. Neither was his private Conuersation vnanswerable to those high parts, which gaue him praise abroad. For hee was 30 Graue, and yet very Affable and Curteous; resolute in publique businesse, but in his owne particular easie, and of much mildnesse; a lover of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, wittie and pleasant in speech, farre from insolence, Master of his owne affections, and furnished with all qualities that might winne and keepe loue. To these Graces were added great abilitie of bodie, much Eloquence, and very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philosophie and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, rested not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gaue vnto *Thebes*, which had euer more bene an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adjoyning, and the highest command in Greece.

¶ VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battaile of *Mantineæ*. The voyage of *Agessilays* into *Egypt*. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made betweene him and *Pompey* the Roman.

30 **T**his battaile of *Mantineæ* was the greatest that had euer bene fought in that Countrie betweene the Naturals; and the last. For at *Marathon*, and *Platea*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the *Graecian* valour; neither were the practise of Armes and Art Militarie so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, whoso excepted

excepted which were vnder taken againſt forraigne enemies, prouing for the moſt part vnfortunate. But in this laſt night all *Greece* was intereſſed, which neuer had more able Souldiers, and braver Commanders, nor euer contended for victorie with greater care of the ſucceſſe, or more obſtinate reſolution. All which notwithstanding, the iſſue being ſuch as hath bene related, it was found beſt for every particular Eſtate, that a generall peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, euerie one retayning what hee preſently had, and none being forced to depend vpon an other. The *Meſſenians* were by name comprised in this new league; which cauſed the *Lacedaemonians* not to enter into it. Their ſtanding out hindred not the reſt from proceeding to con- cluſion; conſidering that *Sparta* was now too weake to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to ſhew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it ſelfe in execution. This peace, as it gaue ſome breath and reſt to all the Countrey, ſo to the Cities of *Athen* and *Sparta* it afforded leiſure to ſeek to alter wealth by forraigne employment in *Egypt*, whither *Ageſilauus* was ſent with ſome ſmall forces to aſſiſt, or indeede as a Mercenarie, to ſerue vnder *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his warre vpon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded vnder *Scor* King of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntarie, with ſuch forces as he could raiſe, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the ſame ſeruiſe. Theſe *Egyptian* Kings deſcended from *Amyrtaeus* of *Sau*, who rebelled againſt *Darius Nothus*, hauing retained the Countrey notwithstanding all inſeſtine diſſentions, and forraigne inuallions, during three Generations of their owne race, were ſo well acquainted with the valour of the *Greekes*, that by their helpe (caſily procured with gold) they conceiued great hope, not only to aſſure themſelues, but to become Lords of the Prouinces adioyning, which were held by the *Persian*. What the iſſue of this great enterpriſe might haue been, had it not fallen by Domestiſcal rebellion, it is vncertaine. But very likely it is that the rebellion it ſelfe had ſoone come to nothing, if *Ageſilauus* had not proued a falſe Traitor, joyning with *Neelanebus* who roſe againſt his Prince, and helping the Rebelle with that Armie which the money of *Tachos* had waged. His fallhood *Ageſilauus* excuſed, as tending to the good of his owne Countrey; though it ſeeme rather, that hee grudged becauſe the King tooke vpon himſelfe the Conduſt of the Armie, vſing his ſeruiſe only as Lieutenant, who had made full accompliſhment of being appointed the Generall. Howſoeuer it came to paſſe, *Tachos* being ſhamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had repoſed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the *Persian*, who vpon his ſubmiſſion gaue him gentle entertainment; and *Neelanebus* (who ſeemes to haue bene the Nephew of *Tachos*) raiſed in his ſtead. At the ſame time the Citizens of *Mendes* had ſet vp another King, to whom all, or moſt of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Ageſilauus* fighting with him in places of advantage, preuailed ſo farre, that hee left *Neelanebus* in quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdome, who in recompence of his treaſon to the former King *Tachos*, and good ſeruiſe done to himſelfe, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of ſiluer, with which bootie ſailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in warre, free from couetouſneſſe, and not reproched with any blemiſh of luſt; which praifes are the leſſe admirable in him, for that the diſcipline of *Sparta* was ſuch as did endue euerie one of the Citizens (not caried away by the violent ſtreame of a ſill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of theſe good qualities. Hee was neuer theleſſe very arrogant, peruerſe, vnjuſt, and vaine-glorious, meaſuring all things by his owne will, and obſtinately proſecuting thoſe courſes whoſe ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had ſlled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* ſhould be ouerthrowne; with which conceipt being tranſported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans*, and their Allies, hee did euer after beare ſuch hatred vnto *Thebes*, as compelled that Eſtate by meere neceſſitie to grow warlike, and able, to the vtter diſhonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable loſſe of all her former greatneſſe. The commendations giuen to him by *Xenophon*

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CHAP. 12. §. 8. of the Histories of the World.

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Xenophon his good friend, have caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance against *Pompey* the Great; whose actions (the *Solenne* gnuinie of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great warres vnder sundrie Climates, and in all the Prouinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imployments all that were before him; so *Agesslaus* had at one time, or other some quarrell with euerie Towne in *Greece*, had made a Warre in *Asia*, and medled in the businesse of the *Egyptians*, in which varietie he went beyond all his Predecessours: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did manie, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* neuer tooke. Herein also they are very like;
 10 Each of them was the last great Capitaine which his Nation brought forth in time of libertie, and each of them ruined the libertie of his Countrie by his owne Lordly wilfulnesse. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis omnia quam paria*; The resemblance was nearer than the equalitie. Indeede the freedome of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Caesar*, whom he had enforced to take Armes; yet the *Roman* Empire stood, the forme of Gouernement only being changed, But the libertie of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it selfe, was not forsaited vnto the *Thebans*, whom *Agesslaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renoune of
 20 *Sparta* was presently lost: and the freedome of all *Greece* being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much blood lost ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soone vpon the death of *Agesslaus* giue vp the Ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Countrie was seized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foot, and more
 30 to bee regarded than the Contemporarie passages of things, in any other Nation.

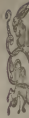
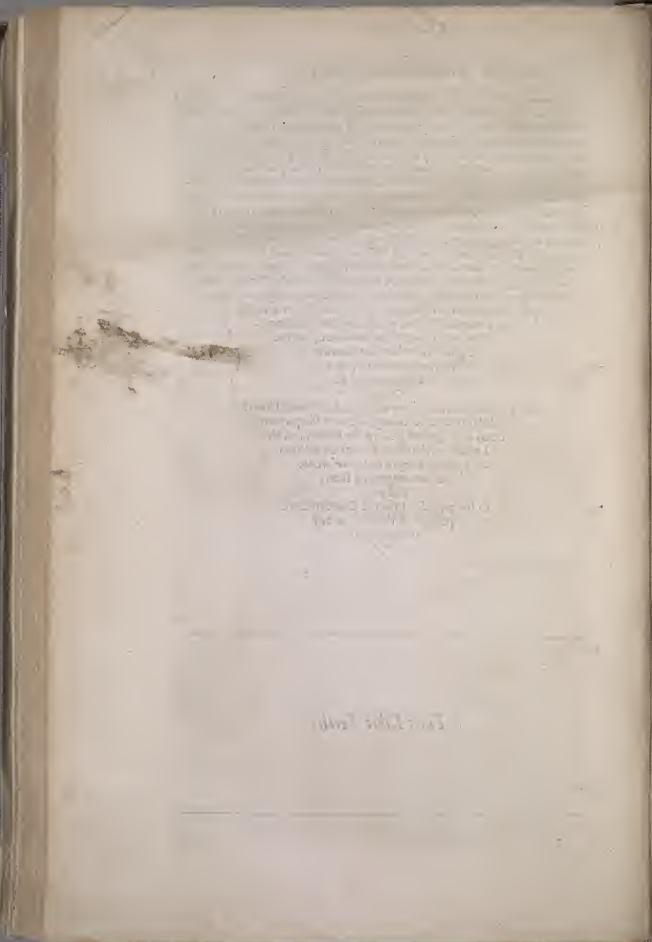
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10 THE FIRST PART OF
THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:
INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM
the raigne of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the
establisbing of that Kingdome, in the race
of ANTIGONVS.

20 THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.
30 Of PHILIP, the Father of ALEXANDER the
Great, King of Macedon.

§. I.

What Kings raigned in Macedon before PHILIP.



40 THE *Greeks*, of whom wee haue already made
large discourse, not as yet wearied with intestine
Warre, nor made wise by their vaine contention
for superiority, doe still, as in former
times, continue the inuasion and vassation of
each other.

Against *Xerxes*, the greatest Monarch of that
part of the World, they defended their liberty,
with as happy success, as euery Nation had,
and with no lesse honour, than hath euery
been acquired by deeds of Armes. And having had
a trial, and experience, more than fortunate,
against those Nations, they so little regarded what might come from them, who had
50 so often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatsoeuer could be spared from
their owne distraction at home, they transported over the *Hellepont*, as sufficient, to
entertaine and busie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with euery man of marke in the world, that they
vnder-stand, and perils, by the hands and harmes, which they least feare, so fared it at
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this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip of Macedon* (of whom we are now to speake) they had so little regard, as they grew euen then more violent in deuouring each other, when the fast-growing greatnesse of such a Neighbour-King, should, in regard of their owne safeties, haue serued them for a strong argument of vnion and accord. But the glorie of their *Persian* victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power and purposes of the *Macedonians*, because those Kings and States, which sate nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the Father of *Philip*, so much weakened them, and wonne vpon them, that they were not (as the *Gracians* perswaded themselves) in any one age likely to recouer their owne, much lesse to worke any wonders against their borderers. And, indeede, it was not in their Philosophie to consider, That all great alterations are storme-like, suddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decayed and broken banks, when great Riuers are once swollen, fast-running, and intraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather imploy themselves, in breaking downe those defences, which stood between them and this inundation: than seeke to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Leuell of reason they might haue found to haue lien vnder it. It was therefore well concluded by *Orosius*: *Græcia Civitates dum imperare singula cupiunt, imperium omnes perdidicunt*; The Cities of Greece lost their command, by striving each of them to command all.

The Kingdom of *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon*, the Sonne of *Osiris*, or, as other Authors affirme, of *Iupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*: It hath to the East, the *Ægean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-west, by *Thessalie* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the familie of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by nation *Argives*; who are listed as followeth. About some fixe years after the translation of the *Assyrian* Empire, *Arbaces* then governing *Media*; *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colonie into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Countrey, the weather being raynye and tempestuous, he espied a great heard of Goats, which fled the storme as fast as they could, halting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to minde, that he had also by another Oracle bene directed, to follow the first troupe of those beausts, that should either lead him, or lie before him; He pursued these Goats to the Gates of *Edessa*, and being vndiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darknesse of the aire, he entred their Citie without resistance, and possessed it. Soone after this, by the ouerthrow of *Cisseus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twentie yeares. *Canus* succeeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelue yeares. *Tyrmas* followed *Canus*, and ruled eight and twentie yeares.

Perdiccas the first, the sonne of *Tyrmas*, gouerned one and sitie yeares: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solimus*, *Plinius*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochens*, and others, affirme, that he appointed a place of buriall for himselfe, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Successours, at *Æge*: assuring them, that the Kingdom should so long continue in his line and race, as they continued to lay vp their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the posteritie of the *Temenida* failed in him: a thing rather deuised after the effect, as I conceiue, than foretold by *Perdiccas*.

Argus, in *Chorus*.

Argus succeeded vnto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twentie yeares.

Philip the first, his successour, reigned eight and twentie yeares.

Europus followed *Philip*, and gouerned fixe and twentie yeares: in whose infancie the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and hauing obtained a great victorie, they pursued the same to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and resolving either to recouer their former losse, or to looke at once both

Orosius, 3. c. 11.

Roman

Pan, *Dion*,
Chor, *Thes*,
Antioch.

Eu, *sch*, in *Chorus*.

Sol, c. 14.
Plin, l. 4. c. 10.

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their Kingdome and their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten (their King present;) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their naturall Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his servants) able to defend himselfe from destruction. The like is reported by *Arrianus*, of *Clotarus* the sonne of *Fredegunda*.

Euclid. Justin. Arrian. The. Ant. &c. Arrian. l. 3. c. 8.

Alcetas succeeded *Erropus*, and ruled nine and twentie yeares.

- Amyntas* the first succeeded *Alcetas*, and raigned fiftie yeares; Hee liued at such time as *Darius Hystaspes*, after his vnprosperous returne out of *Sythia*, sent *Megabazus* with an Armie into *Europe*, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supream Lord, by yeelding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as you haue heard before, were, for their insolent behaviour towards the *Macedonian* Ladies, slaine by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the sonne of *Amyntas*, and his Successour.

Herod. Justin. &c.

- Alexander*, surnamed the rich, the sonne of *Amyntas*, gouerned *Macedon* three and fortie yeares. He did not only appease the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the slaughter of the *Persian* Embassadors, by giuing *Gyges* his Sister, to *Bubares* of the bioud of *Persia*, but by that match he grew lo great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region betweene the Mountaines of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be vnto the Kingdome of *Macedon*. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the *Greekes*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Mardonius* made Generall of the *Persian* Armie; *Alexander* acquainted the *Greekes* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three Sonnes, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

Herod. Justin. &c.

Perdiccas the second, the sonne of *Alexander*, liued in the time of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, and raigned in all eight and twentie yeares. The Warres which hee made were not much remarkable: the Storie of them is found here and there by poeces, in *Thucydides* his first fixe bookes. He left behinde him two Sonnes; *Perdiccas*, who was very yong, and *Archelaus* who was base borne.

- Perdiccas* the third, being deliuered to the custodie and care of *Archelaus*, was at seuen yeares of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the Mother of the yong King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily fell thereinto by misadventure. But *Archelaus* staied not here: for hauing thus dispatched his Brother, hee slew both his Vncle *Alcetas* the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the sonne of this *Alcetas*, his Cousin Germaine, and enioyed the Kingdome of *Macedon* himselfe foure and twentie yeares.

Plut. in Cato. Arrian. l. 5.

- This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though hee made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That hee fought by all meanes to draw *Socrates* vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honoured *Euripides* the Tragedian. He had two Sonnes, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

Archelaus the second succeeded his Father, and hauing raigned seuen yeares, hee was slaine in hunting, either by chance or of purpose, by *Cratæus*.

Orestes his yonger sonne was committed to the education of *Erropus*, of the roiall blood of *Macedon*, and had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his Pupill; for *Erropus* murdered him and vsurped the Kingdome, which he held some fixe yeares: the same who denied passage to *Agésilæus* King of *Sparta*, who desired after his returne from the *Asian* expedition, to passe by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

- This Vsurer left three Sonnes, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Erropus*, and hauing raigned one yeare, hee was driven out by *Amyntas* the sonne of *Philip*, the sonne of the first *Perdiccas*, the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preferred, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his brother *Perdiccas*, his Vncle *Alcetas*, and his sonne *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* raigned

Diod. Polyen. Plut. in Demost.

reigned (though very vnquietly) foure and twentie yeares; for he was not only in-
fited by *Pausanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*, and by his brother *Argæus*; encour-
aged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argæus*, for two yeares dispossest of *Macedon*:
but on the other side, the *Olympians*, his Neighbours neare the *Aegean* Sea, made
themselues for a while Masters of *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the second had by his Wife *Eurydice*, the *Illyrian*, three Sonnes; *Alex-
ander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the
Great; and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*: He had also by his second wife
Gygæa three Sonnes; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slaine by their
brother *Philip*. He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomeus*, surnamed *Alorites*, of the
Citic *Alorus*, wherein he was borne.

Alexander the second reigned not much about one year, in which time he was
inuated by *Pausanias*, the sonne of *Eropus*, but defended by *Phlegates* the *Albanian*,
while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was also constrained (for the pay-
ment of a great summe of money) to leaue his yongest brother *Philip* in Hostage
with the *Illyrians*, who had subjected his Father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute.
After this, *Alexander*, being inuited by the *Aleuads* against *Alexander* the Tyrant
of *Pheres* in *Thessalie*, hauing redeemed his brother *Philip*, to draw the *Thebans* to his
assistance entred into confederacie with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same
Countrie, with whom he also left *Philip* with diuers other principall persons for the
gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his Mother falling in loue with her
Sonne-in-law, who had married her Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practiced the
death of *Alexander* her sonne, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Pa-
ramour, which *Ptolomeus Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof hee held
Macedon for three yeares, but was soone after slaine by *Perdiccas* the brother of
Alexander. *Diodor* hath it otherwise of *Philip* being made pledge, and faith, That
Amyntas his Father deliuered him for hostage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was con-
uicted to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his Father was yet
living) was first ingaged to the *Thebans*, and deliuered for hostage a second time by
Alexander his Brother.

Perdiccas the third, after he had slaine *Alorites* his base-brother, gouerned *Mace-
don* five yeares, and was then slaine in a battaile against the *Illyrians*, according to
Diodorus; but *Iustine* affirmeth, that he perished by the practise of *Eurydice* his Mo-
ther, as *Alexander* did.

§. I I.

The beginning of *PHILIPS* raigne; and how he deliuered *Macedon* from
the troubles wherein he found it entangled.

PHILIP the second, the yongest sonne of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, hauing
bene instructed in all knowledge requisite vnto the gouernement of
a Kingdome, in that excellent education which hee had vnder *Epami-
nondas*, making an escape from *Thebes* returned into *Macedon*, in the
first year of the hundred and fifti Olympiad, which was after the
building of *Rome* three hundred fourescore and thirteene yeares: and finding the
many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was inuironed, hee tooke on
him, not as King (for *Perdiccas* left a sonne, though but an Infant) but as the Pro-
tector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Warre. Yet his fruitfull am-
bition soone ouer-crow his modestie, and he was easily perswaded by the people to
accept both the Title of King, and withall the absolute Rule of the Kingdome.
And to say the truth, Thenceforth of the State of *Macedon* at that time required
a King both prudent and active. For, besides the incursions of the *Illyrians* and *Pan-
nonians*, the King of *Thrace* did set vp in opposition *Pausanias*; the *Albanians*, *Argæus*,
sonnes

sonnes of the late Vsurper *Æropus*: each of these labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their owne Election. These heauie burdens when *Philip* could not well beare, he bought off the waightiest by money, and by faire promises vnloided himselfe of so many of the rest, as he ranne vnder the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with foure thousand *Macedonians*, beside these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the *Pannonians* were destroying all before them in *Macedon*, and that the *Athenians* with a fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land vnder *Manitas*, did beate vpon him on all sides and quarters of his Countrie: Yet after he had practised
 10 the men of warre of *Pannonia*; and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pausanias*, he forthwith made head against the *Athenians* his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he preuented their recouerie of *Amphipolis*, a Citie on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then pursue *Arganis* the sonne of *Æropus*, set against him by the *Athenians*, and followed him so hard at the heeles, in his retreat from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battaile; which *Arganis* lost, hauing the greatest part of his Armie slaine in the place. Those of the *Athenians*, and others which remained vnbroken, tooke the aduantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet auoiding thereby the present fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and libertie to returne into
 20 *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded betweene him and the *Athenians* for that present, and for this clemencie hee was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greekes*.

§. III.

The good successe which *Philip* had in many enterprises.

NOW had *Philip* leisure to looke Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pæonians*, his irreconcilable enemies and borderers: both which
 30 he invaded with so prosperous successe, as hee slew *Bardillus*, King of the *Illyrians*, with seuen thousand of his Nation, and thereby recouered all those places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*; and withall, vpon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, hee pickt that Countrie, and after a maine victorie obtained, hee caused them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he hasted speedily towards *Larissa*, vpon the Riuer *Peneus* in *Thessalie*, of which T owne he soone made himselfe maister; and thereby he got good footing in that Countrie, whereof he made vse in time following. Now although hee resolu'd either to subdue the *Thessilians*, or to make them his owne against all others, because the horse-men of that Countrie were the
 40 best, and most feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it most for his safetie to close vp the entrances out of *Thrace*, least while hee invaded *Thessalie* and *Greece* towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either with draw him, or ouer-runne *Macedon* as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous Riuer of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and wonne it. He also recouered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the Citie of *Crenides* (sometime *Datus*) and called it after his owne name *Philippi*: to the people whereof *S. Paul* afterward directed one of his *Epistles*. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in Mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the aduancement of *Philip*s affaires, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make sixe hundred thousand *French Crownes*.

And that hee might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* Garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies the *Olympians*; whom the better to saisen vnto him, he gaue them the Citie of *Pydna* with the Territorie, mean-

ning nothing lesse than that they should enjoy it, or their owne Estate, manie yeares.

Now that he might by degrees winne ground vpon the Greekes, he took the faire occasion to deliuer the Citie of *Pheres* in *Thessalie*, from the tyrannie of *Lycophron* and *Tisiphonus*. Who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the Wife of *Alexander*, who vsurped vpon the libertie of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former libertie. Which act of *Philip* did for-euer after fasten the *Thessalians* vnto him, and to his exceeding great aduantage, binde them to his seruice.

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§. IIII.

Of the Phocian Warre which first drew *Philip* into Greece.



Bout this time, to wit, in the second year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, eight yeares after the battaile of *Mantina*, and about the eighth yeare of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, beganne that Warre, called sacred. Now, as all occasions concurre towards the execution of eternall providence, and of eury great alteration in the World there is some preceeding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned, so did this reuengefull hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceiued against the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the Greekes themselves beating downe their owne defences, to giue him an easie passage, and beating themselves, to giue him victorie without perill, left nothing vnperformed towards their owne slaucerie, sauing the title and imposition. Of this Warre the *Thebans* (made ouer-proude by their victorie at *Leuctres*) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the *Amphyctyones*, or of the generall Estates of Greece, in which, at that time, they swaied most, they caused both the *Lacedaemonians* and *Phocians* to bee condemned in greater summes of money than they could well beare; the one for surpriuing the Castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing vp a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphes*. The *Phocians* being resolu'd not to obey this Edi't, were secretly set on and encouraged by the *Lacedaemonians*: and for refusal were expol'd as *Sacrilegiers*, and accus'd, to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to inuade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captaine of their owne, cast the same dice of hazard that *Cæsar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an vngratious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolu'd to sack the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a peece of *Apollō's* ground, they had so much offended their neighbour-God, and their neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than alreadie was intended; they resolu'd to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to preuaile against all that had commision to call them to accompt. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the warre was ten thousand talents, which in those daies serued them to wage a great many men, and such was their success in the beginning of the warre, as they wonne three great battailes against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himselfe head-long ouer the Rocks.

In the meane while the Cities of *Chersonesus*, both to defend themselves against their bad-Neighbour *Philip*, who encroched vpon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepar'd to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Methone* lost one of his cities. It is said, That hee

first did that

that that him did purposely direct his Arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: *After PHILIPPO; Alter 10 PHILIP;* for so he was called that gaue him the wound. This Citie he euened with the soile.

Phil. 3^o / Ptole.
Strab. 4. 8.

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Thesaliens* engaged in the holy Warre, entred *Thessalie* with new forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocians* Armie, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped so to entertaine the *Thesaliens* at home, as they should not finde leisure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time called into *Thessalie*, but both the *Thesaliens*, and *Macedonians*, (*Philip* being present) were utterly overthrowne by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both Nations lost. From *Thessalie*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Beotia*, and with the same victorious Armie brake the forces of the *Beotians*, and tooke from them their Citie of *Coronea*. But *Philip* impatient of his late misadventure, after hee had re-enforced his Armie, returned with all speede into *Thessalie*, there to finde againe the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time encountered by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twentie thousand foote, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armie ouerturned, fixe thousand slaine, and three thousand taken: of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled were in part receiued by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sailed alongst the coast, commanded by *Chares*, but the greatest number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein deuoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now againe driven out of *Thessalie*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian Warre. The ambitious praetises of PHILIP.

30 **F**rom hence *Philip* resolved to invade *Phocia* itselfe, but the *Athenians* did not fauour his entrance into those parts, and therefore with the helpe of the *Lacedaemonians* they retrencht his passage at the Straits of *Thermopylia*. Whereupon hee returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Atictherne*, *Torone*, and other Townes, hee quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had euenmore both braued and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said that *Philip* hauing put to death *Archelaus* his halfe brother (for *Amyntas* had three sonnes by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sonnes by *Gygae*: but *Philip* elder brothers by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himselfe also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiuing of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the warre, *Isidore* affirmeth. But just quarrels are ballanced by just Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might any way serue his turne; all his affections, and passions, how diuers soeuer in other men, were in his ambition swallowed vp, and therein conuerted. For hee neither forbore the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie, hee esteemed no place strong where his Asse loaden with gold might enter, Nor any Citie or State vnconquerable, where a few of the greatest to be made greater, could loose the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because hee thought it vaine to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till hee had inclosed all the power they had within their owne
40 walls, he entred their Territorie, and by the aduantage of a well-compounded and trained Armie, he gaue them two ouerthrowes ere hee safe downe before the Citie it selfe: which done, he bought *Euthierates* and *Lasphenes* from their people, and from the seruice of their Countrie and Common-weale, by whose treaton hee entred the Towne, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the Inhabitants for slaues by the

Isid. 1.

725. 6.

et

the drum. By the spoile of this place he greatly enriched himselfe, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was hee aduised by the Oracle in the beginning of his vndertaking, *That hee should make his assaults with silver speares*: Whereupon *Elorace* well and truly said.

Her. Cor. 3.
Od. 16.

Diffidit Vrbanum
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit amulos,
Reges muneribus.

By gifts the Macedon claue Gates a-funder,
And Kings enuying his estate brought vnder.

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And it is true that he wonne more by corruption and fraude than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of *Greece* his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of *Spaine*: So when in the contention betweene the Competitors for the Kingdome of *Thrace*, he was chosen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Councell accompanied with *Pietie*, and *Iustice*, but with a powerfull Armie, and hauing beaten and slaine both Kings, gaue sentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

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§. VI.

How *Philip* ended the *Phocian Warre*.

THe warre still continuing betweene the *Phocians*, and the Associates of the holy Warre, the *Bacians*, finding themselves vnable to subsist without some present aide, sent vnto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yielded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselves; but yet to inable them to continue the warre, and to waste the strength of *Greece*. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirtie talents, which makes a hundred and fourecore thousand Crownes, but when with these supplies they had still the worst in all their attempts against the *Phocians*, who held from them three of their strongest Cities within *Bacotia* it selfe, They then besought *Philip* of *Macedon* that hee would assist them in person, to whom they would giue an entrance into their Territorie, and in all things obey his commandements in that Warre.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himselfe in state to giue the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedie pace towards *Bacotia*, where being arrived, *Phaltecus* who commanded the *Phocian* Armie, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and with-drew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into *Peloponnesus*, leauing the *Phocians* to the merie of the Conquerour, and for conclusion he had the glorie of that Warre called *Sacred*, which the *Gracians* with so many mutuall slaughters had continued for ten yeares, and, besides the glorie, he posselt himselfe of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corsu*, in the Countrie of the *Bacotians*, who inuited him to be victorious ouer themselves. Hee brought the *Phocians* into seruitude, and wasted their Cities, and gaue them but their Villages to inhabite, referuing to himselfe the yearly tribute of threecore talents, which make fixe and thirtie thousand French Crownes. He also hereby (besides the fame of pietie for seruice of the Gods) obtained the same double voice in the Councell of the *Amphyctyones*, which the *Phocians* had, with the superintendencie of the *Pythian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* Sacriledge.

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§. VII.

CHAP. I. §. 7. 8. of the Historie of the World.

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§. VII.

How PHILIP with ill success attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

PHILIP after his triumphant returne into *Macedon*, by the Lieutenant of his Armie *Parmentio*, slaughtered many thousands of the *Illyrians*; and *Dardaniens*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their revenues. But his next enterprize against the *Perinthians* staied his furie. *Perinthus* was a Citie of *Thrace*, seated vpon *Propontis*, in the mid-way betwene *Sestos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great strength, and a people resolved to defend their libertie against *Philip*, where the *Athenians* encouraged and assisted them. *Philip* late downe before it with a puissant Armie, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious assaults, built many over-topping and commanding Towers about it. But hee was repel'd with equall violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continuall assaults to wearie them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the *Persians* with men and money, and succoured from *Byzantium* which stood vpon the same Sea-coast, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chios*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatsoeuer was wanting to their necessitie. But because those of *Byzantium*, by reason of their Neighbourhood, and the easie passage by water, gaue them often and readie helpe, *Philip* remoued with the one halfe of his Armie and besieged it, leauing fiftene thousand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could, but to be short, hee failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that vnder-take diuers enterprizes at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no lesse dishonour than losse: whereupon he made an Ouerture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly desired it, to which though *Phocion* perswaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly aduantage their conditions; Yet *Demosthenes* with his eloquence preuailed in the refusal. In the meane while, *Philip* having digested his late affront, and supplied his expence by the taking of an hundred and threescore and ten Marchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his sonne *Alexander*, lead them into *Scythia*; but he was also vnprosperous in this enterprize: For the *Triballi*, a people of *Masfia*, set on him in his returne, wounded him, and tooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles, which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How PHILIP ouerthrowing the Greekes in the battaile of Cheronas, was chosen Captaine-Generall of Greece. The death of

PHILIP.

AMONG these Northren Nations (part of which hee suppress, and part quieted) hee spent some eight yeares; and in the ninth yeare, after the end of the holy Warre, he was to his great aduantage inuited againe by the *Graecians* to their assistance. For the Citizens of *Amphissa* hauing disoaiued the decree of the *Amphyctones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reason that the *Thebans* and *Loerians* gaue countenance and aide to the *Amphissians*, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their assistance. Now you must thinke that *Philip* was not long in resolving vpon this enterprize; hee needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe back; nor other dissuasion than a maling power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Armie forth with to march; the same being compounded of thirtie thousand foote; and two thousand horse; and with as much expedition

expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocæ*, wanne *Plataæ*, and brought into subjection all that Region.

The rest, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to feare that a great part of this forme would fall on themselves, yet were they dissuaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choise (having drawne the *Thebans* to joyne with them) to leaue the injoying of their estates and their freedome to the chance of one battaile, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Orators eloquence cost them deare. It is true that he could farre more easily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, then make them to be such as they were. Hee might 10 repeate vnto them (with wordes mouing passion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but hee could not transforme the *Macedonians* into *Persians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had paid with the greatest ingratitude that euer Nation did. A *Phocæan* they had, but by the strength of a contrarie faction hee was at this time in disgrace, and not imploied: in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incountred, although some thousand of the *Athenians* aid the killing, and the like number well neare of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of worthie men on that side to hold vp the rest, and to draw 20 them on, and the many choise Captaines of the *Macedonians*, encouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gaue to *Philip* so shining a victorie that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despite of all the Nations interjacent) into *Persia*, *India*, and *Aegypt*; so it cut to the ground, and gaue end and date to all the *Græcian* glorie: Yea their libertie (saith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion wonne with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and is often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for euer lost.

Now this aduised King (neuer passionate to his disadvantage) to the end hee might obtaine the Soueraigntie ouer all *Greece* and beacknowledged for their Capitaine-Generall against the *Persians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let goe those *Athenians* that were taken at this battaile of *Clæronæ*, as he also 30 forbore to attempt any thing against their Citie: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed ouer therst) hee lodged a Garrison of *Macedonians*. And being soone after (according vnto the long desire which he had nourished of this Soueraigntie) by the general States at *Cornth*, stiled The first Commander of all the *Græcians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, hee compounded an Armie of great strength, and vnder the commandment of *Attalus* and *Parmenia*, transported the same ouer the *Hellefponi* into *Asia*, to beginne the Warre. Of his enterprise against *Persia* hee fought the successe from the Oracle at *Delfos*, from whence hee receiued such an other convertible riddle, as *Cæsar* did when hee attempted *Cyprus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the expolition.

But as it is hard to discerne and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, so did *Philip*s ambitious desire to invade *Persia* abuse his judgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselfe was threatned, he vnderstood to be deliuered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to invade. Before his purposed departure into 40 *Asia*, hee prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, to which feast and pastimes therat appointed hee inuited all his Friends and Allies, with the principall persons of the *Græcian* Cities, from whom hee receiued much honour and many rich presents; but this was indeede the feast of his Funerall. For hauing refused to doe iustice to one *Paulonias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly fauoured by *Philip*) had first made drunke, and then left to be carnally abused by diuers base persons, T his *Paulonias* grew into so great detestation of the Kings partialitie in so fowle a fact, as when *Philip* was passing towards the *Theater*, he drew a sword from vnder his long garment and wounded him 50 to death, when hee had liued fixe and fortie yeares, and reigned fixe and twentie.

Euſtine

Iustine reports it, that *Olympias* encouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband, which after his death hee boldly avowed, by the honour hee did vnto *Pausanias* in crowning his dead bodie, in consecrating his sword vnto *Apollo*, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

ð. I X.

*What good foundations of ALEXANDERS greatnesse were laied by PHILIP.
Of his laudable qualities, and issue.*

10 **N**OW although he were then taken from the World, when he had mastered all opposition on that side the Sea, and had scene the fruits of his hopes and labours, changing colour towards ripenesse, and perfection, yet he was herein happy that he liued to see his sonne *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himselfe been an eye-witnesse of his resolution, and singular valour in this last battaile.

The foundation of whose future greatnesse he had laied so foundly for him, with so plaine a patterne of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more ealie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings were vnto *Philip*, though lesse famous. For besides the recouerie of *Macedon* it selfe, in competition betweene him and the sonnes of *Evropus*, the one assisted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*, and besides the regaining of many places posselt by the *Illyrians*, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the overthrow of *Olynthus*, a State that dispised the power of his Father, the many Maritime Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedome, and the subjection of that famous Nation of *Greeks*, which for so many Ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and wonne vpon them; Hee left vnto his sonne, and had bred vp for him, so many choise Commanders, as the most of them both for their valour and judgement in the Warre were no lesse worthy of Crownes, than himselfe was that wore a Crowne: For it was said of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, vngratefull to so great vertue, impiouly murdered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challengg eternall fame, without the King; but the King, without *Parmenio*, neuer did any thing worthie of renowne; as for the rest of his Capitaines, though content to obey the Sonne of such a Father, yet did they not alter *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature, and his excellent Education had enriched him with vertues. For besides that He was Valiant, Wife, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this fauour of Pietie, that he rather laboured to satisfie those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) wee finde a good example in his dealing with *Arcasion*, and *Nicanor*; whom, when for their euill speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; Hee answered them, That first it ought to bee considered, whether the fault were in them that gaue him ill language, or in himselfe: Secondly, that it was in euery mans owne power to bee well spoken off; and this was shortly proued, for after *Philip* had relieved their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon hee told those that had perswaded him to vse violence, that hee was a better Philition for euill speech than they were.

50 His Epistles to *Alexander* his sonne are remembered by *Cicero*, and *Gellius*; and by *Dion*: and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyanus* and *Frontinus*, his wise sayings by *Plutarch*. And albeit hee held *Macedon* as in his owne right, all the time of his raigne, yet was he not the true and next Heire thereof: for *Amynas* the sonne of his Brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the protection)

protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* hee married to his Daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a Daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philips* base sonne *Arideus*, her Vncle by the mothers-side: both which *Olympias*, *Philips* first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Arideus* by extreme torments: *Eurydice* shee strangled.

Philp had by this *Olympias* the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Molossians*, (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Vncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her Brother *Alexanders* death slaine at *Jardus*, by the commandment of *Antigonus*.

By *Andata*, an *Illyrian*, his second wife, hee had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Nicepolis*, the Sister of *Iason*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, hee had *Thebalonica*, whom *Cassander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married, but shee was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra*, the Nece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philp*: him, *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be rosted to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder on *Alexander* himselfe. By the same *Cleopatra* hee had likewise a Daughter, called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers breast.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no issue.

Hee had also two Concubines, *Asinoe*, whom, after he had gotten with child, hee married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolome*, King of *Egypt*, called the sonne of *Lagus*, but esteemed the sonne of *Philp*: by *Philinna*, his second Concubine, a publike Dancer, he had *Arideus*, of whom wee shall haue much occasion to speake hereafter.

*But in 1008 before the birth of Alexander did being traitorously slaine
the sonne Alexander killed him in his Kingdom. 1017*

CHAP. II.

Of ALEXANDER the Great. §. 1.

§. I.

A brife rehearse of ALEXANDERS doings, before hee invaded Asia.



ALEXANDER, afterward called the Great, succeeded vnto *Philp* his Father, being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his raigne ouer the *Macedonians* foure hundred and seuentene yeares after *Rome* built, and after his owne birth twentie yeares. The strange dreames of *Philp* his Father, and that one of the Gods, in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as foolish tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a worke the most magnificent of the World) was burnt vpon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three feuerall victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable,

remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and forebewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppressed, beganne to consult about the recouerie of their former libertie, and to aduenture it by force of Armes. *Alexanders* yong yeares gaue them hope of preuailling, and his suspected feneritie increased courage in those, who could better resolute to die, than to liue slavishly. But *Alexander* gaue no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily haue endangered the health of his estate. For after reuenge taken vpon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew vpon his Tombe; and the celebration of his Funeralls, hee first fastened vnto him his owne Nation, by freeing them from all exactions, and bodily slaue, other than their seruice in his warres; and vfed such Kingly austeritie towards those that contemned his yong yeares, and such clemencie to the rest that perswaded themselves of the crueltie of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, He made a present journey into *Peloponnesus*, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Counsell of the Statcs of *Greece*, he was according to the great desire of his heart, elected Capitaine-Generall against the *Persians*, vpon which warre *Philip* his Father had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported vnder the leading of *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*, a part of his Armie, to recouer some places on

20 *Asia*, for the safe descent of the selfe.

This enterprise against the *Persian* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those faire markes of riches, Honour, and large Dominion, hee now shot at both sleeping and waking; all other thoughts and imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrarie winde ariseth; for hee receiveth aduertisement that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedamonians*, had vinited themselves against him, and, by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recouerie of their former freedome. Hereto they were perswaded by *Demoghenes*, himselfe being thereto perswaded by the gold of *Persia*; the deuile he vsed was more subtil than profitable, for he caused it to be bruted that *Alexander* was slaine in a battaile against the *Triballes*, and brought into the assembly a Companion whom hee had corrupted to affirme, That himselfe was present and wounded in the battaile. There is indeede a certaine Doctrine of Politie (as Politie is now a daies defined by fallshood and knauerie) that deuised rumours and lies, if they serue the turne, but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true that common people are sometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarms in the Warres; but in all that I haue obserued, I haue found the successe as ridiculous as the inuention. For as those that finde themselves at one time abused by such like brutes, doe at other times neglect their duties, when they are vpon true reports, and in occasions perilous, summoned to assemble; so doe all men in generall condemne the Vnters of such trumperie, and for them feare vpon necessarie occasions to entertaine the truth it selfe. This labour vnllooked for, and losse of time, was not only very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Graecians*, of whose assistance he thought himselfe assured, his present vndertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot indure to strue against the winde, shall hardly attaine the Port which hee purposeth to recouer: and it no lesse becommeth the worst men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewaile them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Renolters, as that himselfe, with the Armie that followed him, brought them the first newes of his preparation. 50 Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moued, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadours to pacifie the King, and to be receiued againe into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* perswaded him to pardon the *Graecians*. Wise men are not easily drawne from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King

754 { euer brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himselfe in many enter-
prises at once, not tending to one and the same certaine end.

And hauing now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getae*, *Agrians*, and other salvage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessours, but euen *Philip* his Father: with all which after diuers ouerthrowes giuen them, hee made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good successe, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more naturall to man than libertie; the *Greekes* had enjoyed it ouer-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once againe. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* halseth to their succour, and presents himselfe with thirtie thousand foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand horse, before the Citie, and ganethe Inhabitants some daies to resolue, being euen heart-sicke with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So vnwilling, indeede, he was to draw bloud of the *Gracians*, by whom hee hoped to free himselfe elsewhere, that hee offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliuer into his hands *Pharix* and *Prasthytes*, the stirrers vp of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking-in of the Ocean-Sea) in stead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should haue made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to bee deliuered vnto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then laied in the balance of Fortune with the Kingdome of *Macedon* and many other Provinces, could either haue euened the scale or swaied it. Therefore in the end they perilled in their obstinacie. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Armie assailing, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their Citie taken and razed to the ground, sixe thousand slaine, and thirtie thousand sold for slaues, at the price of four hundred and fortie talents. This the King did to the terror of the other *Gracian* Cities.

Many Arguments were vsed by *Cleadas* one of the prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He praised the King to beleue that they were rather misse-led by giuing baslie credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexanders* death, they rebelled but against his Successour. Hee also besought the King to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that Citie, yea that his Ancestor *Heracles* was borne therein: but all perswasions were fruitlesse, the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at libertie *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the libertie of *Greece* against his Father *Philip*. This Noble-woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him rauished, hee threatened to take her life vnesse shee would confesse her treasure, shee led the *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that shee had therein cast it, and when the *Thracian* stooped to looke into the Well, shee suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now because the *Athenians* had receiued into their Citie so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped and fled vnto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but vpon condition to deliuer into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second revolt, and their Captaines; yet in the end it being a torment vnto him to retard the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the Orators should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the Captaines, wherein he was exceeding ill aduised, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him vnprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Gracians* betooke themselves to the seruice of the *Persian*, whom after a few daies he inuadeth.

§. II.

How ALEXANDER passing into Asia, fought with the Persians upon the River of Granicus.

When all was now quieted at home, Alexander, committing to the trust of Antipater both Greece and Macedonia, in the first of the Spring did passe the Hellespont, and being readie to disimbarke, hee threw a Dart towards the Asian shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waite in their owne Territories, or to burne, or despoile those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possesse. He landed his Armie, consisting of two and thirtie thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all old Souldiers, neare unto Troy, where he offered a solemne sacrifice vpon Achilles Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he left his owne coast, he put to death, without any offence giuen him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinsmen, whom Philip his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his owne as he suspected. Hee also tooke with him many of his tributarie Princes, of whose fidelitie he doubted; thinking by vnjuste crueltie to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrarie to the policie which his Ambition had commended vnto him, though agreeing verie well with the iustice of God; For all that he had planted, was soone after withered, and rooted vp; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his owne, and all manner of confusion followed his dead bodie to the graue, and left him there.

When the knowledge of Alexanders landing on Asia-side was brought to Darius, he so much corned the Armie of Macedonia, and had so contemptible an opinion of Alexander himselfe, as hauing filled him his seruant on a letter which hee wrote vnto him, reprehending his dilloialtie and audacitie (for Darius intituled himselfe King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the Gods) hee gaue order withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser Asia, that they should take Alexander a-live, whip him with rods, and then conuiey him to his presence: that they should sinke his ships, and send the Macedons taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea, belike into Ethiopia, or some other vnhealthfull part of Affrica.

In this sort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartlesse multitude which he commanded, dispose of the alreadye-vanquished Algeedonians; But the ill destinies of men beare them to the ground, by what strong confidence soeuer armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heape into the field, gaue rather an exceeding aduantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men vtterly vnacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to preuaile against those of lesse courage than themselves, men that tooke more care how to embroder with gold and siluer their ypper garments, as if they attended the inuasion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themselves with yron and Steele against the sharpe-pikes, swords, and darts of the hardie Macedonians, I say besides all these, even the opinion they had of their owne numbers, of which euery one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled euery of them with the care of their owne safetie, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The Macedonians as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the gold and Jewells of Persia, both which they needed, so the Persians who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obaied the King, who had power to constrain them in assembling themselves for his seruice; but their owne feares and cowardice, which in time of danger had most power ouer them, they only then obaied, when their rebellion against so seruile a passion did iustly and

Mountaines had made fittell of all other for such a service, were buied in custodie of the *Alpes*, *Francia* appeared in *Lumbardie*, to so much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the lesse they had expected his annuall. What shall we say of those Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in such fort, as they leaue but one Gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the Gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and those of *Thermopyla*, haue seldome bene attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable: but how seldome (if euer) haue they been attempted in vaine? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of *Thermopyla*; *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how strongly fouer they had bene locked and barred, yet were those countries open enough to a fleet that should enter on the back-side. The defence of Rivers how hard a thing it is, wee finde examples in all histories that beare good witness. The deepest haue many *Forrds*; the swiftest and broadest may bee passed by Boates, in case it be found a matter of difficultie to make a Bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath also enough to beate his enemy; and may therefore doe better to let him come ouer, to his losse, than by striving in vaine to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his owne disadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, hauing their meanes of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly if a River were sufficient defence against an Armie, the Isle of *Mona*, now called *Anglesey*, which is diuided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea; had bene safe enough against the *Romans*, invading it vnder conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making vessels to transport his forces, did assay the *Forrs*. Whereby hee so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like prouision by Sea, that surely beleeuing nothing could bee hard or inuincible to men, which came so minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeldded the Island. Yet the *Brittaines* were men stout enough; the *Persians* were daltards.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to passe the River of *Granick* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to seeke an ealier way, nor labouring to conuey his men ouer it by some safer meanes. For hauing beaten them vpon their owne ground, hee did thereby cut off no lesse of their reputation, than of their strength, leauing no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such vnable Profectors.

Soone after this victorie he recovered *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, the Cities of the *Trallicians* and *Magnesians*, which were rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrey, he receiued with great grace, suffering them to be gouerned by their owne lawes. For hee obserued it well; *Novum Imperium inchoantibus citius elementia fama*; It is commodious vnto such as lay the foundations of a new Soveraigntie to haue the fame of being mercifull. Hee then by *Parnienio* wanne *Miletus*, and by force maltred *Helicarnassus*, which, because it resisted obstinately, hee razed to the ground. From thence hee entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queene, who had bene cast out of all that shee held (except the Citie of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, presented her selfe vnto him, and adopted him her sonne and successor; which *Alexander* accepted in so gracious part as hee left the whole Kingdome to her disposing. Hee then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphilia*, and obtained all the Sea coasts, and subiecting vnto him *Pisidia*, he directed him selfe towards *Darius* (who was laid to be aduanced towards him with a maruailous Armie) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Prouince of *Asia* the lesse, bordering vpon the Sea, his first victorie laied vnder his feet.

While he gaue order for the gouernement and setting of *Lycia*, and *Pamphilia*, he sent *Cleander* to raise some new Companies in *Peloponnesus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenas*, seated on the River *Maander*, which was abandoned vnto him, the Castle only holding out, which also after fortie daies was giuen vp: for so long time he gaue them to attend succour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he past on

through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a Citie called *Gordium*, the Regall-seate, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this Citie it was that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when hee knew not how to vndoe, hee cut it a-sunder with his sword. For there was an ancient prophetic did promise to him that could vnite it, the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the prophetic, by hewing it in peeces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the lesse towards the East, hee tooke care to cleare the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the Ilands of *Leibos*, *Scio*, and *Cos*, the charge whereof he committed vnto two of his Captaines, giuing them such order as he thought to be most conuenient for that seruice; and deliuering vnto them fiftie talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first spoile gotten, he sent threescore talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece*, and *Macedon*. From *Celenus* he remoued to *Ancira*, now called *Anguori*, standing on the same Riuer of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there hee multried his Armie, and then entred *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselves vnto him, and obtained freedome of tribute: where hee left *Catus* Governour with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here he vnderstood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to passe on towards him, for of this only Captaine hee had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders hee had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath vnderaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of Kingdomes and Empires guided handfulls of men against multitudes of equall bodily strength, contriued victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, conuerted the fearefull passions of his owne followers into magnanimitie, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize, such spirits haue beene stirred vp in sundrie Ages of the world, and in diuers parts thereof, to erect and cast downe againe, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certaine ends, which the infinite spirit of the *Triuer*, fall, piercing, mouing, and governing all things hath ordained. Certainly the things that this King did were maruailous, and would hardly haue beene undertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to haue innaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would haue contented himselfe with some part thereof, and not haue discovered the Riuer of *Indus*, as this man did. The swift course of *Victorie*, wherewith he ranne ouer so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may iustly be imputed vnto this, That he was neuer encountered by an equall spirit, concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than Desert places, and the meere length of tedious iournies could make, were like the *Coleusius* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discover as braue a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no lesse exquisitely, though the effects were lesse materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would finde the exact pattern of a noble Commander, must looke vpon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountering worthe Captaines, and those better followed than themselves, haue by their singular vertue ouer-topped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed ouer those, that would not haue yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are doe seldom liue to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to master the equall forces of one hardie and well-ordered State, than to tread downe and vtterly subdue a multitude of seruile Nations, compounding the bodie of a grosse vnwieldie Empire. Wherefore these *Parua Potentes*, men that with little haue done much vpon enemies of like abilitie, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerors, to bee rather admired for the substance

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substance of their actions, than the exquisite menaging: exactnesse and greatnesse concurring so seldome, that I can finde no instance of both in one, save only that brave *Roman Caesar*.

Having thus farre digressed, it is now time that wee returne vnto our Easterne Conqueror; who is trauielling hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recouer the Streights thereof before *Darius* should arriue there. But first making a dispatch into *Greece*, he sent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recovered in his first battaile; vpon which, by certaine inscriptions, he made them partakers of his victorie. Herein hee well aduised himselfe; for he that doth not aswell impart of the honour which he gaineth in the Warres, as hee doth of the spoiles, shall neuer bee long followed by those of the better sort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and haue more of wealth than of reputation, doe as often satisfie themselves with the purchase of glorie; as the weak in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and siluer.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander* coming on, left some Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defensible; and withall, as *Curcius* noteth, hee beganne ouer-late to prise and put in execution the Counsell of *Alexanor*: who in the beginning of the Warres aduised him to waitt all the provisions for Men and Horse, that could not bee lodged in strong places, and alwaies to giue ground to the Inuader, till hee found some such notable aduantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of victorie. For the furie of an invading Armie is best broken, by delays, change of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes repoling themselves in beds, and more often on the cold ground. These and the like suddaine alterations bring many diseases vpon all Nations out of their owne Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and sleepe, and refusing to giue or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*; hee might perchance haue saued his owne life, and his estate: For it was one of the greatest encouragements giuen by *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last fall battaile, that they were to fight with all the strength of *Persia* at once.

Xerxes when hee invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greekes*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his Kingdome; *Pericles*, though the *Lacedemonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not bee drawne to hazard a battaile: for the invaded ought euermore to fight vpon the aduantage of time and place. Because we reade Histories to informe our vnderstanding by the examples therein found, we will giue some instances of those that haue perished by aduenturing in their owne Countries, to charge an invading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brinke of their destruction.

Pempey was well aduised for a while, when hee gaue *Caesar* ground, but when by the importunitie of his Captaine hee aduentured to fight at *Pharsalia*, hee lost the battaile, lost the freedome of *Rome*, and his owne life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battaile with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgement, that those Counsells which promise successe in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of *France* made frustrate the mightie preparation of *Charles*, the Fifth, when hee invaded *Prouence*, by waiking the Countrie, and forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of *Alua* wearie the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the boisterous Armie of the Prince of *Orange* in the low Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrarie to the aduise of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Countrie, and could not bee perswaded to linger the time, and stay their aduantage; but theye lost eight and twentie thousand vpon the place. *Philip of Valois* set vpon King *Edward* at *Cressie*, and King *Iohn* (when the *English* were well neare tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit haue

haue beene waited to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great furie, neare *Positiers*, to joyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable successe the two *French Kings* found. *Charles* the Fifth of *France* made another kinde of *Fabian Warfare*; and though the *English* burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear blowes, and followed his aduise which told him, That the *English* could neuer get his inheritance by smooke; and it is reported by *Belley* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to say of this *Charles*, that hee wanne from him the Duchie of *Guien* without euer putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short lined, and the charge of things is committed vnto such as either cannot see what is for their good, 10 or know not how to put in execution any sound aduise. The course which *Memnon* had propounded, must in all appearance of reason haue brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexitie, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shamefull to returne; or dangerous to proceede. For had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* bene wasted whilst *Alexander* was farre off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* bene defended by *Arseus*, Governor of that Prouince, with the best of his forces: hunger would not haue suffered the enimie, to stay the trial of all meanes that might be thought vpon, of forcing that passage; or if the place could not haue bene maintained, yet might *Cilicia* at better leisure haue bene so thoroughly spoiled, that the heart of his Armie should haue bene broken, by see- 20 king out miseries with painefull trauaile.

But *Arseus* leaving a small number to defend the Streights, tooke the best of his Armie with him, to wait, and spoile the Countrey; or rather, as may seeme, to find himselfe some worke, by pretence of which hee might honestly runne further away from *Alexander*. Hee should rather haue aduentured his person in custodie of the Streights, whereby hee might perhaps haue saved the Prouince; and in the meantime, all that was in the fields, would haue bene conueighed into strong Townes. So should his Armie, if it were driuen from the place of aduantage, haue found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himselfe with his horse-men haue had the lesse worke in destroyng that little which was left abroad. Handling the mat- 30 ters he did, he gaue the *Cilicians* cause to with for *Alexanders* coming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. Forcwardes are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arseus* made all halt to joyne himselfe with *Darius*, burning downe all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, beganne to grow circumspect, and to thinke that surely their Generall, who gaue as lost the Countrey behinde their backs, had exposed themselves vnto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing else, but to dull the *Macedonian* Swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Coun- 40 trie (which honour they saw that *Arseus* himselfe could well forbear) they speedily followed the foote-steps of their Generall, gleaming after his Harueſt. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardice of his Enemies, and the whole Prouince that had bene alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

Of the vnmurlike Armie leaued by DARIUS against ALEXANDER;
 The vnuadised courses which DARIUS took in this expedition. Hee is
 vanquished at Issus; where his Mother, Wife, and Children
 are made prisoners. Of some things following the
 battaile of Issus.
affection to judgement 743.

IN the meane season Darius approached; who (as Curtius reports) had
 compounded an Armie of more than two hundred and ninetie thou-
 sand Souldiers, out of diuers Nations; Iustine musters them at three
 hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; Plutarch at
 fixe hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as Curtius describes it, was rather like a masker
 than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to set out his glorie and
 riches, than to provide for his owne safetie, perswading himselfe, as it seemed, to beat
 Alexander with pompe and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was
 carried the holy fire which the Persians worshipped, attended by Priests, and
 after them three hundred and threescore and fise yong-men, answering the num-
 ber of the daies of the yeare, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of Iupiter
 drawne with white Horses, with their Riders clothed in the same colour, with
 rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the Sonne: Next after these
 followed ten sumptuous Chariots, inlaid and garnisht with siluer and gold, and
 then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelue severall Nations, which
 the better to auoide confusion, did hardly vnderstand each others language, and
 these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serue very fitly to dis-
 order all that followed them; in the taile of these Horses the Regiment of foore
 marched, with the Persians called immortall, because if any died the number was
 presently supplied: and these were armed with chaines of gold, and their coates
 with the same metall imbrodered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearle,
 bautes, either to catch the hungrie Macedonians withall, or to perswade them that
 it were great inciuillitie to cut and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well
 said: *Sumptuosus inductus miles, se virtute superiorem alijs non existimet, cum in prelijs o-*
porteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non de-
bellantur; Let no man thinke that he exceedeth those in valour, whom hee exceedeth in g-
garments, for it is by men armed with fortitude of minde, and not by the apparell they put on,
that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the Roman Papyrin that this ad-
 uice was borrowed, who when he fought against the Sommites in that fatall battaile,
 wherein they all sware either to preuaile or die, thirrie thousand of them hauing ap-
 40 parrelled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of fea-
 thers, bad the Roman Souldiers to lay aside all feare: *Non enim cristas vulnera facere,*
& per pila atque aurata scuta transire Romanam pilam; For these plumed crests would
wound no bodie, and the Roman pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.

To second this Court-like companie, fiftene thousand were appointed more
 rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breede
 the more terrour) and these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen.
 Then came Darius himselfe, the Gentlemen of his Guard-robe, riding before his
 Chariot, which was supported with the Gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure
 gold; these the Macedonians did not serue, but they serued their turnes of these, by
 50 changing their massie-bodies into thinnie portable and currant coine. The head of
 this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, covered with
 an open-winged Eagle of the same metall: The hinder part being raised high when
 on Darius sat, had a covering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the King was
 followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with siluer, and their
 heads

map 79
 737 - 44. 772.

grave - flauo

Lucl. 1. 107

heads gult; which they meant not to imbrew in the *Macedonian* blood, for feare of marring their beaurtie. He had for the proper Guard of his person two hundred of the blood Royall, blood too Royall and pretious to be spilt by any valorous aduencure, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdie fellows, like the *smutlers*, would haue done him more seruice) and these were backt with thirtie thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred spare horses for the King, which if hee had meant to haue vied he would haue marshalled somewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Rcareward, the same being led by *Sisymbrius* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawne in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-back, with fiftene Wagons of the Kings children, and the wifes of the Nobilitie, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Coneybines, and a world of Nurles, and Eunuchs, most sumptuously apparelled, By which it should seeme that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had bene *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troupe was farre fitter to behold those sports than to bee present at battailes. Betwene these & a companie of slight-armed slaues, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treasure, charged on fixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came this *Mage-game-King* into the field, incombred with a most vnnessearie traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled, and for the most part so cōtminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but haue incouraged the nakeddest Nation of the world against them. We finde it in daily experience that all discourse of magnanimitie, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Libertie, and whatsoever else hath bene wont to moue and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common-Souldier, in comparison of spoile and riches, The rich ships are boarded vpon all disadvantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly inuaded. Our *English* Nations haue attempted many places in the *Indies*, and runne vpon the *Spaniards* head-long in hope of their Royalls of plate, and Pistoles, which had they bene put to it vpon the like disadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poore Countrie, they would haue turned their Peeeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contending that they had bene brought with out reason to the Butcherie and slaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the most part with good successe, for it is ordained against the richest Nations, for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous, so plentie is wont to thinne perill, and men that haue well to liue, doe rather studie how to liue well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car emilly? a rien a gagner, que des coups volontiers il ny va pas; No man makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his Southsaiers, hee would haue satisfied himselfe by the out-sides of the *Persians*, and neuer haue looked into the intrailles of Beasts for successe. For leauing the description of this second battaile (which is indeede no-where well described, neither for the confusion and halfe running away of the *Asians* could it be) we haue enough by the slaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to informe vs what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that three score thousand *Persian* foot-men were slaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horsemen, Or (as *Curtius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horse-men, and besides this slaughter, fortie thousand taken prisoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there miscarried but two hundred and fourescore of all sorts, of which numbers *Arrianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I doe verily beleue that this small number rather died with the ouer-trauail and paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes receiued from them. And surely if the *Persian* Nation (at this time degenerate and the basest of the World) had had any fauour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers; they would neuer haue sold so good cheape, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters,

ters, and other the Kings children; had their owne honor beene valued by them at nothing, and the Kings safetie and his estate at lesse. *Darius* by this time found it true that *Charidemus* a banished *Græcian* of *Athens* had told him, when hee made a view of his Armie about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which hee had assembled of diuers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would bee found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the countie, whom in passing by they would deuour, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to slaine; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in grosse Squadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well couered with Armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great aduantage, would make so little accompt of his delicate *Persians*, louing their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertaine (hauiug so great abundance of treasure to doe it withall) a sufficient number of the same *Græcians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, hee would repent him ouer-late, as taught by the miserable successe like to follow.

But this discourse was so vnpleasing to *Darius* (who had beene accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne praises, and to nothing so little as to heare truth) as he commanded that this poore *Græcian* should bee presently slaine: who while hee was a sundring in the Tormentors hand, vsed this speech to the King, That *Alexander*, against whom hee had giuen this good counsell, should assuredly reuenge his death, and lay deserued punishment vpon *Darius* for despising his aduise.

It was the saying of a Wise man. *Desperata eius Principis salus est, cuius aures ita formate sunt, ut aspera qua vitia, nec quisquam nisi iucundum accipiat; That Princes safetie is in a desperate case, whose eares iudge all that is profitable to be too sharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is vnpleasing.*

For libertie in counsell is the life and essence of counsell; Libertas consilij est eius vita, & essentia, qua crepta consilium enascitur.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the Aduise giuen him by the *Græcian* Souldiers that serued him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: but had they beene Counsellers and directors in that Warre, as they were vnderlings and commanded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men beene able to haue opposed the furie of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was ouerthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Græcians*, vnder their Capitaine *Amintas*, held firme, and marched away in order in despite of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: we reade in Histories ancient and moderne, what braue retraits haue beene made by them, though the rest of the Armie in which they haue serued, hath beene broken.

At the battaile of *Raouenne*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a Squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off vnbroken and vndimaid; whom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victorie not intire by their escape, hee was ouer-turned and slaine in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers feare them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminenti mali opus ipsum quantumvis difficile aggrediuntur; They goe about the bulwasse it selfe, how hard soeuer it be, not standing to consider the danger, which the mischiefe hanging ouer their heads may bring: and as truly of those that know the warres but by heare-say. Quod valentes sunt & preuolentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedunt; They haue abilitie enough, and so spare, till dangers appeare; but when perill indeede comes they get them gone.*

These *Græcians* also that made the retract, aduised *Darius* to retire his Armie into the plaine of *Adelapotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champions, he might haue inuironed the *Macedonians* on all sides with his multitude; and withall they counselled him to diuide that his huge Armie into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might

might haue fought many battailes; and haue brought no greater numbers at once then might haue bene well marshalled and conducted. But this counsell was so contrarie to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inuironne the *Grecians* which gaue the aduise, and to cut them in peeces as Traitors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not worke alwaies by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking vnderstanding from the Governours, so as they can neither giue nor discern of Counsels. For *Darius* that would needes fight with *Alexander* vpon a straightned peece of ground, neare vnto the Citie of *Issus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the aduise of *Parmenis* staid there, as in a place of best advantage) was vtterly ouerthrowne, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Grecians* his followers had perswaded him to leaue in *Babylon*, or elfewhere) taken prisoner, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* presence, were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Honours preserved, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored vnto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautifull Ladie, and his Daughters of excellent forme, Yet *Alexander* mastered his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristobolus* the Historian, That he embraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenis*, at which time the Daughters of *Oebus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wiues and Children of all the Nobilitie of *Persia* in effect, fell into captiuitie; At which time also *Darius* Treasure (not lost at *Issus*) was seized, amounting to fixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of *Bullock* fixe hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himselfe leaving his brother dead, with diuers other of his chiefe Capitaines (casting the Crowne from his head) hardly escaped.

After this ouerthrow giuen vnto *Darius*, all *Phoenicia* (the Citie of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenis* was made Governour.

Aradus, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, Maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast that it troode on his heeles, for *Antigenus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Asia* the lesse, ouerthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately revolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius* Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly leauied; the *Lacedemonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; foure thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retreat at the last battaile, forsaking both the partie of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to diuide Kingdomes.

Alexander, to honour *Ephesion*, whom hee loued most, gaue him power to dispose of the Kingdome of *Zidon*. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to sustaine his life, being of the Royall blood, was commended by the people vnto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same houre.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wilst that hee could beare his prosperitie with the same moderation, and quietnesse of heart, that he had done his aduersitie; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which hee commended in an other mans desire: for it was a signe that he did but accompanie, and could not gouerne, his felicitie.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from *Darius*, importing the ranfome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, nor vouchsasing, in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an ouerthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned

returned him a more comelull answer vpon the offer of peace, than they did before the trial of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had alreadie cast lease, the one a resolu'd well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdain'd the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himselfe.

§. V.

How *ALEXANDER* beseged and wanne the Citie of *Tyre*.

ALXANDER comming neare to the Citie of *Tyre*, receiued from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which hee tooke very thankfully, returning them answer that he desired to offer a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their Citie, from whom hee was descended. But the *Tyrians* like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old Citie adjoining, now abandoned and desolate: To bee short, *Alexander* resolu'd to enter it by force, and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the
20 Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, hee filled the passage of the Sea betwene the Iland and the Maine, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea vpon a storme of winde, sometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and sometime torne a-sunder, yet with the helpe of his Naue which arriued (during the sieg) from *Cyprus*, he quere-
came all difficulties and preuailed, after he had spent seuen Moneths in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the sieg had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the Citie, in respect whereof, and of the great losse of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused
30 two thousand of those, that escaped the first furie, to bee hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and referu'd for slaues (saith *Diodore*) thirteene thousand; *Arrian* reckons them at thirtie thousand. Many more had died had not the *Zidonians*, that serued *Alexander*, conueied great numbers away by shipping vnto their owne Citie. *Arrian* L. 5.

Happie it was for *Apollo* that the Towne was taken, for one of the *Tyrians* hauing dreamt, that this God meant to forsake the Citie, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of *Hercules*; but *Alexander* like a gracious Prince loosened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprize and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled vp the channell, that lay
40 betwene the Iland and the Maine.

The gouernement of this Territorie he gaue to *Philotas*, the Sonne of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant vnder *Parmenio*; *Ephesion* had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

§. VI.

How *DARIUS* offered conditions of peace to *ALEXANDER*. *ALEXANDER* winnes *Gaza*; and deales graciously with the *Jewes*.

IN the meane while *Darius* sends againe to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laith the losse of the last battaile to the straightnesse of the place: he hoped to terrifie him, by threatning to incompasse him in the plaine Countries, he bids him consider, how impossible it was to passe the Riuer of *Euphrates*,
Tigris,

Tigris, Araxes, and the rest, with all such other fearefull things: for, hee that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enough of that nature to present vnto another. All the Kingdomes betwene the River of *Aly*, and the *Hellepont*, he offered him in Dowry with his beloued daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victorie and his owne vertue had posselt him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receiue any; and that he hauing passed the Sea it selfe, disdaind to thinke of resistance in transporting himselfe ouer Rivers. It is said that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, that were he *Alexander* hee would accept of *Darius* his offers, to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and comming before *Gaza*, *Betis* a faithfull seruant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Towne with an obdurate resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* receiued a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone; Hee found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the sands of *Gaza*, that he was for to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first beganne to change condition, and to exercise crueltie.

For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis*, (whom *Iosephus* calleth *Behemeses*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who neuer gaue ground to the Assaultants; he bored holes through his feet, and caused him to bee drawne about the streets, whilest he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himselfe, disdaind to aske him either life or remission of his torments. And what had hee to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true, that crueltie hath alwaies somewhat to couer her deformitie.

From *Gaza* (saith *Iosephus*) he led his Armie towards *Ierusalem*, a Citie, for the antiquitie and great fame thereof, well knowne vnto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Iaddus* the high Priest, being subiect and sworne to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Tyres* therefore fearing his reuenge, and vnable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safetie to *Iaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the Citie couered with his Pontificall-Robes, to wit, an vpper garment of purple, embrodered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests & Leuites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner so vnusuall, stately and graue, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Iosephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reuerencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it; Howsoeuer it was, I am of opinion, That he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the success after the prophetic of *Daniel* had been read vnto him, wherein he saw himselfe, and the conquest of *Persia* directly pointed at, as nothing thenceforth could discourage him or feare him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Iosephus*) That in *Dio* a Citie of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the conquest of *Asia*, hee saw in his sleepe such a person as *Iaddus*, and so appaialed, professing one and the same God, by whom he was incouraged to pursue the purpose hee had in hand with assurance of victorie. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of this phantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eies; wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and emboldened, as contrarie to the practice of the *Phoenicians*, (who hoped to haue sackt and destroyed *Ierusalem*) he gaue the *Tyres* all, and more than they desired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permission to liue vnder their owne lawes, and to exercise and enjoy their owne Religion.

p. VII.

ALEXANDER winnes *Egypt*: and makes a tourne to the Temple of HAMMON.

From *Ierusalem* Alexander turned againe to wards *Egypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Ajaces*, receited him and delivered into his hand the Citie of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this wee see that he to the valiantest man hee had but the command of one Citie, and to the valientest toward the gouernement of all *Egypt*. When he had set things in order in *Egypt*, he beganne to traualle after God-head, towards *Iupiter Hammon*; so foolish had prosperitie made him. He was to passe over the dangerous and drie sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels-back was spent, hee could not but haue perished, had not a maruailous shower of raine fallen vpon him, when his Armie was in extreme despaire. All men that know *Egypt*, and haue written thereof, ascribe, and he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him, for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those vast deserts, that a flight of Crowes flew before the Armie; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Armie was cast back, guided them ouer those pathlesse sands to *Iupiters* Temple. Arianius from the report of *Platome*, the sonne of *Legus*, saies, That hee was led by two Dragons, both which reports may be a-like true; But many of these wonders and things prodigious, are fained by those that haue written the storie of Alexander, as that an Eagle lay hovering directly ouer his head at the battaile of *Ibus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when hee slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him; at *Halcanassus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Antropus*; practised by *Darius* to haue slaine him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrrians* made their defensive ingines, when Alexander besieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The *Spaniards* in the conquest of the West-Indies haue many such pretie tales, telling how they haue been assisted in battaile, by the presence of four Ladies, and by Angels riding on white horses, with the like *Romish* miracles, which I thinke themselves doe hardly beleene. The strangest things that I haue read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battaile at *Nouarra*, all the Dogges which followed the French Armie, ranne from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning vpon them, as if they had bene bred and fed by them all their liues, and in the morning following, *Tremule* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by these *Imperiall Switzers* vtterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idoll of *Iupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*, for he bounds it by the *Arabian Trogadites* on the South, between whom and the territorie of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebaui*, or the superiour *Egypt*, with the Mountaines of *Lybia*, and the Riuer of *Nilus*, are interjacent, and on the North he joynes it to a Nation, called *Nasamon*, who bordering the Sea-shore, liue (saith hee) vpon the spoiles of shipwrack, whereas the Temple or Groue of this Idoll hath no Sen neare it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; thirfe *Nasamon*es being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*.

When Alexander came neare the place, he sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answers might bee giuen in all things, agreeable to his made ambition, who affected the title of *Iupiters* sonne. And so hee was saluted Sonne of *Iupiter* by the Devils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some thinke) defectiue in the Greeke tongue; For whereas he meant to say *Opaidion*, he said *Opaidios*, that is; O sonne of *Iupiter*, in stead

of, *O acceſſonne*: for which Gramaticall error he was richly rewarded, and a rumor preſently ſpread, that the great *Iupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his owne.

He had heard that *Perſeus* and *Heraules* had formerly conſulted with this Oracle, The one, when he was imploied againſt *Gorgon*, The other, againſt *Anteu* and *Buſiris*; and ſeeing theſe men had deriued themſelves from the Gods, why might not hee? By this it ſeemes, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fooles, though indeede he made himſelfe one, by thinking to couer from the Worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the belief of his *Deitie*, hee had praized the Priests to giue anſwere to ſuch as conſulted with the Oracle, that it ſhould be pleaing to *Iupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Sonne.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how repreſented, either by a boſſe carried in a Boate, or by a *Ramme*, or a *Rammes-head*; I ſee that many wife-men have troubled themſelves to finde out; but, as *Arrianus* ſpeakes of *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater* (who liued ſaith *St. Auguſtine* in *Moeſes* time.) *Ea qua de dijs veteres fabulis ſuis conſcripſere non ſunt nimium curioſe peruenſiganda; We muſt not over-curiouſly ſearch into the fables, which the Ancients haue written of their Gods.*

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Goſpell beganne to be preached in the World, the Deuill in this and in all other Idols became ſpeechleſſe. For that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Caſar*, and in the time of *Traian* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witneſſe.

There is found neare his Temple a Fountaine called *Fons ſolis* (though *Ptolomie* in his third *African* Table ſets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boiling water, and at Noone as cold as any yce, to which I cannot but giue credit, becauſe I haue heard of ſome other Wells of like nature, and becauſe it is reported by *Saint Auguſtine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arianus*, *Curtius*, and others, and indeede our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

§. VIII.

How *ALEXANDER* marching againſt *Darius*, was oppoſed very unſkilfully by the Enemy.

From the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men he heard the Philoſopher *Pſammes*, who, belike vnderſtanding that he affected the title of *Iupiters Sonne*, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in generall; and refining the pride of this haughtie King, brought him to ſay, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that hee acknowledged none for his children ſaue good men.

He gaue the charge of the ſeuerrall Proninces of *Egypt* to ſeuerrall *Gouernours*, following the rule of his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, That a great Dominion ſhould not be continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the *Roman* Emperours alſo followed, not daring to commit the gouernement of *Egypt* to any of their *Senators*, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gaue order for the founding of *Alexandria* vpon the Weſter-moſt branch of *Nylus*. And hauing now ſettled (as he could) the eſtate of *Egypt*, with the Kingdomes of the leſſer *Aſia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, (which being but the pawnes of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victorie would readily haue redeemed;) he led his Armie towards *Euphrates*, which paſſage though the ſame was committed to *Mazæus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without reſiſtance paſt it. From thence he marched towards *Tigris*, a River for the ſwiftneſſe thereof called by the *Perſians* *The Arrow*. Here, as *Curtius*, and *Reaſon* it ſelfe tells vs, might *Darius* eaſily haue repelled the inuading *Macedonian*: for the violent courſe of the ſtreame was ſuch, as it draue before it many waightie ſtones, and thoſe that moued not but lay in the bottome, were ſo round and well poliſhed by continuall rolling,

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rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slipperie a footing; nor the Macedonian foot-men to wade the River, otherwise than by joyning their handes and enterlacing their Armes together, making one waightie and entire bodie to resist the swift passage and furious race of the streame. Besides this notable helpe, the Channell was so deepe towards the Easterne shore, where *Darius* should haue made head, as the foot-men were infort to lift their Bowes and Arrowes and Darts ouer their heads, to keepe them from being moistned, and made vnscruiceable by the Waters. But it was truely and vnderstandingly said of *Homere*.

10

*Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualis quotidie ducit pater vitæ suæ.*

The mindes of men are euer so affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the World by the surfeit of misgovernment haue bene subject to many grieuous, and sometimes mortall diseases, So had the Empire of *Persia* at this time brought it selfe into a burning and consuming Fever, and thereby become frantick and without vnderstanding, forehewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

20

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Easterne shores of *Tigris*, without any other difficultie, than that of the nature of the place, where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the passage both of *Euphrates* and it) presented himselfe to the *Macedonians*, followed with certaine companies of Horse-men, as if with neuene forces hee durst haue charged them on euery ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them hee forsooke the aduantage which no valour of his enemies could easily haue ouer-come. But it is commonly scene, that fearefull and cowardly men doe euer follow those waies, and counsells, where of the opportunitie is already lost.

30

It is true that he set all provisions a fire wherewith the *Macedonians* might serue themselves ouer *Tigris*, thinking thereby greatly to haue distressed them; but the execution of good counsell is fruitlesse when vnseasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competence of the Armie which he conducted. Those things also which he sought to wath, *Alexander* being now in sight, were by his Horse-men saved and recovered. This, *Mazeus* might haue done some daies before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of horse-men, as the *Macedonians* durst not haue pursued them, leauing the strength of their foote out of sight, and farre behinde.

40

§. I X.

The new provisions of *Darius*. Accidents foregoing the battale of *Arbela*.



ARIVS, vpon *Alexanders* first returne out of *Egypt*, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrived; Nations (saith *Curtius*) that rather serued to make vp the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arianus* hath numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse 50 foure hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephanes. *Curtius* who musters the Armie of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foote, and neare fiftie thousand horse, comes (I thinke) nearer to the true number; and yet seeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassalls, it is like enough that hee had gathered together of all sorts some three or foure hundred thousand,

Q999 3

with

751 1037
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ad 610

with which hee hoped in those faire plaines of *Assyria* to haue ouer-borne the few numbers of the invading Armie. But it is a Rule in the Philosophie of the Warre.

In omni praelio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitum solent præfere victoriam; In cuerie battaile skill and practise doe more towards the victorie, than multitudo and rude audacity.

While *Alexander* gaue rest to his Armie after their passage ouer *Tigris*, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the *Macedonians*, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant, (as the multitude alwaies are) took it for a certaine preface of their ouerthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Sonne of *Iupiter*, they should all perih; For hee not only infort them to make warre against Worlds of enemies, but against Riuers, Mountaines, and the Heauens themselves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being readie to march forward made a halt, and to quiet the mindes of the multitude, he called before him the *Egyptian Astrologers*, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moone was a certaine preface of good successe; for that it was naturall they neuer imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as forre Almanack-maker had bene no small foole in those daies.

Of this kinde of superstitious obseruation *Cæsar* made good vse, when he fought against *Arminius* and the *Germanes*: for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainly loofe the battaile, *Cæsar* forst them to abide it, though they durst not giue it, wherein hauing their mindes already beaten by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole Armie in effect perished.

These *Egyptians* gaue no other reason than this, That the *Gracians* were vnder the aspect of the *Sunne*, the *Persians* of the *Moone*; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of *Persia* was now in danger of falling, and their glorie of being obscured. This iudgement of the *Egyptian* Priests being noised through all the Armie, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though denied since, was well obserued then. *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Capitaine leade his Armie to the fight, when it is possessed with matter of terror.*

It is truly obserued by *Curtius*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we finde it in all Stories, and often in our owne, that by such inuentions, deuised tales, dreames, and prophesies, the people of this Land haue bene carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their owne losse and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neare the *Persian* Armie, certaine letters were surprized written by *Darius* to the *Gracians*, perswading them for great summes of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these by the aduice of *Parmentis* he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his faire Wife, oppressed with sorrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no lesse to bewaile than *Darius*, who vpon the first brute suspected that some dishonourable violence had bene offered her, but being satisfied by an *Eunuch* of his owne that attended her, of *Alexanders* Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal Gods, That if he had decreed to make a new Master of the *Persian* Empire, then it would please them to conferre it on so iust and continent an enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once againe before the last triall by battaile offered these conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliuer vp and resigne all *Asia* the lesse, and with *Egypt*, all those Kingdomes betweene the *Phenician* Sea, and the Riuer of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the ransom of his Mother, and his

other

192. 326. 694. 713. 5. 817. 861. 9046. 1020. 6736. 10688. 437. 680
85. 96. 145. 205. 7. 521. 809. 872. 6. 897. 904. 915. 927. 1024.

other Daughter thirtie thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, hee would leaue his Sonne *Oechus* in hostage: To this they sought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Embassadors to be remoued, aduised with his Counsell, but heard no man speake but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these faire conditions. Hee told him, that the Empire betwene *Euphrates* and *Hellepont* was a faire addition to *Macedon*; that the retyning of the *Persian* prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of farre better vse than their persons; with diuers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable
 10 that if he had followed his aduise, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might haue liued as famous for vertue as for fortune; and left himselfe a Successor of able age to haue enjoyed his estate, which afterward, indeed, he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himselfe: who to assure himselfe of what they had vsurped vpon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few yeares after. The truth is, that *Alexander* in going so farre into the East, left
 behind him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, aduised and gratefull: and being taught
 new lessons by abundance of prosperitie, became a loue of wine, of his owne flatterie, and of extreame crueltie. Yea, as *Seneca* hath obserued, the taint of one vnjust
 20 slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beautie of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the *Persian* Embassadors lay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever he had bestowed on the Wife and Children of *Darius*, proceeded from his owne naturall clemencie and magnanimitie, without all respect to their Master; that thanks to an enemy was improprie; that he made no warres against aduersitie, but against those that resisted him, Not against
 Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes of money to perswade his friends to attempt vpon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace
 offered was rather pretended than meant, yet hee could not (were it otherwise and
 30 faithfull) resolute in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made the Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and ouert-force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practice; That for the Treason offered him, it was already his owne, and if
Darius could beate him back againe ouer *Euphrates*, which hee had already past, hee would then beleue that he offered him somewhat in his owne power: Otherwise he propounded to himselfe for the reward of the Warre, which hee had made, all those Kingdomes as yet in *Darius* possession, wherein, whether he were abused by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which hee meant to fight in the day following should determine. For conclusion, hee told them, that hee came into *Asia* to giue, and not to receive; That the Heauens could not hold two Sunnes; and therefore if
 40 *Darius* could bee content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, hee might perchance bee perswaded to giue him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

p. X.

The battaile of Arbela: and that it could not bee so strongly fought as report hath made it.

50



In this answer the Embassadors returne; *Darius* prepares to fight, and sends *Mazæus* to defend a passage, which he neuer yet dared so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Capitaines, *Parmenio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not moue terrour in the *Macedonians*, being but few. *Alexander* disdaines to steal the victorie, and resolues to bring with him the day.

day-light, to witness his valour, But it was the successe that made good *Alexanders* resolution, though the counsell given by *Parmeno* was more found: For it is a ground in Warre, *Sipauis necessario cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est nactus tempus belli fortunam tentare.* Notwithstanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, he laggards & intrenches himselfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for feare of surpris had stood with his Armie in armour all the day, and for some sleepe all the night; *Alexander* gaue his men rest and store of foodde; for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna milites valdus reseruiunt, sicubi potius refecti fuerint, nam famis intrinsecus magis pugnatur, quam seruum exterius; Souldiers doe the better stand to it in fight; if they haue their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than Steele without.*

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arianus*, were fortie thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse; these belike were of the *Europaen* Armie; for hee had besides both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Aegyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of those Regions. He vsed but a short speech to his Souldiers to incourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former battailes vpon the Riuer of *Granick* and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria Victoriam parat, animamq; victoribus auget, & aduersarijs auferit*; One victorie begets an other, and puts courage into those that haue already had the better, taking spirit away from such as haue beene beaten.

Arianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this battaile, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victorie inclined sometime to the *Persians*, sometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmeno* was in danger of being ouerthrowne, who led the left wing; That *Alexanders* Rear-guard was broken and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, *Fortune* her selfe was long vnresolued on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But, in conclusion, *Curtius* deliueus vs in accompt but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible daies-work; saying, That *Ephestion*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name, were wounded. *Arianus* findes not a third part of this number slaine; of the *Persians* there fell fortie thousand (saith *Curtius*,) thirtie thousand according to *Arianus*: Ninetic thousand, if we beleuee *Diodor*. But what can we iudge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the *Persians* vpon the first charge ranne away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued? For if of these foure or fife hundred thousand *Asians* brought into the field by *Darius*, euery man had but cast a Dart, or a Stone, the *Macedonians* could not haue bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as sixe or seuen hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* vpon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fiftie or threecore thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had beene impossible for *Alexander* to haue past that Riuer so easily, much lesse the Riuer of *Tigris*. But as a man whose Empire God in his prouidence had determined, Hee abandoned all places of aduantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so far into the bowells of his Kingdome, as all hope and possibilitie of escape by retrait being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented vnto them the choise, either of death or victorie; to which election *Darius* could no way contraine his owne, seeing they had many large Regions to runne into from those that inuaded them.

§. XI.

of things following the battaile of Arbela. The yielding of
Babylon and Susa.

DARIVS after the rout of his Armie recovered Arbela the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpose of making a retrait into Media, perswading them that the Macedonians greedie of spoile and riches, would rather attempt Babylon, Susa, and other Cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobilitie rather obied than approved.

Alexander loone after Darivs his departure arrives at Arbela, which with a great masse of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred vnto him: for the feare which conducted Darivs tooke nothing with it but shame and dishonour. Hee that had bene twice beaten, should rather have sent his treasure into Media, than brought it to Arbela, so neare the place where he abid the coming of his enemies; if he had bene victorious he might have brought it after him at leisure, but being over-come, hee knew it vnpossible to drine Mules and Cammels laden with gold from the pursuing Enemie, seeing himselfe at the ouerthrow hee had in Cilicia, cast the Crowne from his head to runne away with the more speede. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. *Et praterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi; It is easier to reprehend then amend what is past.*

From Arbela Alexander tooke his way towards Babylon, where Mazeus in whom Darivs had most confidence rendred himselfe, his children and the Citie. Also the Captaine of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, attrewed the freetes with flowers, burnt frankincense vpon Altars of silver as Alexander passed by, and deliuered vnto him whatsoeuer was committed to his trust. The Magi (the Chaldean Astrologers) followed this Captain in great solemnitie to entertaine their new King: after these came the Babylonian horsemen, infinite riche in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betweene these (though not greatly to be feared) and himselfe, Alexander caused his Macedonian foote-men to march. When hee entred the Castle hee admired the glorie thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found amounting to fiftie thousand talents of silver vncoynd. The Citie it selfe I haue elsewhere described with the Walles, the Towers, the Gates and the Circuite, with the wonderfull place of pleasure about two miles in Circuite, surrounded with a Wall of foure score foote high, and on the toppe thereof (being vnder-borne with Pillars) a Grove of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of Babylon caused to be built, that the Queene and other Princeesses might walke priuately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things but most of all in Voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himselfe and the whole Armie foure and thirtie daies, consuming that time in banquetting and in all sorts of effeminate exercise, which so much softened the mindes of the Macedonians, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of warre which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painefull cruauale, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, & Commanders appointed ouer them, who thereupon were stiled *Chilarchi*. This new order Alexander brought in, was to honor those Captaines which were found by certain selected Iudges to haue deserved best in the late warre. For before this time the Macedonian companies consisted but of fise hundred. Certainly the drawing downe of the foote-bands in this latter age hath bene the cause (saith the *Marshal Monluez*) that the title and charge of a Captaine hath bene bestowed on euerie *Pieque Bann* or Spurn-Cow, for when the Captaines of foote had a thousand Souldiers vnder

one Enigne, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honorable and the Kings were lesse charged, and farre better serued. King *Henrie* the eighth of *England* neuer gave the commandement of any of his good shippes, but to men of knowne valour, and of great estate, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitie commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*, for *Antipater* sent him sixe thousand foote and five hundred horse, out of *Macedon*, of *Thracians* three thousand foote and the like number of horse, and out of *Greece* foure thousand foote and ioure hundred horse, by which his Armie was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon* could hardly be brought againe, *Le quitter la plaine par dormir sur la dure; To change from soft beds to hard boards.*

He left the Castle and Citie of *Babylon* with the Territories about it in charge vnto three of his owne Capitaines, deliuering withall into their hands to supply al wants a thousand talents: but to grace *Mazens* who rendred the citie vnto him, he gaue him the title of his Lieutenant ouer all, and tooke with him *Beryssines* that gaue vp the Castle, and hauing distributed to euery Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon* and entred into the Prouince *Satrapene*: from thence he went on towards *Susa* in *Persia*, the same which *Ptolemie*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, situate on the riuer *Euleus*, a Citie sometime gouerned by *Daniel* the prophet. *Abulter* also, gouernour of this famous Citie, gaue it vp to the Conqueror with fiftie thousand talents of silver in bullion, and twelue Elephants for the warre, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this sort did those Vassalls of fortune, louers of the Kings prosperitie, not of his person (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their owne peace and safetie with the Kings treasures.

Diodespalceth
of more than
foure thousand
talents in bul-
lion, and of
nine Millions
of coined gold.

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazens* might haue furnished his owne King from *Babylon*, and while he liard foure and thirtie daies at *Babylon*, *Abulter* might haue holpen him from *Susa*: and while he feasted there, *Tiridates* from *Persopolis* might haue relieved him: for the great masse of treasure was laied vp in that Citie. But who hath sought out and friended fearefull aduersitie? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious, but the honest: for those that are but greedie of themselves, doe in all changes of fortune only studie the conservation of their owne greatnesse.

And therefore was *Alexander* well aduised, that whatsoeuer titles he gaue to the *Persians*, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his owne Capitaines, to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persopolis*, with other Cities and Prouinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet liuing) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of *Persia* would haue returned to their naturall Lord. Those that are Traitors to their owne Kings are neuer to be vsed alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertaine them, nor euer to be trusted with the defences of any front-
Towne, or Fortresse of waight, by the rendering whereof they may redeeme their libertie and estates lost.


Hercof the French had experience, when *Don Pedro de Xuquara*, being banished out of *Spain*, was trusted with *Fontarabe*, in the year 1523.

It is said, that *Charles* the fifth hauing promised *Charles* of *Bourbon* the gouernement of *Marcellis*, if he could haue for it, and whercof he made fure accompt, told some of his nearest Counsellors, that hee meant nothing lesse than the performance of that promise, because hee should thereby haue left the Duke (reuelod from his Master) very well wherewithall to haue recovered his fauour.

The gouernement of *Susa*, with the Castle and Treasure, *Alexander* comitted to his owne *Macedonians*, making *Abulter* who rendred it vnto him his Lieutenante, as he had done *Mazens* and others, in giuing them Tittles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius* his Mother and her children to repose themselves.

p. XII.

How ALEXANDER came to Persopolis, and burnt it.

 Rom *Susa* Alexander leadeth his Armie toward *Persopolis*, and when he fought to passe those Mountaines which sunder *Susiana* and *Persia*, hee was soundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those Straights, called *Pyle Persidis*, or *Susidis*; and after the losse of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was fōrt to saue himselfe
 10 by retrait, causing his foote to march close together; and to couer themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountaine-top. Yet in the end he found out an other path, which a *Lycian*, living in that Countrey, discovered vnto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being inforced to fight vpon euenground, was by Alexander broken, whereupon hee fled to *Persopolis*, but (after that they of *Persopolis* had refused to receiue him) hee returned and gaue a second charge vpon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was slaine. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the yeare 1515. finde a way ouer the *Alpes*, the *Switzers* vndertaking to defend all the passages, who, if their footmanship had not faued them vpon the Kings descent on the other side, they had bene ill paid for
 20 their hard lodging on those Hills.

Four thousand *Greekes*, saith *Curtius*, (In fine numbers them but at eight hundred) hauing bene taken prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to Alexander now in sight of *Persopolis*. These had the barbarous *Persians* so maimed and deafe, by cutting off their Hands, Noses, Eares, and other Members, as they could no way haue bene knowne to their Countrey-men, but by their voices; to each of these Alexander gaue three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to liue vpon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his false-hearted *Grandes*, hearing of Alexander's approach, made him know that *Persopolis* was readie to receiue him, and praied him to double
 30 his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoile the Kings treasure. This Citie was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants vpon Alexander's arrivall, and they that staid followed the worst counsell, for all was left to the libertie of the Souldiers, to spoile and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had bene laied in ballance with *Persopolis*, would haue weighed it downe. *Babylon*, indeede, and *Susa*, were very rich; but in *Persopolis* lay the bulke and maine store of the *Persians*. For after the spoile that had bene made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and silver, and other Jewells; there remained to Alexander himselfe one hundred and twentie thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand *Macedonians* in *Persopolis*, which he had done in
 40 *Susa*, and gaue the same formall honour to the Traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the truit of the place was *Nicærides*, a creature of his owne. The bodie of his Armie hee left here for thirtie daies, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand horse and certaine troupes of chosen foote, he would needes view in the Winter-time those parts of *Persia*, which the Snow had couered, a fruitlesse and foolish enterprise, but as *Seneca* saies: *Non illi ire vult, sed non potest stare. He hath not a will to goe, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cried out against him, because they could not indure the extreame frost, and make way, but with extreme difficultie, through the snow, that Alexander forooke his horse, and led them the way. But
 50 what can bee more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremitie, thereby to shew how well himselfe can indure it? His walking on foote did no other wise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirst, that could lesse indure it. For mine owne little judgement I shall rather commend that Capitaine, that makes carefull provision for those that follow

follow him, and that seeks wisely to preuent extreme necessitie, than those witlesse arrogant fooles, that make the vaunt of hauing indured equally with the common-Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glorie and importance.

We finde in all the Warres that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the prouision of victualls was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Caligni*, Admirall of *France*; That who so will shape that beast (meaning Warre) must beginne with his bellie.

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberallitie, of his clemencie, towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carrowling cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reuerend Throne of the greatest King, into the companie and familiaritie of base Harlots, he beganne to be despised both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and Citie of *Persepolis*, to bee consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrarie, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the *Alians*, to thinke hardly of him, and thereby aliene their hearts: For they might well beleue that hee which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing lesse than (after such visitation) to hold their possession. *Ferevniolentiam crudelit as sequitur*, Crueltie doth commonly follow drunkennesse: For so it fell out soone after, and often, in *Alexander*.

ð. XIII.

The Treason of Bessus against DARIUS, DARIUS his death.



About this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to finde *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Armie, which hee meant to haue increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexanders* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as hee had, which was numbred at thirtie or fortie thousand) he determined once againe to trie his fortune. Hee therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds vnto them his resolution, who being desperate of good successe vfed silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had sometime liued with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the yce, and protesting that hee could neuer be beaten by any aduersitie of the Kings, from the faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the same disposition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Naburcanes*, and *Bessus*, whereof the latter was Governour of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master, and therefore aduised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the Gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburcanes* vfed, and in conclusion aduised the election of his fellow Traitor *Bessus*, with promise that, the warres ended, the Empire should againe be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdain prest towards *Naburcanes* to haue laine him, but *Bessus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while *Naburcanes* with-drew himselfe, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Armie. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull seruant, perswaded him to be aduised, and serue the time, seeing

leeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that hee would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made, which the King being of a gentle disposition willingly yelcled vnto. *Bessus* makes his submission and attends the King, who remoues his Armie. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of foure thousand *Greekes*, which had in all the former battailes serued *Darius* with great fidelitie, and alwaies made the retreat in spight of the *Macedonians*, offered himselfe to guard his person, protesting against the treason of *Bessus*, but it was not in his destinie to follow their aduice, who from the beginning of the Warre gaue him faithfull counsell, but hee inclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the *Greekes* with *Patron* their Capitaine were corrupted by
 10 *Alexander*, and practised the diuision of his faithfull seruants. *Bessus* had drawne vnto him thirtie thousand of the Armie, promiting them all those things, by which the louers of the world and themselves, are wont to beallured, to wit, riches, saetie, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being ouer-come with passion, as thinking himselfe vnable to make head against these vngratefull and vnaturall Traitors, hee praised *Artabazus* his futhfull seruant to depart from him, and to provide for himselfe. In like sort hee discharged the rest of his attendants, all saue a few of his *Eunuchs*; for his guards had voluntarily abandoned him, His *Persians* being most base cowards, durit not undertake his defence
 20 against the *Bactrians*, notwithstanding that they had foure thousand *Greekes* to ioyne with him, who had bene able to haue beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himselfe, no man followes. It had bene farr more man-like and King-like, to haue died in the head of those foure thousand *Greekes*, which offered him the disposition of their liues, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to haue lien bewailing himselfe on the ground, and suffering himselfe to be bound like a slaue by those ambitious Monsters that laied hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honors hee had giuen them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could moue to pittie: no, nor his present aduersitie, which about all things should haue
 30 moued them, could pierce their viperous and vngratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeede to hope it, for infidelitie hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound and laied in a Cart, covered with hides of beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not bee discovered; and to adde despiight and derision to his aduersitie, they fastened him with chaines of gold, and so drew him on among their ordinarie carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* perswaded themselves to redeeme their liues and the Prouinces they held either by deliuering him a prisoner to *Alexander*, or if that hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of Armes.
 40 But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most iust, to pardon so strange villanie, yea though against a Prince purely Heathenish, and an Idolater.

Alexander hauing knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durst not abide his comming, halted after him with a violent speed, and because he would not force his foot-men beyond their powers, hee mounted on horse backe certaine selected Companies of them, and best armed, and with fixe thousand other Horse, rather ranne than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsooke him, gaue knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* tooke, and how neare hee was at hand: for many men of worth daily ranne from him. Hereupon *Alexander* againe doubled his
 50 pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered by *Bessus* his reare, *Bessus* brought a horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to saue himselfe. But the vnfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the beasts that drew him, and slew two poore seruants that attended his person. This done, they

all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercie of the Macedonian Swords. Polystratus a Macedonian, being by pursute of the vanquished prest with thirst, as he was refreshing himselfe with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Team of wounded beastes breathing for life, and not able to moue, searched the same, and therein found Darius bathing in his owne blood. And by a Persian captiue which followed this Polystratus, he vnderstood that it was Darius, and was informed of this barbarous Tragedie, Darius also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the liuing God can bee comforted) that hee cast not out his last sorrowes vnheard, but that by this Macedonian, Alexander might know and take vengeance on those Traitors, which had dealt no lesse vnworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their reuenge to Alexander by this Messenger, which hee besought him to pursue, not because Darius had desired it, but for his owne honor, and for the safetie of all that did, or should after weare Crownes. Hee also, hauing nothing els to present, rendred thanks to Alexander for the Kingly grace vsed towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortal Gods to submit vnto him the Empire of the whole world. As hee was thus speaking, impatient death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which Polystratus presented him, after which he liued but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, where-with to desire the Gods to reward his compassion.

§. XIII.

How ALEXANDER pursued BESSVS, and tooke into his grace
DARIUS his Captaines.


T was now hoped by the Macedonians; that their trauells were neare an end, euery man preparing for his returne. Hereof when Alexander had knowledge, hee was greatly grieued; for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundlesse ambition. Many arguments hee therefore vsed to draw on his Armie farther into the East, but that which had most strength was, that Bessus, a most cruell Traitor to his Master Darius, hauing at his deuotion the Hyrcanians, and Bactrians, would in short time (if the Macedonians should returne) make himselfe Lord of the Persian Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former trauailes. In conclusion, hee wanne their consents to goe on: which done, leauing Craterus with certaine Regiments of foot, and Amyntas with sixe thousand Horse in Parthia, hee enters not without some opposition into Hyrcania; for the Mardons, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine passages for a while. Hee passeth the Riuer of Ziberis, which taking beginning in Parthia dissolues it selfe in the Caspian Sea: it runneth vnder the ledge of Mountaines, which bound Parthia and Hyrcania, where hiding it selfe vnder ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth againe and followeth its former course. In Zadracarta or Zendacarta, the same Citie which Ptolomie writes Hyrcania, the Metropolis of that Region, hee rested fiftene daies, banquetting, and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of Darius his greatest Comanders, with other of his best followers, submit themselves to Alexander, and were restored to their places and gouernements. But of all other he graced Artabazus most highly for his approved & constant faith to his Master Darius. Artabazus brought with him ten thousand and five hundred Greekes, the remainder of all those that had serued Darius; He treats with Alexander for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end they render them selues simply without promise or compulsion: he pardons all but the Lacedamonians, whom he imprisoned, their Leader hauing slaine himselfe. Hee was also wrought, though

(though to his great dishonour) to receiue *Xabazanes* that had joyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

§. XV.

Of *Thalestris* Queene of the *Amazons*; where, by way of digression it is shewed, that such *Amazons* haue beene, and are.

10  Ere it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Minthea*, a Queene of the *Amazons*, came to visite him, and her suite was, (which shee easily obtayned) That shee might accompanie him till shee were made with child by him: which done (refusing to follow him into *India*) shee returned into her owne Countrey.

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But, indeede, the letters of *Alexander* himselfe to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonen* businesse, may iustly breede suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more iustly may we suspect it as a vaine tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his bookes to *Lysimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage; was laugh't at by the King for inserting such newes of the *Amazons*, as *Lysimachus* himselfe had neuer heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander* tooke vpon him to write his acts; which to amplify, He told how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slaine it. The King hearing such stuffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the River of *Indus*; saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inserting such fables disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as wee beleue and know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we giue credit vnto writers, making mention of such *Amazons*, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaues the matter vndetermined.

30 Therefore I will here take leaue to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some moderne discoverers touching these warlike Women, because not only *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any such kinde of people. *Julius Solinus* leaues them in the North parts of *Asia* the lesse. *Pom. Met.* finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the Riuer *Thermodoon*; the other, neare the *Caspian* Sea; *Quas* (saith hee) *Sauromatidas* appellant; Which the people call *Sauromatidas*. The former of these two had the *Cimerians* for their Neighbours; *Certum est* (saith *Valerius*, who hath Commented vpon *Mela*) *illas proximos Amazonibus fuisse*. It is certaine that the *Cimerians* were the next Nations to the *Amazons*. *PTOLOMÆ* 40 sends them farther into the Land North-wards, neare the Mountaines *Hippaci*, not farre from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Asia* it selfe toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Plinie* tell vs; Where they gouerned a people called the *Pandæans*, or *Padeans*, so called after *Pandæa* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest deriue themselves. *Claudian* affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus.

Medis leuibuss, Sabais
Imperat hic sexus: Reginarumq; sub armis,
Barbaria pars magna sacet.

Claud. de cōq;
Proserpine.

ouer the Medes, and light Sabæans, raignes
This female sexe: and vnder armes of Queene,
Great part of the Barbarian Land remaimes.

L. 2.

Diogenes Siculus hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (saith hee) than those which kept the banks of *Thermodon*, a Riuer falling into the *Euxine* Sea neare *Sicacium*.

Enclad. 1. d. 3.

Herodotus doth also make report of these *Amazons*, whom hee tells vs that the *Scythians* call *Æopata*, which is as much as *Viricides*, or Men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Asia* the lesse, sackt *Ephesus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Mausolon* and *Auentinnus* report, which they performed fortie yeares after *Troy* was taken. At the siege of *Troy* it selfe wee read of *Penthesilea*, That shee came to the succour of *Priamus*.

L. 2. c. 7.

Ann. Marcellinus giues the cause of their inhabiting vpon the riuer of *Thermodon*, 10 speaking confidently of the Warres they made with diuers Nations, and of their ouerthrow.

Plutarch in the life of *Theseus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellanicus*, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiope* Queene of the *Amazons* by *Hierules*, and by him giuen to *Theseus*, though some affirme, That *Theseus* himselfe got her by stealth when shee came to visit him aboard his ship. But in substance there is little difference; all confessing, That such *Amazons* there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speaks of certaine companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aide the *Albanians* against the *Romans*, by whom, after the battaile, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken vp: and he saith farther, That these women entertaine the *Gele* and *Leleges* once a yeare, Nations inhabiting betweene them and the *Albanians*. 20

Hist. Ind. part. 2. c. 18.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez* who hath written the nauigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the Riuer of *Amazons* from *Pern*, in the yeare 1542. (vpon which Riuer, for the diuers turnings, he is said to haue sailed fixe thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Councill of the *Indies*, That hee both saw those women and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by *Viricus Schmidel*, that in the yeare 1542. where he sailed vp 30 the Riuers of *Paragna* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Countrey, called *Scherues*, inhabiting vnder the Tropick of *Capricorne*, who gaue his Captaine *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crowne of silver, which hee had gotten in fight from a Queene of the *Amazons* in those parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right breast, and liue a-part from men, saue at one time of the yeare, when they feast and accompanie them for one moneth. These (saith he) possesse a part of the Kingdome of *Monomotopan* in *Africa*, nineteene degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest guards of this Emperour, all the East Indian Por- 40 tugals know.

I haue produced these authorities, in part, to iustifie mine owne relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was deliuered mee for truth by an ancient *Cassidy*, of *Ghiana*, how vpon the Riuer of *Papamena* (since the *Spanish* discoueries called *Amazons*) that these women still liue and gouerne, was held for a vaine and vprobable report.

How ALEXANDER fell into the Persians Luxurie : and how hee
further pursued BESSVS.

NOW as Alexander had begunne to change his conditions after the
taking of *Persepolis* : so at this time his prosperitie had so much over-
wrought his vertue, as he accompted clemencie to bee but basenesse,
and the temperance which he had vsed all his life time, but a poore
and dejected humor, rather becoming the instructors of his youth,
than the condition and state of so mightie a King, as the world could not equall.
For he perswaded himselfe that he now represented the greatnesse of the Gods ; hee
was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore
him ; hee ware the Robes, and garments of the *Persians*, and commanded that his
Nobilitie should doe the like ; hee entertained in his Court, and Campe, the same
shamelesse rabble of Curtians, and *Sodomitical Eunuchs*, that *Darius* had done, and
imitated in all things the proude, voluptuous, and detestled manners of the *Persians*,
whom he had vanquished. So licentious is felicitie, as notwithstanding that he
was fully perswaded, that the Gods, whom he serued (detesting the vices of the in-
uaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himselfe contrarie to the religi-
on he profess (which how Idolatrous soeuer it were, could not be but fearfull vn-
to him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a
more soule and fearefull Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyrannie he vaunted to
haue deliuered so many Nations. Yea those that were dearest and nearest vnto him,
began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scorne-
full discourse, That *Alexander of Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious
Courtiers ; That by his example the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many tra-
uails more impoverished in their vertues, than enriched by their victories ; and that
it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the conquered were the baser
30 slaves. Neither were these opinions so referred, but that the noise of them came
to his eares. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those
of whose judgements he was most jealous ; and making it knowne to the Armie that
Bessus had assumed the title of a King, and called himselfe *Artaxerxes*, and that hee
had compounded a great Armie of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, hee had argu-
ments enough to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all already gotten, might
not with themselves (so farre engaged) be cast away. And because they were pel-
lered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole Armie seemed but the guard of
their carriages, (not much vnlike the warfare of the *French*) hauing commanded e-
uery mans fardells to be brought into the market-place, he together with his owne
40 caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but haue proued
most dangerous vnto him, seeing the common-Souldiers had more interest in these
things, which they had bought with their painefull traualles, and with their blood ;
than in the Kings ambition ; had not (as *Seneca* often obserued) his happie temer-
itie ouer-come all things. As he was in his way, newes came to him that *Satibar-
zanes*, whom he had established in his former gouernment ouer the *Arrians*, was
reuelted, whereupon leauing the way of *Bactria*, he sought him out, but the Reb-
bell hearing of his comming fled to *Bessus* with two thousand Horse. Hee then went on
towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire with the aduantage of a
strong winde, wonne a passage ouer a high and vnaccessable Rock, which was de-
50 fended against him with thirteene thousand foote. For the extremitie of the flame
and smoke forced them from the place, other wise inuincible. I saw in the third ci-
uill Warre of *France* certaine caues in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance ; and
that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rocks, which we knew not how
to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last by certaine bundells of straw let downe

by an yron chaine, and a waighte stone in the middest, those that defended it were so smothered, as they rendred the smelues with their plate, monie, and other goods therein hidden. There were also, some three yeares before my arriual in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countrie people, who did set the long drie-grasse on fire to the calward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwaies East) so as notwithstanding their flying from the smoke, there was not any one that escaped. *S^t Iohn Borriowes* also, with a hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by hauing the grasse fired behinde him, but the smoke being timely discovered, hee recovered the Sea-shore with the losse of fixteene of his men. I remember these things, but to giue caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those Countreies, that they alwaies, before they passe into the Land, burne downe the grasse and sedge to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemie than a handfull of straw set on fire, die the death of honnie-Bees, burnt out of the Hiue.

§. XVII.

A conspiracie against ALEXANDER. The death of PHILOTAS and PARMENIO.

20



ALEXANDER was after he parted hence no where resisted, till he came into *Asia*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chiefe Citie of that Province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended against him, by the revolt of *Sartiborcane*, but in the end hee received the Inhabitants to mercie. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new supply of five thousand and five hundred foote, and neare five hundred Horse, out of *Greece*, *Thessalie*, and other places. His iourne out of *Persia* into these parts is very confusedly described. For hauing (as all his Historians tell vs) a determination to hinde *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaues it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Thyraneis*; from thence hee wanders Northward towards the obscure *Mardi*, vpon the *Caspian-Sea*, and thence ouer the Mountaines *Corumus* into *Asia*, and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessarie, if not principall. This *Dimnus*, hauing (I know not vpon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a yong-man whom he loued, into the same treason. The youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecie, when he heard so foule a matter vttered, beganne to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to haue slaine him for secutie of his owne life. So constrained by feare, hee made hew as if hee had beene wonne by perswasion, and by seeming at length to like well of the businesse, hee was told more at large what they were, that had undertaken it. There were nine orten of them, all men of ranke; whose names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned vp so *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no sooner freed himselfe from the companie of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his owne brother *Cebalinius* with the whole Historie: whereupon it was agreed betwene them, that *Cebalinius* (who might with least suspition) should goe to the Court and vtter all. *Cebalinius*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole businesse, desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which hee promised to doe, but did not. Two daies passed, and *Philotas* neuer brake with the King about the matter; but still excused himselfe to *Cebalinius* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused *Cebalinius* to addresse himselfe to another, one *Meivon*, keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with brought him to *Alexanders* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed betwene *Cebalinius* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himselfe that this concealment of the treason,

Ion argued his hand to haue beene in the businesse. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question than this: *Wherein haue I so offended thee, that thou shouldst thinke PHILOTAS more worthe to be King than I?* *Dimnus* perceiuing, when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himselfe that hee liued no longer than to giue his last groane in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspicion which his silence might iustly breede. His answer was, That when the practise was reuealed vnto him by *Nicomachus*, he judging it to be but fruituolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, vntill he might haue better information. This error of his, (if it were only an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious seruices of his Father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himselfe, had freely pardoned and giuen him his hand for assurance; yet by the instigation of *Cyrenus*, hee againe swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemies his Iudges: *Curtius* giues a note of *Cyrenus* in this businesse; How hee perswaded himselfe, that he could neuer finde a better occasion to oppress his priuate enemy, than by pretending pietie and dutie towards the King. Hercof a Poet of our owne hath giuen a note as much better as it is more generall in his *Philotas*.

20 See how these great men cloath their private hate,
In these faire colours of the publike good,
And to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood,
And arm'd with power and Princes jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest ranke of treacheries,
That no one action shall seeme innocent;
Yea valour, honour, bounty, shall be made
As accessaries vnto ends vnjust:
And euen the seruice of the State must lade
30 The needfull 'st vnder taking with distrust,
So that base vilenesse; idle Luxurie,
Seeme safer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were so that the King, following the aduise of *Cyrenus*, had resoued the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very euening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him beganne to binde him; he cried out vpon the King in these wordes: O *ALEXANDER*, the malice of mine
40 Enemies hath surmounted thy mercie, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were vrge against him by *Alexander* himselfe; (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indee, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote vnto him concerning the title giuen him by *Isopier Hammon*; He answered, That he could not but reioyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the Gods, and yet hee could not but withall grieve for those that should liue vnder such a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firme perswasion vnto me, that his heart
50 was changed, and that hee held my glorie in despiht. See what a strange Monster flatterie is, that can perswade Kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude to heare the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a Theefe; where hee heard him selfe, and his absent Father the greatest Captaine of the World, accused, his two other Brothers
Hector

Hector and *Nicanor* hauing beene lost in the present Warre. Hee was so greatly oppressed with griefe as for a while he could vter nothing but teares, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits as hee funke vnder those that led him. In the end the King asked him in what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him, which hee did to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might vnderstand him. But hereof the King made his aduantage, perswading the assembly that hee disdained the language of his owne Countreie, and so with-drawing himselfe, left him to his mercilesse enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King who had so sharply inuiad against him, would not vouchsafe to heare his excuse. For, not his enemies only were imboldened thereby against him, but all the rest hauing discovered the Kings disposition and resolution, contended among themselves which of them should exceede in hatred towards him; Among many other arguments which hee vied in his owne defence, this was not the weakest, That when *Nicomachus* desired to know of *Dimnus* what men of marke and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming vnwilling to aduenture himselfe with meane and base Companions) *Dimnus* named vnto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amynias*, and some others, but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being commander of the Horse, would greatly haue valued the partie, and haue incouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeece, as *Phileas* said well for himselfe, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to haue heartned *Nicomachus*, would haue named him, though hee had neuer dealt with him in any such practise. And for more certaine proofe that he knew nothing of their intents, that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, infort by tortments or otherwise, that could accuse him, and it is true, that aduersitie being seldom able to beare her owne burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as shee rather desires to draw others (not alwaies deserring it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoeuer it were, to auoide the extremitie of relistlesse and vnnatural tortments, deuised by his profest enemies *Craterus*, *Cennus*, *Ephesion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his owne selfe; being perswaded that they would haue slaine him forthwith. But he failed euen in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laied on flesh and blood, he was fofit to deliuer, not what he knew, but whatsoeuer best pleased their eares, that were farre more mercilesse than death it selfe.

Of this kinde of iudiciall proceeding *St. Augustine* greatly complaineth as a matter to bee bewailed, saith hee, with Fontaines oft teares. *Quid cum in sua causa quisq; torquetur: & cum queritur utrum sit nocens cruciatur: & innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas penas: non quia illud commississe detegitur, sed quia non commississe nescitur; What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his owne case; and tormented whilst yet it is in question whether he be guiltie; and being innocent suffers assured punishment for a fault of which there is no certaintie, not because he is knowne to haue committed the offence, but because other doe not know that he hath not committed it.*

It had beene enough for *Alexanders* satisfaction if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment, the rest would not much haue grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Demetrius*, who afterwarde conspired against him, made the Kings crudelie and delight in blood the greatest motive of his owne ill intent. Therefore, seeing speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus: *Crudelit as nimine humanum malum est, indignum tam miti animo; ferua ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus; & abiectio homine in fures animal transire; Crueltie is not a humane vice; it is unworthie of so mild a spirit. It is euen a bestiall rage to delight in blood and wounds, and casting away the nature of man to become a Savage Monster.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made were to giue end to the tortments which hee could not any longer indure, or that the fame was true indeede; For (saith he) in this case, they that speake truly, or they that denie falsly, come to one and the same end. Now while

Aug. de Ciuit.
De lib. 9. a. 6.

Seneca de Clem. 1.

minim C

while the Kings hands were yet wet in blood, he commanded that *Lynceſtes*, ſonne in-Law to *Antipater*, who had bene three yeares in priſon, ſhould bee ſlaine: The ſame diſpatch had all thoſe that *Nicomachus* had accuſed: others there were that were ſuſpected, becauſe they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had answered for themſelues that they knew no way ſo direct to winne the Kings fauour, as by following thoſe whom the King fauoured; they were diſmiſt. But *Parmenio* was yet liuing; *Parmenio*, who had ſerued with great fidelitie as well *Philip of Macedon* the Kings Father, as himſelfe; *Parmenio* that firſt opened the way into *Aſia*; That had depreſt *Attalus* the Kings enemy, that had all waies, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no leſſe prudent in counſell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloued of the men of Warre, and, to ſay the truth, hee that had made the purchaſe for the King of the Empire of the Eaſt, and of all the glorie and fame he had: That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not vpon the King, (for it was vnlike that he would haue diſhonoured his fidelitie in his eldeſt age, hauing now liued threſcore and ten yeares) yet vpon thoſe that by the witchcraft of flatterie had poſſeſt themſelues of his affection; it was reſolued that he ſhould be diſpatcht. *Polydamus* was imploied in this buſineſſe, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* truſted moſt, and loued beſt, who (to be ſhort) finding him in *Media*, and hauing *Cleander* and other Murderers with him, ſlew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. *Hic exitus PARMENIONIS fuit*, lib. 5. *multis domig, clari viri, Multa ſine Rege proſperè, Rex ſine illo nihil magnæ rei geſſerat; This was the end of PARMENIO (ſaith CURTIUS) who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him, did neuer effect any thing worthe of praife.*

§. XVIII

How ALEXANDER ſubdued the Baſſians, Sogdians, and other people, How BESSVS was deliuered into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.

30



When theſe things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Armie, and brought vnder his obedience the *Arachſians* or *Euergetians*; he made *Amendes* (ſometime *Darius* his Secretarie) their Gouernour; then he ſubdued the *Arachſians*, and left *Menen* to command our them. Heere the Armie, ſometimes led by *Parmenio*, findes him, conſiſting of twelue thouſand *Macedons* and *Greekes*, with whom he paſt through ſome colde regions with difficultie enough. At length hee came to the foote of the Mountaine *Taurus* towards the Eaſt, where he built a Citie which he honoured with his owne name, and peopled it with ſeuẽ thouſand of his olde *Macedons*, worne with age and with trauailes of the warre. The *Arrians*, who ſince hee left them were reuolted, hee ſubdued againe by the induſtrie and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigenus*; And now he reſolues to find out the new King *Befſus* in *Bactria*, *Befſus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to paſſe ouer the great Riuer of *Oxus* which diuides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabacuz* is made Gouernour of *Bactria* abandoned by *Befſus*; The *Macedonian* Armie ſuffereth for want of Water, inſomuch as when they came to the Riuer of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately then *Alexander* had loſt in any one battaile againſt the *Perſians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after obiect vnto him) he fought againſt women, not againſt men, and not againſt their perſons but their ſhadowes. He found on the banks of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materialls, to make either boates, bridges, or raſſe, but was ſort to ſow together the Hides that couered his carriages, and ſtuffe them with ſtraw, and on them in fixe daies to paſſe ouer his Armie; which *Befſus* might eaſily haue diſtreſt, if he had daied but to beholde the *Macedonian* Armie a farre.

pal a new robe

farre-off. He had formerly complained against *Darius* for neglecting to defend the bankes of *Tigris*, and other passages, and yet now, when this traitorous slaue had styled himselfe a King, he durst not performe any thing worthie of assaue. And therefore those that were nearest vnto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Armie, moued both by the care of their owne safetie, and by the memorie of *Bessus* his Treason and crueltie against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chaine closed about his neck like a mansife Dogge, and so was dragged along to be presented to his enemy.

In the meane while *Alexander* was arrived at a certaine Towne inhabited with 10
Greekes of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before hee returned out of Greece, whose issues had well-neere forgotten their Countrey-language. These most cruelly (after they had receiued him with great ioy) he put to the sword, and destroyed their Citie. At this place he receiued *Bessus*, and, hauing rewarded *Spitamenes* with the rest that deliuered him, he gaue the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himselfe secure, some twentie thousand Mountainer assailed his Camp; in repelling whom he receiued a shot in the leg, the arrow-head sticking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horse-Lytter, sometime by the horsemen, sometime by the foote.

L.7.

Soone after he came vnto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Peronidinus* takes to be *Samar-* 20
chand, the regall Citie of the great *Tamerlane*. It had in compasse threescore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* saith.) Heere hee receiued the Embassadors of the *Seythians* (called *Autans*) who offered to serue him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly againe with the *Sogdians* stirred to Rebellion by the same *Spitamenes* and *Catanes* who had lately deliuered into his hands the Traitor *Bessus*. Many Citie were resolutely defended against him, all which, after victorie, hee defaced and rased, killing all therein. At one of these hee receiued a blow on the neck which struck him to the ground, and much disabled him for many daies after. In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, against whom 30
he employed *Menedemus* with three thousand foote and eight hundred horse.

In the heate of these tumults *Alexander* marched (on if we may beleue *Curtius* and others) till he came to the Riuer of *Tanais*; vpon whose banke he built another *Alexandria* threescore furlongs in compasse, which he beautified with houses within 40
seuenteen daies after the walls built. The building of this Citie is said to haue bin occasion of a war betweene him and the *Seythians*; the *Seythian* King perswading himselfe, that this new Towne was fortified of purpose to keepe him vnder. I doe not well vnderstand, why the *Seythians*, offering warre in such terrible manner that *Alexander* was iudged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit sicknesse for verie feare, should neuertheless make suit for peace: neither finde I the reason why *Alexander* 40
(not intending the conquest of those Northerne deserts, but only the defence of his owne banke) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victorie described; in pursuit of which the *Macedons* ranne beyond the boundes and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Tragus* haue greatly mistaken this Riuer which they call *Tanais*. For it was the Riuer of *Iaxartes*, that runnes betwene *Sogdiana* and *Seythia*, which *Alexander* past ouer, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais* which diuides *Asia* from *Europe* is neere twowhousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* or *Sogdiana*, and the way desert and vnknowne. So that *Alexander* had (besides *Iaxartes*) the great Riuer of *Volga* and manie others to swimme ouer, ere hee could recover *Tanais*; which (from the place where he was) he could hardly haue discovered with the Armie that followed him, if he had imploied all the time that he liued in *Asia* in that traualle.

Where-

Wherefore it is enough to beleue, that the *Asiaticke Scythians*, making some offer to disturbe the erection of this new Citie, which was like to giue some hindrance to their excursions, were driuen away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defensive Armes, easily chased some tenne or twelue miles; which is the substance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his iournee; like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken God) went not verie farre into that wast Countrie, where hee could finde nothing but trees and stones, nor other busines than to set vp a monument.

Three score of the *Macedons* are said to haue bene slaine, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might easily be, in passing a great Riuer, defended against them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeed it is hardly possible, to set downe the numbers of such a perill in battell: yet *Cæsar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath bene so inquisitiue into the greatnesse of their owne successe, that writers haue bene able to deliuer such particulars by credible reporte: I holde it not vnlawfull to set downe what we finde; especially when it serues to giue light to the businesse in hand. The small number which the *Macedonians* lost; the omission of the number which they flew (a thing not vsuall in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatnesse of *Alexander*) and the little bootie that was gotten, doe make it probable, that this warre was no better than the repulsion of few aroving *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Moscouite*, without any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was assuring himselfe of those *Scythians* bordering vpon *Saxartes*, he receiued the ill newes that *Menedemus* was slaine by *Spitamenes*, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slaine, to wit, two thousand foote, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion and to take vengeance of *Spitamenes*, makes all the hast he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burnes, and laies wast all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leaving a new Gouernour in that Prouince.

To repaire this losse he receiued a great supply of nineteene thousand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lydia*, and *Syria*; with all which, and the old Armie, hee returns towards the South, and passeth the Riuer of *Oxus*; on the South-side whereof hee built sixe Townes neare each other for mutual succour. But hee finds a new Start-up-Rebell, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirtie thousand Souldiers that defended against him a strong peece of ground on the top of a high Hill, whom when *Alexander* had fought in vaine to winne by faire words, hee made choise of three hundred yong-men, and promised ten talents to the first, time to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that could finde a way to creepe vp to the top thereof. This they performed with the losse of some two and thirtie of their men, and then made a signe to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he sent one *Cophes* to perswade *Arimazes* to yeeld the place; who, being shewed by *Cophes* that the Armie of *Macedon* was already mounted vp, yeelded simply to *Alexander* mercie, and was (with all his kindred) scourged and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keepe good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seames by the description, might easily haue bene defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength can doe; Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected; Of which

so I will giue you an example in a place of our owne.

The Island of *Stark*, joyning to *Garnsey* and of that gouernement, was in *Queen Maries* time surpris'd by the *French*, and could neuer haue been recouered againe by strong hand, hauing cattle and corne enough vpon the place to feede so many men as will serue to defend it, and being euery way so inaccessible that it might bee held

756

749

Bir Epian

held against the Great *Turke*. Yet by the industrie of a Gentleman of the Netherlands, it was in this sort regained. Hee anchored in the roade with one ship of small burden and, pretending the death of his Marchant, besought the *French*, being some thirtie in number, that they might burie their Marchant in hallowed ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle; offering a present to the *French* of such commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they should not come ashore with any weapon, nor not so much as with a knife) the *French*-men yielded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their boat, not filled with a dead carcaske, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses; The *French* received them at their landing; and searching euery of them so narrowly as they could not hide a pen-knife, gaue 10 them leaue to draw their Coffin vp the Rocks with great difficultie; some part of the *French*ooke the *Flemish* boat and rowed aboard their ship, to fetch the commodities promised, and what else they pleased, but being entred they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, shut the dore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin set vpon the *French*; they runne to the Cliffe and crie to their companie aboard the *Fleming* to come to their succour, but finding the boat charged with *Flemings* yielded themselves and the place. Thus a *Foxe*-taile doth sometimes helpe well to peece out the *Lions*-skinne, that else would be too short.

§. XIX.

How *ALEXANDER* slew his owne friends.



FTER these *Sogdan* and *Scythian* Warres, wee reade of *Alexanders* killing of a *Lion*, and other friuolous matter, and that he committed the gouernement of *Maracanda*, and the Countrie about it, to *Clytus*, and how he slew him loone after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the sonne, or rather because hee objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hiammen*: for therein he toucht him to the quick, the same being deliuered in publike and at a drunken banquet. *Clytus*, indeede, had deserued as much at the Kings hands, as any man liuing had done, and had in particular saued his life, which the King well remembered when he came to himselfe, and when it was too late. Yet to say the truth, *Clytus* his insolence was intolerable. As he in his cups forgat whom hee offended, so the King in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgat whom he went about to slay, for the griefe whercof he tare his owne face and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would haue slaine himselfe.

Wine begat furie, furie matter of repentance; but praeceding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewallings. *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit, ob-* 40 *stantem malis conatibus verecundiam remouet; ubi posedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed praebruit.* Drunkennesse both kindles and laies open euery vice; it remoues out of the way that shame which giues impediment vnto bad attempts; where wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out: drunkennesse indeede rather discouers vices, then makes them.

Soone after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dabans* also seized vpon his fellow-conspirator *Dataphernes*, and deliuered him vp. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these pettie-rebels, disposed of the Provinces which hee past ouer, and went on with his Armie into *Sabaza*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as hee lost in one Tempest a thousand of his traine. From hence hee invaded the *Sacians*, and destroyed their Countrie. Then came he into the Territorie of *Cohortianes* who submitted himselfe vnto him, slewed him greatly, and presented him with 50 thirtie

thirtie beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterward his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* did disdain, yet none of them durst vse any freedom of Speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence hee directed his course towards *India*, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twentie thousand armed men.

In the meane while hee would needes bee honoured as a God: whereto that hee might allure the *Macedonians*, hee imploied two pernicious Paralites, *Hegu* and *Cleo*, whom *Calisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments vsed to the assembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought that *Alexander* would disdain the gift of God-head from his Vassalls; That the opinion of Sanctitie, thought it did sometime follow the death of those who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it neuer accompanied any one as yet living in the World. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a banquet, and vpon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carowing feast) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbred among the Gods. *Alexander* stood behinde a partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie to bee reuenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a louer of the Kings honour, was yet soone after tormented to death, not for that hee had boiaied the King to others, but because hee neuer would condescend to betray the King to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracie against the King made by one *Hermolans* and others (which they confest) hee caused *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation, or triall, to be tome a sunder vpon the rack: This deepe, vnworthie of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth. *Hoc est ALEXANDRI crimen aeternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit; Occidit Persarum multa milia: opponitur, & CALLISTHENES: Quotiens dictum erit; Occidit DARIUM: opponitur, & CALLISTHENES. Quotiens dictum erit Omnis Oceano tenus viuit; ipsum quoque tentauit nouis clausum, & Imperium ex angulo Thracie vsq; ad Orientis terminos prouolat: dicitur, sed CALLISTHENES occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumq; exempla transferri, ex his quae fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus CALLISTHENES; This is the eternal crime of ALEXANDER, which no vertue nor felicitie of his in Warre shall euer be able to redeme. For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand Persians; it shall be replied, He did so, and he slew CALLISTHENES: When it shall be said, He slew DARIUS; it shall be replied, and CALLISTHENES: When it shall be said, he wanne all as farre as to the very Ocean, thereon also hee adventured with vnusueall Nauies; and extended his Empire from a corner of Thracie, to the utmost bounds of the Orient, it shall be said with all, But he killed CALLISTHENES. Let him haue out-gone all the ancient examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts makes so much to his glorie, as CALLISTHENES to his reproach.*

§. XX.

of ALEXANDERS iourne into India. The battaile betwene him and P O R V S.



With the Armie before remembred, of one hundred and twentie thousand foot and horse, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves vnto him, hee entertained louingly, the rest hee constrained; killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. Hee then came before *Nisa* built by *Bacchus*, which after a few daies was rendred vnto him. From thence hee removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom hee made feasts for ten daies together. Now when hee had drunke his fill, hee went on towards *Dedale*, and thence to *Acedria*.

Stff

Countries

low not flatterer
but he is false
beginning
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rack

4 of

With 128 p. photo allowed, c. 11. p. 12 and again...
The text is a marginal note or commentary, likely a reference to a specific page or section of the work, mentioning '128 p. photo allowed' and 'c. 11. p. 12 and again'.

Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reason whereof, victualls failing, he diuides his Armie: *Ptolemie* led one part, *Genon* another, and himselfe the rest. They take many Townes, whereof that of greatest fame was *Mazaga*, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded vnto him by *Cleophe* the Queene, to whom againe he restored it at the siege of this Citie he receiued a wound in the legge. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyperchon*, and a Rock of great strength by himselfe: he wanne also a passage vpon one *Eryx*, who was slaine by his companie, and his head presented to *Alexander*. This is the summe of *Alexanders* doings in those parts, before such time as hee arrived at the River of *Indus*: Comming to *Indus* hee found there *Ephesition*, who (being sent before) had prepared boates for the transportation of his Armie, and ere *Alexanders* arrivall, had perswaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Countrie to submit himselfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soone vpon *Alexanders* comming, *Omphis* presented himselfe with all the strength of his Countrie, and sixe and fittie Elephants, vnto him; offering him his seruice and assistance. Hee made *Alexander* know that hee was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *Indie*, named *Abisares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a litle pleased, hoping by this diuision to make his owne victorie by farre the more easie. Hee presented *Alexander* with a Crowne of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withall fourescore talents of siluer coine, which *Alexander* not only refused, but to shew that he was covetous of glorie, not of gold, he gave *Omphis* a thousand talents of his owne treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abisares*, hauing heard that *Alexander* had receiued his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, refused to make his owne peace also: For, knowing that his owne strength did but equall that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference betweene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue, hee thought it an ill match when *Alexander*, who had already beaten vnder foote all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himselfe a Partie and Head of the quarrell. So had *Alexander* none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from *Porus* hee receiued this manly answer; That hee would satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement hee was resolved to take counsell of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolues to passe over the River *Hydaspes*, and to find *Porus* at his owne home. *Porus* attends him on the farther banke with thirtie thousand foot, fourescore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troupe of Horse. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had surely staied somewhat longer ere he had scene *India*. The River was foure furlong broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and swift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacite. *Alexander* sent *Ptolemie* vnto the River with a great part of the Armie, shrowding the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this deuice being drawne from his first incamping, sets himselfe downe opposite to *Ptolemie*, supposing that the whole Armie of *Alexander* meant to force their passage there. In the meane while *Alexander* recouers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troups and aduanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather beleeueth that *Abisares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had bene come over *Hydaspes* to his aide, than that *Alexander* had passit. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Hagis* with foure thousand horse, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure sight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little vse: for there had fallen so much raine, and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dahans* had the Vanguard, who so galled these *Indians* as they brake their reines, & other furniture, ouerturning the wagons & those in them. *Perdiccas* also gaue vpon the *Indian* horse-men, and the one & the other were forth to recoile. *Porus* moues forward with grosse of his Armie

Arme, that those of his Vanguard scattered might recover his Reare : *Alexander* being followed with *Ephesius*, *Ptoleme*, and *Perdiccas*, tooke on him to charge the *Indian* horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cennus* or *Cenon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, bee directed to breake vpon *Porus* his battaile of foote, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himselfe being carried vpon one of them of the greatest stature. By these healls the *Macedonian* foote were most offended; but the Archers and Lighters being well guarded with the long and strong Pikes of the *Macedons*, so galled them, as being enraged, they turned head and ranne over the foote that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulnesse of the *Macedonian* Captaines, the victorie fell to *Alexander*, who also farre exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians* and other Easterne and Northern Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his owne Confederate and Countrey people. Yet for his owne person he neuer gaue ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Armie, he became a prisoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe he receiued his estate with a great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How *ALEXANDER* finished his expedition, and returned out of *India*.

TForbeare to trouble my selfe and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Apes, and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their traualles: or of those petty Wars which *Alexander* made betweene the overthrow of *Porus*, and his falling downe the River of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better knowne vnto vs in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to beleuee, till our owne experience had taught vs, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seenne betweene *London* and *Stanes*.

Our great traveller *Mandevile* who died in the year 1372. and had seene so much of the World, and of the East *Indies*, wee accepted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he an other reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witnesse the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friars *Guillemus* in *Liege*, where the religious of that place keepe some thinges of his, *Comme pour honorable memoire de son Excellence; For an honorable memoire of his Excellence, faith Guichardine*.

Guic. in Diss. of the low Countries,

⁴⁰ The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Rivers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradrus*, *Acetes*, and the rest, fall into the maine streame, are now possessed by the great *Mogor*, the ninth from *Tambrlane*, who commands all that tract betweene *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Countrey towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a ship of *London*, suffered shipwrack in the year 1609. and some of the companie traualled ouer Land till they came to *Agva*, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Aggra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

⁵⁰ *Phylastratus* in the life of *Apollonius Tyanus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East *Indies*, tells vs that those two great Captaines (whom *Alexander* sought by all means to our shame) when they indured to subiect vnto them the *Oxydraces*, a people inhabiting betweene the Rivers of *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be vnderstood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in vse. For it is now certainly knowne, that the great Kings of the vittermost East, haue had the

vie of the Cannon, many hundreds of yeares since, and euen since their first ciuilitie
 and greatnesse, which was long before *Alexanders* time. But *Alexander* pierst not
 so farre into the East. It sufficed, that hauing already ouer-wearied his Armie hee
 discovered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, in-
 formed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations bey-
 ond the River of *Ganges*, was the powerfullst King of all those Regions: and that
 he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Ele-
 phants, twentie thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this
 report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than euer to proceede in this disco-
 uerie and conquest, yet all the art he had could not perswade the Souldiers to wan-
 der ouer those great desarts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible vnto them than
 the greatest Armie that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were,
 after many perswasive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discover such
 part of the Ocean Sea, as was nearer at hand, whereunto the River of *Indus* was
 their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would bee no otherwise, deuised a
 prettie trick, where-with hee hoped to beguile politerie, and make himselfe seeme
 greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cab-
 ins for the Souldiers, greater Horse-stalls, and higher manglers than his Horses
 could feede in. He caused all furniture of Men and Horses to bee made larger than
 would serue for vse; and scattered these Armourers and Bridles about his Campe, to
 be kept as reliques, and wondered at by the *Sauages*. Proportionally to these he rai-
 sed vp twelue great Altars to be the monument of his Iournies end. This was a readie
 way to encrease the fame of his bigneſſe; to his greatnesse it could adde nothing
 saue a suspicion that it was lesse than is thought, seeing he shewes so earnestly to make
 it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned againe to the banke of *Acetes*, and there determined to
 set vp his fleet where *Acetes* and *Hydaspes* encounter, where to testifie by a surer mo-
 nument, how farre he had past towards the East, he built by those Rivers two Cities:
 the one hee called *Nikesa*, and the other *Bucephalus*, after the name of his beloved
 Horse *Bucephalus*. Here againe hee received a fourth supply of fixe thousand *Thra-
 cian* Horse-men, seuen thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* five and
 twentie thousand Armourers, garnished with siluer and gold, which hee distributed
 among his Souldiers. About these Rivers he wanne many Townes, and commit-
 ted great slaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that assaul-
 ting a Citie of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I
 know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Beowulf* of *Southam-
 pton*, frivulous and incredible. Finally, hee past downe the River with his fleet, at
 which time also the newes came vnto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the
 arrivall of an hundred Embassadors from a King of *India*, who submitted himselfe
 vnto him. Hee sent these Embassadors vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all
 the sumptuositie that could be deuised, who soone after their dispatch returned a-
 gaine with a present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirtie Wagons,
 and to each foure Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare
 and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailes towards the South, passeth through many
 obscure Nations, which did all yeeld vnto him either quietly or compelled by
 force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he tooke
 in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with
 poisoned Swords, with one of which *Ptolemy* (afterward King of *Egypt*) was
 wounded, and cured by an hearbe which *Alexander* dreamt that he had seene in the
 mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neare the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea)
 his Gallies as they were on a suddaine shuffled one vpon another by the Flood, so
 on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the sandie banks of the Ri-
 uer,

uer, wherewith the *Macdonians* were much amazed, but after hee had a few daies observed well the course of the Sea, he past out of the rivers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Nephtis*, returned: and the better to informe himselfe, hee sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discover the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his sixt Booke hath written this passage downe the River of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessells, in which hee transported his Armie, the Commanders that were vsed therein, and other the marvellous prouisions made.

Near the out-lets of this River hee spent some part of the Winter, and in eight or ten daies march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Armie suffered such miserie for want of foode, that of a hundred and twentie thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse, which hee carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

§. XXII.

Of ALEXANDERS Riot, Crueltie, and death.

20 **R**om *Gedrosia* Alexander led his Armie into *Carmania*, and so drawing neare to *Persia*, hee gaue himselfe wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this swinish vice bee hatefull enough in it selfe, yet it alwaies inflamed this King to Crueltie. For (saith *Curtius*) the Hang-men followed the fest, for ASBESTES one of his Princiellall Governours hee commanded to be slaine, so as neither did the excesse of voluptuousnesse qualifie his crueltie, nor his crueltie binder in ought his voluptuousnesse.

While hee refreshed his Armie in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foote and a thousand horse, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellowes, that had been imployed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Against these Murderers great complaint was made, by the Deputies of the Provinces in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as *Alexander* was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his returne out of *India*, they durst not haue committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembering the vertue of him whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander* and the other chiefe, with sixe hundred Souldiers by them imployed, were deliuered ouer to the Hang-man: eury one rejoycing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the coast, and made report of an Iland rich in gold, and of other strange thinges; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discouerie: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and finde the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew neare to *Babylon* hee visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Persagadda*, now called *Chelquora*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an Eunuch in especiall fauour with the King, was neglected, hee not only practised certaine loose fellowes to witness against *Orsines*, that hee had robbed *Cyrus* Tomb, for which hee was condemned to die; but hee assisted the Hang-man with his owne handes in tormenting him. At which time also *Alexander* caused *Phadates* to be slaine, suspecting his greatnesse. *Caperat* (saith *CURTIVS*) esse praeceptis ad representanda supplicia, item ad detestiora credenda: Hee beganne head-longly to shed blood, and to beleene false reports. It is true, that hee tooke a way to make all men wearie of his gouernement, seeing quicquid more fearful than all the aduentures that can be made against it.

At this time it is said that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when hee had liued threefoore and thirteene yeares. Whether heerein he followed the custome of his Countrey, being an *Indian*, Or sought to preuent the griefe and incommodie of

elder age, it is vncertaine: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-
 thewinge *Alexanders* death, he promised to meete him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Persargada* hee came to *Susa*, where hee married *Statira*, *Darius* his eldest
 Daughter, giuing her yonger sister to his beloued *Ephesion*, and fourescore other
Persian Ladies to his Captaines. There were fixe thousand guests invited to the
 feast, to each of which he gaue a cup of gold. Here there came vnto him three thou-
 sand yong souldiers out of his conquered Prouinces, whereat the *Macedonians* great-
 ly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon* hauing lauidishly consumed the mo-
 nies in his keeping, got him going with fise thousand talents, and fixe thousand hir-
 ed Souldiers, but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there slaine. *Alexander* greatly re-
 joyced at the fidelitie of the *Greekes*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures
 could not stirre: yet hee sent commandment that they should againe receiue their
 banished men, whereunto (fearefull of his indignation) all submitted themselves,
 (except the *Athenians*; though they refused that it was a manifest preparation to-
 wards their bondage. After this there followed a maruailous discontentment in his
 Armie, because he had resolved to send into *Macedon* all those old Souldiers which
 could no longer indure the trauell of Warre, and to keepe the rest in *Asia*. He vied
 many Orations to satisfie them, but it was in vaine during the tempest of their furie.
 But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine threed, when they
 haue tumbled a while, so are the vnconsiderate multitude easily conducted when
 their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licenced to depart, he sent *Cra-*
terus, to whom he gaue the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessalie*, and *Thrace*, which
Antipater had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the re-
 bellious *Greekes* in his absence, discharged the trust committed vnto him with great fi-
 delitie, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certaine-
 ly, if *Alexander* had not taken counsell of his cups, hee would haue cast some better
 colour on this alteration, and giuen *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remoue, than
 to haue imploied him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Baby-*
lon, the warre being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remoue, but
 the Kings disposition to send him after *Parmenie*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*,
 the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple:
 Princes, though jealous, doe not stand in doubt of euery man ill-affected though
 valiant; but there is a kinde of Kingly courage, compounded of hardinesse and vn-
 derstanding, which is many times so fearefull vnto them, as they take leaue both of
 Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After hee had sent for *Antipater*, hee made a iourne into *Media* to settle thinges
 there; where *Ephesion*, whom he fauoured most of all men, dies. The King accord-
 ing to the greatnesse of his loue, laments his losse; hangs his Phibition; and be-
 srowes vpon his Monument twelue thousand talents: After which hee returns to
Babylon. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himselfe, but to
 free himselfe. For if we beleeue *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gaine-say)
Antipater by his Sonnes, *Cassander*, *Philip* and *Ptolema*, who waited on *Alexander*'s cup, gaue
 him poison, *Thessalus* (who was of the conspiracie) hauing invited him to a drinking
 feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in *Heracles* his cup, a draught of
 drinke stronger than *Heracles* himselfe, hee quitted the World within a few daies.

Certainely the Princes of the World haue seldome found good by making their
 ministers ouer-great, and thereby suspitious to themselves. For he that doth not ac-
 knowledge fidelitie to be a debt, but is perswaded that Kings ought to purchase it
 from their Vassalls, will neuer please himselfe with the price giuen. The only reso-
 lution, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodnesse and vertue of the Prince, and his
 liberalitie makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be obserued. It may
 be that *Antipater* hauing commanded two or three Kingdomes twelue yeares, knew
 not now how to play any other part; no more than *Caesar* did, after he had so long a
 time gouerned the *Gauls*, where he vterly forgot the art of obedience. A most cruell
 and

and vngatefull traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* doe not belie him: For though hee feared some ill measure vpon his remoue (the Tragedies of *Parmenia*, *Clytus*, and *Calisthenes*, hauing bene so lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrarie, but that the King had resolued to haue given him some other great gouernement in *Asia*: the old Souldiers thence returned, hauing perchance desired to be gouerned by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

10

φ. XXIII.

Of ALEXANDERS Person and qualities.



10
Owfoeuer it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot bee excused, no more than his vanitie to be esteemed the sonne of *Iupiter*, with his excessive delight in drinke and drunkenesse, which others make the cause of his feuer and death. In that hee lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what hee should doe when hee had conquered the World, *Augustus Caesar* found just cause to deride him, as if the well gouerning of so many Nations and Kingdomes, as he had already conquered, could not haue offered him matter more than abundant, to buse his braines withall. That he was both learned and a louer of learning, it cannot be doubted. *St. Erasmus* *Bacem*, in his first booke of the advancement of learning, hath proued it sufficiently. His liberality. I know nothow to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That when he gaue a whole Citie to one of his Seruants, He, to whom it was giuen, did out of modestie refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That hee did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to giue: of which *SENECA*; *Animosa vox videtur & regia, cum sit stultissima.* *La. de Ben. c. 1.* *Nihil enim per se quicquam decet. Refert quid, qui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; habetur personarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum sit ubiq; variis modis, &que peccat quod excedit, quam quod deficit;* It seemes a braue and royall speech; whereas indeede it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it selfe besemes a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which considerations no act can be approved. Let honours bee proportioned vnto the persons: for whereas vertue is enclimated by measure, the excess is as faultie as the defect.

For his Person, it is very apparant, That he was as valiant as any man, a disposition taken by it selfe, not much to be admired; For I am resolued that hee had ten thousand in his Armie as daring as him selfe. Surely, if aduenturous natures were to be commended simply, wee should confound that vertue with the hardinesse of Theeues, Russians, and malfie Dogges. For certainly it is no way praise-worthie but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawfull enterprises, in which we are imploied for the seruice of our Kings and Common-weales.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other Troublers of the World, who haue bought their glorie with so great destruction, and effusion of blood, I thinke him farre inferior to *Caesar*, and many other that liued after him, seeing hee neuer undertooke any warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted, nor was euer encountered with any Armie of which he had not a most mastering aduantage, both of weapons and of Commanders, euery one of his Fathers old, Captaines by farre exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seemeth, Fortune and Destinies (if we may vie those termes) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his owne, both heapes of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdomes that inuited and called in their owne Conquerours. For conclusion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who speaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Sonne, giues this judgement of them. *Quod non minores facere pestes mortalium quam inundatio, qua pluri non omne periculum est, quam congregatio qua magna pars animantium exaruit;* That

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they were no lesse plagues to mankind, than an ouer-flow of waters, drowning all the euell;
or some burning drought, whereby a great part of liuing creatures is scorched vp.

CHAP. III.

The raigne of ARIDEVS.

p. I.

of the question about succesion to ALEXANDER.



THE death of *Alexander* left his Armie (as *Demades* the *Athenian* then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Giant *Polyphemus*, hauing lost his only eye. For, that which is reported in fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedonians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance vnto destruction, and harmefull chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (vnder the diuine ordinance) were, partly the vncertainetie of Title to succesion in the Kingdome of *Macedon*, partly the stubborn pride of *Alexander* himselfe, who thinking none worthie to be his Heire, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leauing euery one to his owne fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson soone taught vnto spirits reflecting vpon their owne worth, when the reuerence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly beene shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) governing in *Macedon* as Protector, assumed vnto himselfe the Kingdome, not rendering it vnto *Amyntas*, (the Sonne of his elder brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans estate; but only bestowing vpon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond, and much more by his proper strength, he assured the Crowne vnto himselfe: *Amyntas* neuer attempting ought against *Philip*; though (with price of his life) he did against *Alexander* in the beginning of his raigne. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the sole issue of his marriage, ought in reason to haue beene acknowledged Queene after *Alexander*; as hauing better Title thereto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they liued, vnlesse (peraduenture) some Law of that Nation forbade the raigne of women. But the excellent vertue of those two Princes had vtterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies: and so great were their conquests, that *Macedon* it selfe was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deferring to be laide in ballance against the demand of their posteritie, had they left any able to make challenge of the Roiall seat.

Alexander hauing taken many wiues had issue by none of the principall of them. *Barsine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian* had borne vnto him a yong Sonne: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly married) was left by him great with child. But the basenesse of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alledged in Barre of the Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) haue wrought out their owne ends, vnder the name of *Alexanders* children.

Cleopatra

Cleopatra the sister of *Alexander*, widow to the King of *Epirus*, and *Aridaus* his bafe brother (fonne to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in courfe. Of *Cleopatra* there was no fpeech, which may give fufpition, that either Law or Cufstome had made that fex: vn capable of the Souerigneticke: *Aridaus* (belides his ballardie) was neither for perfon nor qualitie fit to rule as Kings; yet vpon him the election fell, but flowly and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counfaillors hauing ouerlaboured their difagreeing wits in deuiling what was belt, were content for very wearineffe to take what came next to hand.

- 10 *Ptolomee* (foone after King of *Egypt*) concurring with them who reiefted all mention of the halfe-*Persian* broode, King *Alexander*'s children, was of opinion, that the rule of all fhould bee giuen to the Captaines, that going for law which by the greater part of them fhould be decreed: fo farre was hee from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This *Ptolomee* was called the fonne of *Lagus*, but repured of *Philip*: who hauing vifed the companie of *Arifonæ* *Ptolomee*'s mother, deliuered her in marriage to *Lagus* being great with child. Therefore, whether it were fo, that he hoped well to worke his owne fortune out of thofe difentions, which are incident vnto the consultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to red: Ene their quiet with fubjection to one, deferring regard by his bloud, and truft for his euen carriage, or whether hee defired only to get a fhare to himfelfe, which could not haue come to paffe had all bene giuen to one: plaine enough it is, that hee thought not on preferring *Aridaus* before himfelfe; and therefore gaue fuch counfaile as fitted his owne and other mens purpofes. Yeathis deuil of his tooke place in thede, though not in forme as hee had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to haue afsembled at *Alexander*'s emptic chaire, as *Ptolomee* had conceiued the forme of their consultations, or to fet in the chaire fuch a King as *Aridaus*, no wifer then the chaire it felfe. Alfo the controuerfies arifing were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puiffance.

- 30 But as thefe counterfaite fhewes of diflembling afpirers, doe often take check by the plaine dealing of them, who dare to goe more directly to worke: fo was it like to haue fared with *Ptolomee* and the reft, when *Arifonius*, an other of the Captaines, interpreted the wordes of *Alexander*, faying, That hee lelt his Kingdome to the worthiet, as defigning *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) hee deliuered his ring. It feemed good in reafon, that *Alexander* fhould bee difpofor of his owne purchafes; and thofe tokens of *Alexander*'s purpofe appeared plaine enough, fo long as no man would interpofe an other conftitution: euery one being vn certain how the fecret affections of the reft might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their loue, or becaufe they would not be of the lateft, vrged *Perdiccas* to take vpon him the eftate Roiall. Hee was no franger to the Roiall bloud; yet his birth gaue him not fuch reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom hee had bene very inward, and that efpecially fince the death of *Ephesion* (a powerfull Minion) into whole place hee was chofen. For his owne worth hee might well bee commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had giuen much proofe of his priuate valour. But very furly hee was; which qualitie (joynd with good fortune) carried a fhew of Majeltie; being checkt with mifadventure, it was called by a true name *Pride*; and rewarded with death.

- In the preft bulineffe a foolifh ouer-weening did him as great harme, as it had bene great happineffe to haue fucceeded *Alexander*. For not content to haue the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the fentence of *Arifonius*, hee would needs counterfaite modellie; thinking that euery one of the Princes would haue intreated him to take the waightrie burden of an Empire, which would bee the leffe enuious the more folemmitie hee vifed in the acceptance. It is truly faid, He that faineth himfelfe a theape may chance to be eaten by a Wolfe, *Melaeager*, (a man by nature en- bious,

uous, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*, tooke advantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly inuighed against him. In conclusion he pronounced, that whosoever was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treasure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Confultation. The Captaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to haue brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedie of spoile thronged about *Meleager*.

§. II.

*The election of ARIDÆVS, with the troubles there-about arising;
the first diuision of the Empire.*

DVring this vp-rore, mention was made of *Aridaus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, vntill at last it grew to the voice of the Armie. *Meleager* hauing with-drawne himselfe tumultuously from the companie of the Lords, was glad of so faire an occasion to make himselfe great; therefore he produced *Aridaus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inuesting him in *Alexanders* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vaine; for they could not resolue what course to follow, rejecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed-man, tooke vpon him to proclaime the Sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsaile which *Perdiccas* at first had giuen, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But this child was not yet borne, which made that attempt of *Python* vaine. Finally, *Perdiccas* with sixe hundred men, and *Ptoleme* with the Kings Pages tooke vpon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* bodie lay: but the Armie conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in vpon them, and enforced them to accept *Aridaus* for their Soueraigne Lord. Then by the intrecession of the ancient Capitaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leonatus who was of the Roiall bloud, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobilitie. *Perdiccas* abode in the Citie (but standing vpon his guard) that he might be readie to take the opportunitie of any commotion, that should happen among the infantrie. The King (who was gouerned by *Meleager*) commanded or gaue leave to haue *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill being neither secretly carried, nor committed to fure executioners. Their coming was not vexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such grauitie, that they departed honeste than they came; being forrie of their bad enterprise. Vpon the newes of this attempt the campe was in an vp-rore, which the King seeking to pacifie wanted authoritic, as hauing newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it selfe afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said that no harme was done, for *Perdiccas* was aliue: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which hee imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the furest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appealed, vntill the King by offering to resigne his estate vnto them, renewed out of their pittie that fauourable affection, which had moued them to set him vp at the first.

Perdiccas hauing now joyned himselfe with *Leonatus* kept the fields, intending to cut off all prouision of victuals from the Citie. But after sundrie Embassies passing betwene the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to haue the Authors of sedition giuen vp into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might bee joynt with

Leonatus

Leonatus and *Perdiccas*; as a Third in gouernement of the Armie) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should haue done well to consider, that such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to giue him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treacherie lurked vnder their great facilitie. Generall peace was renewed, and much loue protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had bene in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the same heart giue it life; and windie spirits they were which moued in the arteries. False reports were giuen out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending in the armes to disgrace, but in such termes as might seeme to haue proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, tooke it as an injurie done to himselfe; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas* that such authors of discord might bee punished. *Perdiccas* (as a louer of peace) did well approue the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should bee made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receiue their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Armie. The plot was maliciously laied: Had *Meleager* giuen way to seditious rumours, he must needs haue incurred the generall hatred of all, as a fower of disfection; and thereby with publike approbation might haue bene cut off, as hauing often offended in that kinde: his Prince being too weake a Patron. Now seeking redresse of these disorders, he battened his owne ruine, by a lesse formall, but more speedie way. This kinde of Muster was very solemne, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleaning of the Armie. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their qualitie set in array, a-part from others, as if they had bene of sundrie sorts; met at aduenture: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to direction of their severall Captaines. But at that time the great battaile of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose belowd in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the horse and Elephants beginning to giue charge vpon them, was such; as discovered no jesting palme nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horse-men; of which custome *Perdiccas* made great vse that day, to the vtter confusion of his enemies. For *Aridaem* was alwaies gouerned by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three daies before hee had sought the death of *Perdiccas* at the insligation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* vp and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliuer vnto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast vnto the Elephants, and by them slaine, in the presence of the King who should haue defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when hee disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especiall friends. Hauing therefore kept himselfe quiet a while, as vnwilling to giue offence to them which had the advantage; when hee saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no *Sanctuarie*: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Armie being thus corrected was led into the Citie, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, diuided all the Prouinces of the Empire among themselves; leauing to *Aridaem* the office of a Visitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought vpon; whose bodie hauing bene seuen daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the *Egyptians*: no signe of poison appearing, how great soeuer the suspicion might bee. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Aridaem*: one of the Captaines, who was two yeares preparing of a great and colly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laied; many coarces of his friends being laied in the ground, before

before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in *Alexandria*, a Cittie of his owne building in *Egypt*.

p. III.

The beginning of the Lamian Warre.



Hilest these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principall Noble men, and inferiour to none of *Alexander*'s followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in *Greece* with a Warre, which the *Athenians* more brauely than wisely had begunne in *Alexander*'s life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, vpon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished *Greekes* (few excepted) should be restored vnto their former places. Hee knew the fabled qualitie of the *Gracian* Estates, and therefore thought so to provide, that in euery Cittie hee would haue a sure partie. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he wanne by this proude injunction. His pleasure indeede was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyrannic. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more, than was needfull, of their ancient spirits, forbad the execution of this decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Ætolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but seemed to beare themselves, as men that had done no more then they might well iustifie by reason: neuertheless to prevent the worst, the *Athenians* gaue secret instructions to *Leosthenes* a Captaine of theirs, willing him to leaue an Armie, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their vse. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to doe: great numbers of *Greeke* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Asian* Warre in poore estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Capitaines. Of these he had gathered vp eight thousand, when the certaine newes were brought of *Alexander*'s death: at which time the Cittie of *Athens* declared it selfe, and more honorably than wisely, proclaimed open Warre against the *Macedonians*, for the libertie of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Ætolians*, and some other Estates, gaue battaile to the *Bæotians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and ouerthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in Adherents; That *Antipater* (arming in all hast, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies a-farre off, which deceiue all mortall wisdom, euen when they seeme nere at hand. One moneth was scarcely past, since nothing so heauily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the returne of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which hee then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured vnto him, was sent into *Macedon* to conueigh home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succede *Antipater* in the gouernement of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspitions were strong that hee had a priuie charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should bee sent vnto the King, as Captaine of the young Souldiers, newly to bee leauied in *Europ*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would sometimes giue out speeches testifying his owne ieioultie and hatred of him; but yet he stroue to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexander*'s Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeede were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his *Indian* expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings ri-

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gour was such, as could hinder rebellious purposes (for so hee interpreted even lewd gouernement) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having sitten *Victory* ten yeares in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the enuie of a Court, wherein they had bene his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to preuention, working first the Kings death by poison, given by his Son *Isolans*, *Alexanders* cup-bearer, or whether it brake not forth vntill opportunitie had changed it into the passion of reuenge, which was cruelly performed by his Sonne *Cassander*: great cause of much feare he had, which I note in this place as the ground of effects to be produced in very few yeares.

At the present *Crates* was sent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying neare, solicited to make haste. Not without cause. For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteene thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countie being emptied into *Asia*. The *Thessalians* indeede who had long stood firme for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horse-men of *Greece*, furnished him with very braue troupes, that might haue done great seruice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the libertie of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater* in *Thebes* trie the fortune of a battaile with *Leophanes*, rather (as may seeme) fearing the increase of his enemies power and rebellion of the *Greekes*, (were they not cheekt at the first) than presuming on his owne strength. For *Leophanes* had of *Athenians*, *Asiatians*, and Mercenaries, two and twentie thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some *Illyrians*, and *Thracians*: of horse hee brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but ouer-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had revolted vnto him. So *Antipater* lost the day: and his losse was such, that he neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his owne Countie: therefore he fled into the Towne of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessarie to beare out a siege. Thither did *Leophanes* follow him, present him battaile againe; and vpon the refusall close vp the towne with earth-works, and a wall. There will wee keane him for a while, trauielling in the last honourable enterprife that euer was vnder-taken by that great Citie of *Athens*.

§. IIII.

How *Perdiccas* employed his Armie.

King *Artaeus* living vnder the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Prouince, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make vile of him. *Perdiccas* had no Prouince of his owne peculiar; neither was he like to be welcome to any whom hee should visit in his Gouernement. A stronger Armie then any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that vnstedfast condition of things to make better worth to him than many Prouinces could haue been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time he either married *Nicea* the Daughter of *Antipater*, or made such loue to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Countie, had continued faithfull to the *Persian* Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, even from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Astossa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeede) bene oppressed by the *Persians*; but what Fortune tooke from them at

one time, Vertue restored at an other, and their faithfull Princes had much increased all. But now in the fatal Period of so great an Empire, with much wisdom, and (*Darius* being slaine) with sufficient honour, he might haue acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Persians* roome. This hee did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with greater cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater business wherein to entertaine his Armie, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take in that in-land Kingdome, surrounded with Provinces of the *Macedonian* conquest, and for his owne particular to haue one opportune place of sure retreat, vnder the gouernement of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred *Cappadocia*, fought with *Antistates*, who drew into the field thirtie thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse (a strong Armie, had it not incounred a stronger, and better trained) wanne the victorie, and thereby the whole Kingdome. But with much crueltie did he vse the victorie: for hauing taken *Antistates* prisoner with many others, hee crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light vpon: and so deliuered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men liuing he trusted most.

An other part of his forces he had committed to *Pythion*; rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Pythion* was to subdue the *Greekes*, rebelling in the high Countries of *Asia*. About twentie thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous Nations, were soone wearie of their vnpleasant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they liued: and therefore tooke advantage of the present troubles to freke vnto themselves a better fortune. Against these *Pythion* went, more delirous to make them his owne, than to destroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* discouering, did both giue him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giuing the spoiles of them to his Souldiers, and further enioyned it vnto *Pythion's* Captains (his owne creatures) that they should see this command executed. These directions for vse of the victorie might haue proued needlesse; so vncertaine was the victorie it selfe. A Captaine of the Rebels commanding ouer three thousand, corrupted by *Pythion*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without necessitie to a Hill nor farre off. This dismayed the rest, and gaue the day to *Pythion*: who being farre enough from *Perdiccas*, offered compolition to the vanquished, granting vnto them their liues and libertie vnder condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being master of these companies hee might well haue a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselfe as free Lord of any Territorie. He had thirteene thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needlesse feare without great losse had caused to leaue the field: but in true estimation all the greatnesse wherof *Pythion* might thinke himselfe assured, was (and soone appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foote, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Pythion*, leauied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obaying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enioyned to giue assistance to that business: and by vertue of the precept giuen vnto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in peeces all those poore men who had yielded themselves; leauing *Pythion* as naked as hee came forth to returne vnto his great Master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mightie about the mightie, and had faire leifare to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for feare of opposition. How it succeeded will appeare, when the *Lusian* warre taketh ending.

The proceſſe of the Lamiſian Warre.



W^E left *Antipater* hardly beſieged, wanting meanes to free himſelfe without ſuccours from his friends in *Aſia*. Thoſe helps not appearing ſo ſoone as he expected, he came to parle with *Leojiſhenes*, & would have yeelded vnto any termes of reaſon, wherewith men poſſeſſed with hope of victorie doe ſeldome limit their deſires. *Leojiſhenes* willed him without further circumſtance to ſubmit himſelfe to diſcretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him ſuch a diſhonorable compoſition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worſe with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victualls. In this lingring war, the *Ætolians* (whether wearie of ſitting ſtill at a ſiege, or hauing buſineſſe which they pretended at home) tooke their leaue, and returned into their owne Countrie. Their departure left the trenches ſo thinly manned, that *Antipater* found meanes to ſillie out vpon his enemies to their great loſſe; for many were ſlaine, and *Leojiſhenes* himſelfe among them, ere he could be repulſed into the Towne. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved; their victualls waſted, and they were not ſtrong enough to deale with the *Greekes* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lysimachus* who was neareſt at hand in *Thrace*, had workt too much of his owne leading no more than 4000. foote, and 2000. horſe, againſt *Seuthus* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field aboute foure times that number; and though *Lysimachus* not without loſſe, had gotten one victorie, yet the enimie abounding in multitude felt not the blow ſo much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonus* was earneſtly ſollicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all haſt to the reſcue. He had the gouernement of *Phrygia* the leſſe, and was able to raiſe an Armie of more than 20000 foot, and 2500. horſe, whether leauid out of his Prouince, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Armie, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the iourne into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to haue him come.

30 For *Cleopatra* had written vnto him, deſiring his preſence at *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her ſelfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not ſo cloſe as had beene requiſite, and therefore brought himſelfe into great ſuſpition, that ſoone ended with his life. *Antiphiſtus*, choſen Generall by the *Athenians* in place of *Leojiſhenes*, hearing of his approach forooke the ſiege of *Lamia*, and tooke the readie way to theſe great Conquerors of *Aſia*, with purpoſe to giue them an euill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they ſhould ioyn in one. He had (notwithſtanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the aduantage of *Leonus* in horſe, by the odds of 2000. *Theſſalians*; in other things he was equal to him; in cauſe he thought himſelfe Superiour in the fortune of that day he proued ſo: for he was a great victorie (chiefly by

40 virtue of the *Theſſalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonus* himſelfe; who fighting valiantly was driuen into a marſh peece of ground, where he found his death, which deſperately he had fought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home not far from the place of his natiuitie. He was the firſt of *Alexanders* Captains which died in battell, but all, or moſt of the reſt, ſhall follow him the ſame way. After this day the *Athenians* did neuer any thing ſutable to their ancient glorie.

The vanquiſhed *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the fight, & too proud to ſlie. They betooke themſelues to high grounds, vnfit for ſerue on horſe-back, and ſo abode in ſight of the enimie that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their camp, and tooke the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their

50 ſtrength to be at the greateſt, and fearing leſt that of the enimie ſhould increaſe, did earneſtly ſeek to determine the matter quickly by an other battaile. But ſtill *Antipater* kept himſelfe on ground of aduantage: which gaue more than reaſonable confidence to the *Greekes*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enimie to be vanquiſhed. This recheleſſeſſe (incorrigible in an Armie of voluntaries)

was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were much defaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians* labouring to haue made themselves once againe Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatal captiuitie of *Craterus* came on, of which shee neuer could be deliuered vnto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Armie hauing made great marches from *Chios*, passed ouer into *Europe*, and comming into *Thessalie* joyned himselfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leontius*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being joynd in one, contained fortie thousand waightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and fiftie thousand horse, of which numbers the *Greekes* wanted a thousand and fise hundred in horse, in foot eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antipater* 10 labour to auoide the necessitie of a battaile, vntill such time as the Townes confederate should returne vnto the campe those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in comming, and *Antipater* so vrgent vpon the *Greekes*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more helpe they had carried away the victorie: for the *Thessalians* had the vpper hand, and held it, vntill such time as they perceived their battailes (ouer-laid with multitude) retire vnto the higher grounds, which caused them also to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, hauing little else to boast of, considering that with the losse of a hundred and thirtie men, they had purchased only the death of some fise hundred enemies. Yet herof was 20 great vse made. For the *Greekes*, as not subject vnto the full command of one General, and being euerie one desirous to preferue his owne estate, and Citie; concluded to make a treatie of peace with *Antipater*, who being a subtile artificer, & well vnderstanding their aptnesse to diuision, refused to hearken to any generall composition, but willed euery Citie to deale apart for it selfe. The intent of his deulise was so apparent, that it was rejected; the *Greekes* choosling rather to abide the comming of their Assailants, whose vnreasonable carelesnesse betraied the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* beliciging & winning some townes in *Thessalie*, which the armie of the Confederates wanted meanes & courage to relieue, wearied that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens vnlike hopes, with their owne assured and present calamitie. 30

§. VI.
Of the peace granted to Athens by ANTIPATER. OF DEMOSTHE-
NES his death.



He *Thessalians* falling off, all the rest soone followed severally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions giuen to the most forward inuiting such as were slack. Only the *Athenians* and *Aetolians* held out. Little fauour could they hope for, hauing beene Authors of this tumult; and their feare was not great; the seate of the warre being farre from them. But the celeritie of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who sate 40 still at Athens, deuiling vpon courses of prosecuting the Warre to come, which came to their doores, before their consultation could finde issue. He was readie to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no abilitie to resist, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to send Embassadors desiring peace vpon some good termes: necessitie enforcing them to haue accepted euen the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demetrius* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage; *Phocion* as the most Honorable; *Demetrius* as a strong Perswader; (both of them well respected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdom, grauitie of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments conlissing in speculation, and therefore of lesse regard, when their admiration was to cost much in reall effects.

Antipater calling to minde the pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the *Athenians* that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the warre past, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garrison. Further, he brogated the popular estate, committing the 50

the gouernement of the Citie to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good submities; to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was given; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a *Democracie*. But the rascall multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now cleared from bearing offices and giving their voices, cried out that this was a meer *oligarchie*, the violent usurpation of a few men reaching upon the publike right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had bene wont to say, That warre to them was peace) and peace warre; *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gaue them lands to manure, leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of *Athen*.

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Demosthenes had taken sanctuare in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calaurias*; there did *Archon* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) finde him, and gently perswade him to leaue the place, but not so prevailing he threatened violence. Then *Demosthenes*, entreating a little respite as it had bene to write somewhat, secretly tooke poison which he had kept for such a necessitie; and so died; rather choosing to doe the last execution vpon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of *Lucas* who hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battle, howsoever valiant in perswading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. Hee loved monie well, and had great summes given him by the *Persian*, to encourage him, in finding worke for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did hee ill (methinks) in taking from the *Persians* which loued not his Countrie, great rewards, for speaking such things as tended to his Countreys good; which hee did not cease to procure, when the *Persians* were no longer able to giue him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can indure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) beleeue *Lucian*, who tells vs, That it was *Antipaters* purpose to haue done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a steadfast enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of *Athen* being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the handes of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and louer of his Countrie, yet applying himselfe to the necessitie of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the Citie much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet favourable to the vanquished) hee endeouored carefully to preferre.

p. VII.

How CRATERUS and ANTIPATER were drawn from their *Aetolian* Warres into *Asia*. The grounds of the first ciuill Warre betweene the *Macedonian* Lords.

SO Antipater with Craterus returned into *Macedonia*, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance; Craterus taking *Philola*, the Daughter of Antipater, to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the *Aetolians*, whose pouerie was not so easily danted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of *Athenes* had beene. Their Countie was rough and mountainous, hauing many places of great fastnesse, into which they conueied such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for warre: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacie did the *Macedonians* contend against the difficulties of the places, which the *Aetolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when Craterus had shut vp all passages, and vtterly debarred them of reliefe; then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight vpon equall ground, with vnequall numbers; or to endure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yeeld themselves to the *Macedonians*: who incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leaue so stubborne enemies in places, which might giue confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremitie, much finenesse of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger commonly doth more hurt, than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These *Aetolians* did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought vpon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such newes came out of *Asia* into the *Macedonian* campe, as made Antipater and Craterus thinke euery houre a moneth, till they had rid their hands of these *Aetolians*, giuing them whatsoeuer conditions they would aske; yet with purpose to call them to seuer account; yea, to roote them out of *Greece* by death, or by captiuitie, when once they should haue settled the affaires of *Asia*; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is the disposer: in whose high Councell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue a troublesome barre to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into those and other Prouinces. Likewise concerning the matters of *Asia*, the reformation intended by Antipater and Craterus, was so farre from taking effect, that it serued meere as an introduction to all the ciuill warres ensuing.

The grounds of the *Asiaticque* expedition, which did set the World in an vpror, were these. Antipater and Craterus were of *Alexanders* Captaines the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedencie, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*: The other, as of all men the best beloued, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Armie. Next vnto these had *Perdiccas* beene; whom the aduantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equal, or superiour, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to haue consorted with these two, and to haue beene with them a third partner in the gouernement of all: to which purpose hee entertained the discourse of marriage with one of Antipaters Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and soare quite an other way. *Aridaus* was a very simple man, yet serued well enough to weare the title of that Majestie, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietarie, the practise was more seuer than had beene in the daies of *Alexander*.

ander: the desire to seeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of prefering themselves from contempt, and of giving such a fire lustre to their actions, as may dazzle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poore *Greekes* in the higher *Asia* were all put to the sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath alreadye bene shewed. The *Physians* were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfaine *Alexanders*. One Citie of theirs was utterly razed; the children sold for slaves, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians* by this example growne desperate, when after two or three daies triall they found themselves vnable to continue the defence, lockt themselves into their houses and set the Towne on fire, in-
10 while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the Armie had no other worke than to sift the ashes of the burnt Citie for gold and silver; but *Perdiccas* had businesse of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrarie to his ends, than to sit still without imploiment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and tooke desperate roote in their severall Prouinces. Hee purposed therefore to transport his forces into *Europe*, vnder pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the seat of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings
20 presence would make the offices of his *Proconsuls* (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in case of priuate men, and only *Perdiccas* holding authoritie, the match with *Cleopatra* might easily bee made. So should greatness meete with a good title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomie* might giue, who held *Egypt*, well fortified with men, but much better without of the people; yet if the businesse prospered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomie* would follow of himselfe, or bee driven to come to reason. *Antigonus* likewise then governing in *Phrygia*, a bulie-headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to bee looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*; and was deceived in so thinking. *Antigonus*
30 was as good a man of warre, of as deepe a judgement, as high a spirit, and as great vnder taking, as any of *Alexanders* Captaines. His imploiments had bene lesse than some of theirs, which made him also the lesse respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for, he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had hee watched *Perdiccas*, and sounded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discouer. For *Perdiccas* ha-
40 uing with a jealous eye pried into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turne, caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a Iudge that fought his death. This deuise *Antigonus* would not seeme to perceiue, but prepared himselfe in thew to make an-
50 swere, indeede, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himselfe and his sonne *Demetrius* aboard of some *Athenian* Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with such tidings, as finished the *Atolian* warre before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifestly perceiue their owne danger: so his flight gaue *Perdiccas* to vnderstand that his intentions were laied open, and must now be justified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could not only for defence, but (as hauing on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing slack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomie* being aduertised of these proceedings, and considering how nearly they concerned him, sided with *Antipater*. To his gouernement of *Egypt* he had annexed
50 the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without consent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the middelt of these garboiles he celebrated the funerall of *Alexander* with great solemnitic, purchasing thereby to himselfe much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Armie coming against him.

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PERDICCAS his waunge into Egypt, and his death.

PERDICCAS, vncertaine which way to bend his maine power, at length resolved to sit vpon *Ptolomie*, leaving *Eumenes* to keepe to his vie, against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering vpon *Europe*.

It may seeme strange, that hee did not rather make head against those who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomie* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomie*; or believed that *Craterus* would not be ready for him soone enough. Sure it is that he tooke a bad course, and made it worke with ill hardling.

Ptolomie by his sweet behaviour allured many to his partie, without helpe of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwise was full of insolencie, which neuer faileth to be rewarded with hatred; that is truly defined. An affection founded vpon opinion of an vnjust contempt. The whole storie of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relating: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and waited them in hard enterprises without successe. His most forceable attempt was vpon a little Towne, called the *Camels Wall*: thither hee marched by night, with more hast than good speede; for *Ptolomie* preuenting him, did put himselfe into the place, where behauing himselfe not only as a good Commander, but as a stout Souldier, hee gaue the foile to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with losse; after a vehement, but vaine, assault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made an other iourney; (which was his last) and came to the diuisions of *Nilus*, ouer against *Memphis*. There with much difficultie hee beganne to passe ouer his Armie into an Iland, where he meant to incampe. The current was strong, the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants about the passage, to breake the violence of the streame, and his horse-men beneath it; to take vp such as were carried away by swiftnesse of the water. A great part of his Armie being arriued on the further banke, the channell beganne to waxe deepe; so that whereas the former companies had waded vp to the chinne, they who should have followed could finde no footing. Whether this came by rising of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of so manie Men, Horse, and Elephants) no remedie there was, but such as had passed must repasse againe, as well as they might: for they were too weake for the cnicke, and could not be reliued by their fellows. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the Riuer, wherein about two thousand of them perished, a thousand were deuoured by *Crocodiles*; a miserable spectacle euen to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swimme recovered the Campe; many were carried downe the streame, and driuen to the contrarie banke, where they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their Generall, giuing libertie to their tongues which long time had concealed the euill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, newes came from *Ptolomie*, which did set them in an vp-rore. *Ptolomie* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his handes alive, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carcases, which the Riuer had cast vpon his side; and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not only moue the common Souldier, but made the Captaines fall to mutinie, thinking it vnreasonable to make warre vpon so vertuous and honorable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, vsing them like slaues. The fedition growing strong wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Pylion* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which hee had suffered by his procurement, after the victorie vpon the rebellious

Greekes,

Greekes. *Pythion* had lived in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the division of the Provinces made *Gouverneur* of *Media*; hee had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equall to him, had neuertheless beene scornfully vsed by him, which now he required. Drawing together a hundred of the Captaines, and a good part of the horie, which consisted of the Gentry, (the foot-men having declared themselves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumstance they all ranne vpon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud misgoverning authoritie of *Perdiccas*. Hee might have liued as great as any, could he haue suffered any as great as himselfe; yea, peraduenture master of all, had he not bene too matterly over those which were already his.

The next day *Ptolome* came into the campe, where he was joyfully received; he excused himselfe of things past, as not having bene Author, or giuen cause of the Warre, and was easily beleeued: the fauour of the Armie being such toward him, that hee refused. It was an office fit for one, that would seeke to increase his greatness with his trouble. *Ptolome* was well enough alreadie; wherefore, for his owne quiet he forbore to accept it, and for their well-deseruing of him hee procured that honourable charge to *Pythion*, and to *Aridaus* the Captaine, who having had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexanders* Funeralls, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the middle of these businesse came newes of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which newes, had they arrived two or three daies sooner, had bene entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would haue giuen such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to haue accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings comming in ill time, when death had stopped the eares which would haue giuen them well-come, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

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§. IX.

Victories of EUMENES in the lower Asia.

BEfore wee procede in the relation of things, happening about the person of the King, it is meete that wee speake of those businesse in the lower *Asia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whilest *Perdiccas* was occupied in the *Egyptian* warres. *Alectas*, the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had receiued command from *Perdiccas* to be assitant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alectas* made flat answer, That he would not; alleging the backwardnesse of his men to beare armes against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make faire shew, but inwardly he repined at the Precedencie giuen to *Eumenes*, as thinking himselfe the better man. *Eumenes* discovering, through the counterfaiete looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischiefe lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to winne him by gentle behauiour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed vpon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himselfe, that hee might stand vpon his owne strength, he raised out of the Countries vnder his iurisdiction, about fixe thousand horse, giuing many priuileges to such as were seruicible, and training them well vpon. Not without great neede. For when vpon advertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly passed the *Hellespont*) for the inuasion of his Provinces, hee willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power, *Neoptolemus* did (indeede) aduance, but in hostile manner, though vnprovoked, presented him battaile. *Neoptolemus* had secretly coucnanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the conquest of *Asia*, which now intending to performe, he

was shamefully disappointed. For though his foot-men, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and prevailed farre vpon *Eumenes* his battailes; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and him selfe compelled, with a few of them, to runne away, leaving naked the backs of his *Macedonian* foot-men, to bee charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that casting downe their Pikes they cried for mercie, and gladly tooke their oath to doe him faithfull seruice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endowed with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their societie, who contrariwise offered him selfe, as a meane of reconciliation, betwene *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearely loued; professing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had vnder taken to maintaine.

Whilest these negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crew to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a *Scribe* (at which foolish railing they laught) but extolling the vertue of *Craterus* (as well hee might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appeare, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Campe, the victorie was wonne, for they would all forth-with reuolt vnto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to giue him aide against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might haue the leading of the Armie to be sent. Their owne affections did easily leade them to condescend to his motion, and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might preuaile much, as the force which hee drew along. For he had in the middelt of *Alexanders* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betooke them selves to the *Persian* fashions of garments and customes, retained the ancient *Macedonian* forme of behauiour, and apparrell; whereby hee became verie gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of *Asia*, with discontented cies, as reproachfull and derogatorie to the manners of their native cuntry. So *Antipater* tooke the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to ioyne with *Ptol. mic.* *Craterus* vled great celeritie, to haue taken *Eumenes* reuelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Capitaines after a great victorie. But hee had a warie and well aduised enemy to encounter, who kept good espiall vpon him, and with much wilddome foresaw all that was to bee feared, and the meanes of preuention, which his courage did not faile to execute.

Eumenes was not ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battaile, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Armie following him: (yet the Armie following him was such as much exceeded his owne in footmen, but was inferiour in horse-men) and thought it more vnesie to keepe the *Macedonians* from reuolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon hee tooke in hand a strange peece of worke, which desperation of all courtes else taught him, and wise managing, prosperously accomplished. Hee gaue out reports that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such companie as hee could gather together, and had gotten *Pigres* (a Captaine of no great estimation, who lay not farre off) to ioyne with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom hee knew to be despised and hated among them, (as hauing been vanquished by some of them, and forsaken others in plaine field, whilest they valiantly fought in his quarrell) hee tooke great care to keepe them from receiuing any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no Messenger nor Trumpetter should bee admitted; and not herewith satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would haue regarded him had hee beene knowne: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Persians*, vnder the leading of such as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and him selfe. To these also he gaue in charge, that without speaking or bearkening to any word, they should runne vpon the enemy, and giue him no leisure to say or doe any thing, but fight. The directions which he gaue to others, he did not faile to execute in his owne person: but placing him selfe in the right wing of his battaile, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as hee vnderstood) conducted the left wing on the contrarie side, hee held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and readie to charge

charge the enemies as soone as the distance would give leave! A rising peece of ground lay betweene them, which hauing ascended, the Armies discouered each other: but that of *Eumenes* currey way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journeyes, which ouer-hailely they had made, seeking the deceitfull issue of trivoliuous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (hauing failed in surprizing them as enemies) to discouer himselfe to his old friends and fellow souldiers; of whom hee could see none. *Phameas* the sonne of *Tendrius*, and *Artabazus* a *Perfun*, had the leading of that side, who mindfull of their instructions began to give vpon him, with such countenance as told him his error; which to redeme, he bad his men fight and winne to the day, and take the spoile to themselves. But the Beare whose skinne hee sells is not yet caught. If his ground whereon the battaile was fought gaue most advantage to the horse, who encountered very roughly on all parts; especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*, who as soone as they had discouered one another could not containe themselves; but with great rage met bodie to bodie, and letting loose their bridles grappled so violently together, that their horses ranne from vnder them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first vp, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawne, where-with hee houghed the other, causing him to fall downe and fight vpon one knee. In this conflict they receiued many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giuing slight ones tooke such as were deadly, by which hee died in the place, and was there (being halfe-dead halfe-alive) stripped by his mortall enemy, whose reulings hee required, lying euen at the last gaspe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to runne away vpon the spur, and seek shelter behind the battailes of their foot. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* paind himselfe to carrie succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himselfe a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabazus* and *Phameas*, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when hee was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwile it is not vnlike, that he might haue either carried the day, or preferred himselfe to a better adventure by giuing ground, as the rest (when he and *Neoptolemus* were slaine) did. But whilest he fought to preferue his reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound receiued; vpon which accident hee was trampled vnder foot by many that knew him not, and so perished vnknown, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where hee lay made great lamentation, as hauing alwaies loued and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death hee was now become the instrument. The vanquished Arme entertained a Treatie of peace with *Eumenes*, making few of willingness to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) hauing done, they stole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This battaile fought within ten daies of the former waime to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his owne Souldiers tooke the death of *Craterus* heauily; and the Armies lying further off were iraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incensed men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifestly appeared, that hee was as forie as any that pretended greater humi-nesse. His Arme wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended, by giuing to them the spoile of such Townes as were ill-affected to him. So hee deemed the loue of his owne men, who of their owne motion appointed vnto him a guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had beene Traitors to *Perdiccas* hated him for his faithlesse, as greatly, as they thought that he would hate them for their fallhood; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late reuolt, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor; and

condemned him to die; but it was an easier matter to giue that sentence, than to put it in execution.

p. X.

Quarrells betwene Eurydice the Queene, and Python the Protector.

Python resignes his office, into which Antipater

is chosen.

PYTHON and Arideus being chosen Protectors of King Arideus, and the children of Alexander, tooke the way to Asia the lesse, conducting the Armie through Syria. Of these two Python was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weak to sustaine so important a charge. For Eurydice, wife to King Arideus, was come to her husband, a Lady of a masculine spirit, well understanding what shee was, or should be, and thinking her selfe able to support the weight which Fortune, had laied vpon her foolish husband, being due to her owne tide. Her Mother Cyna, sister to Alexander by her father King Philip, was married (as hath bene shew'd) to Amyntas, who was right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedonia, being the only sonne of King Perdiccas, Philips elder brother.

This Cyna was a warlike woman; shee had led Armies, and (as a true sister of Alexander) fighting hand to hand with Caria Queene of the Phrygians, a Praga like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought vp this Eurydice in the same vntowmanly art of warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of Python, that could not brooke her curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were so that Python had some purpose to aduance the sonne of Alexander by Raxane, to the Kingdome; (as once he had sought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent, or whether only desire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did, which disturbed the proceeding against Eumenes. The Armie hauing shaken off such a ranke-rider as Perdiccas, would not after ward be reined with a twined threed, Python bearing him selfe vpon his office took vpon him to giue directions in the kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controll, vsing the same name, with more authoritic, and better liking of the Souldiers. Python, seeing this, would needes resigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps he thought, that now being the farre worthiest man in the Campe, he should be intreated to retaine the place, and haue his authoritic confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successour. Eurydice was nothing sorrie at this course; for now shee thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne wil, being freed from the trouble some assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and Python, of their contrarie expectations: choosing Antipater, the only powerfull man of Alexanders Capitaines, then liuing, into the roome of Python. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and beganne to deale earnestly with the Macedonians, that they should acknowledge no Lord saue only the King their Soueraigne. Yet shee failed of her purpose, being hindered (as may seeme) by three things: the apparent weakness of her husband: the growth of Alexanders children, who (though borne of outlandish women) were bred in the Macedonian campe; and the mightinesse of Antipater, who commanding a great Armie neare at hand arrived in few daies at the campe, and enforced Eurydice to hold her selfe content. Antipater was of such power that hee needed not to worke by any close deuises, as Perdiccas had done; he had no concurrents; all the Governours of Provinces that remained aliuie acknowledged him the better; yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, he tooke the King, Queene, and Princes

along

along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antigonus* Generall of the Royall Armie to whom for his good seruices done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, hee gave the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former Prouinces, and committed into his hands the go-
vernment of *Asia* during that warre.

§. XI.

ANTIGONVS Lieutenant of *Asia*, winnes a battaile of *EUMENES*, and begeth him in
Nota: He vanquisheth other followers of *PERDICCAS*.



Ere begins the greatnesse of *Antigonus*, whose power in few yeares
ouergrowing the rest wanted litle of spreading it selfe ouer the whole
Monarchie. Hee was to make warre vpon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* the brother,
and *Attalus* the brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: worke enough to
keepe his Armie employed in the publike seruice, till such time as hee
might find occasion to make vse of it in his owne businesse. The first of these which
he undertooke was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refused to ioyne, ha-
ving vnseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chiefe
place. *Eumenes* had an Armie strong in number, courage, and all needfull prouisions;
but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all wayes of corrupting
his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Armie with letters: which practise failing
by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if hee himselfe had scattered abroad
those letters to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as hee
thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too
hastily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelesly to him selfe, that he
and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies farre off. An other follower of
Eumenes (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in companie with
Antigonus) kept his treacherie secret, reseruing it for the time of execution. Vpon
confidence of the treason which this false man *Apollonides* had undertaken, *Antigonus*
presented battaile to *Eumenes*; in the heate whereof *Apollonides* had vnderaken, *Antigonus*
to *Eumenes*, fled ouer to the contrarie side, with such as he could get to follow him:
but was closely followed by some, whose companie he desired not. *Eumenes*, percei-
uing the irrecoverable mischiefe which this traiterous practise brought vpon him,
pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himselfe into the troups
of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treacherie. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the
losse of that battaile, which disabled him vterly to keepe the field, and left it very
hard for him to make a safe retreat. Yet one thing he did which much amused his
enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himselfe to
admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victorie to get possession
of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilst *Antigonus* held him in chace, turned out of
the way, and fetching a compasse returned to the place where the battaile had been
fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own
men, and interred the bones and almes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, a-
part, raising vp heapes of earth as Mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As
this bold adventure bred in the *Macedonians* (returned to their campe) great admi-
ration of his brave spirit: so the newes which *Memander* (who was set to looke vnto
their cariages) brought and published among them, enticed them to loue him as
their honourable friend. He had found *Memander* in an open Plaine, carelesse, as af-
ter an assured victorie, and laden with the spoiles of many Nations, the rewards of
their long seruices; all which he might haue taken: but fearing least such a purchasse
should proue a heauie burthen to him, whose chiefe hope consisted in swift expedi-
tion, he gaue secret warning to *Memander* to flie to the mountaines, whilst he detain-
ed his men (whom authoritie could not haue restrained) by this sleight, setting
them to baite their horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtesie, as a
noble

noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to stripp them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaues, and to rauish their wives; but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborne to do this out of any good wil to them; but out of meeke subtiltie had auoided those precious letters, which would haue hindered his speedie flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not onely thinke all carriages to be ouer-burdenfome, but the number of his men to be more troublefome than auailable in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, walsing them to thift for themselves; and retaining onely fise hundred horse, and two hundred foote. When hee had wearied *Antigonus* awhile in following him vp and downe, he came to *Nora*: where againe, keeping no more about him than necessitie required to make good the place, he louingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a litle Fortresse in the borders of *Lycania* & *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualled and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many yeares. Thither did *Antigonus* followe him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in warre. To this purpose he entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon, and his loue; *Eumenes* required restitution of his Prouinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was *Nora* closed vp; where *Antigonus* leauing sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, tooke his iourne into *Pisidia* against *Alectus* and *Attalus*, with whom hee made short worke. He came vpon them vnexpected, and seised on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captaine as *Eumenes*, so haue defended them. *Alectus* and *Attalus*, as they had bene too secure before his comming, so were they too aduenturous in fighting at the first sight, vpon all disadvantages: and their folly was attended with futable euent. *Attalus* with many principall Captaines was taken; *Alectus* fled to the Citie of *Termessus*, where the loue of the yonger sort was to ward him so vehement, that stopping their cares against all perswasions of the ancient men, they needes would hazzard their liues and their Countrie in his defence. Yet this auailed him nothing. For the Gouvernours of the Towne hauing secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the yong men to fall out; and vling the time of aduantage, they with their seruants did set vpon *Alectus*, who vnable to resist slew himselfe. His dead body was conuied to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torne was cast forth without buriall. When *Antigonus* was gone the yong men interred the carcasle with solemne funerals, hauing once bene minded to set on fire their owne towne in reuenge of his death. Such fauour had hee purchased with courteous liberalitie: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, how great soeuer, is insufficient.

p. XII.

PTOLOMEIWINNES Syria and Phœnicia. The death of ANTIPATER.



Hilest these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enioy their Governments for the present, than to confirm or enlarge them. Onely *Ptolomie* looking abroad wanne all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the manning. He sent a Licutenant thither with an Armie, who quickly tooke *Laomedon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seeme) without any great strength of Souldiers, farre from assistants, and vainely relying vpon the authoritie which had giuen him that Prouince, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintaine him in his Office.

Antipater was old and sickely, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those busineses in *Asia*. Hee had with him *Polyperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexanders* Captaines, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had stirred in the

quarrell

quarrell of *Perdiccas*, prevailing farre at the first, but soone loosing all that they had gained, whilst *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* expedition. In this *Polyperchon*, *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so farre forth, that (suspecting the youth of his owne Sonne *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) hee bequeathed vnto him on his death-bod the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his Office of *Protectorship*. So *Antipater* died, being foure-score yeares old, hauing alwayes traualled in the great affaires of mightie Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatnesse was ielous of him, and the succellours of *Alexander* did either quietly giue place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppositions.

10 In his priuate qualities he was a subtile man, temperate, frugall, and of a Philosophicall behaviour, not vnlearned, as hauing bene Scholler to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. He had bene much mouled by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother, whom after the death of her Sonne hee compelled to abstaine from coming into *Macedonia*, or entermeling in matters of estate: yea, at his owne death he gaue especiall direction, that no woman should bee permitted to deale in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soone forgotten; and yet, ere long, by sorrowfull experience approued to haue bene found and good.

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§. XIII.

Of *POLYSPERCHON* who succeeded vnto *ANTIPATER* in the *Protectorship*. The insurrection of *CASSANDER* against him.

POLYSPERCHON was very skilfull in the art of warre, hauing long time bene Apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as he vnder-went, either Nature had not giuen to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He manag'd his buisinesse more formally, then wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chiefe. At the first entrance vpon the stage hee called to coun-
30 saile all his friends, wherein, for waightie considerations (as they who waighed not the contrarie reasons held them) the Queene *Olympias* was renoued out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*, that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and
strengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Prouinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or easie to be retained about the person of the King in *Macedonia*; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all maiestie; that might giue au-
thoritie to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the bounds of dutie such as could not by force haue bene kept in
order, being strong, and lying too farre off.

40 Such care was taken for preuention of imaginarie dangers and out of sight, whilst present mischiefe laie vnguarded in their bosomes. *Cassander* the Sonne of *Antipater*, was not able to discouer that great sufficiency in *Polyperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could hee discern such odds in the qualitie of himselfe and *Polyperchon*, as was in their fortune. Hee was left Captaine of one thousand, which Office by practise of those times was of more importance, than the title now seemes to implice. He should thereby haue bene as Campe-master, or Lieutenant generall to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himselfe the better man. Therefore hee began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had
50 relied on his Father were his owne assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestow'd in the principall Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authoritie, in those Common-weales, whose formes had bene corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and drawe in many partakers: it concerned these men in their owne particular

to adhere vnto the Captains by whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the
 rallall multitude, couetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had for-
 merly exercised ouer the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their bet-
 ters perforce. Besides all these helpes, *Cassander* had the secret loue of *Queene Eny-
 dice*, who had in priuate rendered him such courtship, as was due only to her hus-
 band. But neither the *Queenes* fauour, nor all his other possibilities, gaue him con-
 fidence to breake out into open rebellion; because hee saw *Polysperchon* much reuer-
 enced among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him before he could
 haue made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the coun-
 trie, and calling many of his friends about him, vnder pretence of hunting, aduised
 with them vpon the safest course, and molt free from all suspition. The necessitie
 was apparant of raising an Armie, before the businesse were set on foot; and to doe
 this, opportunitie presented him with faire meanes. *Ptolomie* had by fine force,
 without any commission, annexed *Syria* to his gouernment of *Egypt* and *Cyrene*:
 this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *An-
 tigonus* vpon the first newes of *Antipaters* death, beganne to lay hold vpon all that he
 could get, in such fort that hee manifestly discovered his intent of making himselfe
 Lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stood in neede of a ciuill Warre; which
Cassander well noted, and presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed
 betwene his Father and them, would auail him somewhat. Wherevpon hee se-
 cretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conueied him-
 selfe on a Iodaine ouer the *Hellespont*, that he might in person aduance the businesse
 with greater speede. Much peruation is needlesse in winning a man to what he de-
 sireth. *Antigonus* coueted nothing more, than to finde *Polysperchon* worke by rais-
 ing some commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassan-
 der* did very earnestly presse him, by the memorie of his Father, and all requisite con-
 jurations, to assist him in this enterprise, telling him that *Ptolomie* was readie to de-
 clare for them, and vrging him to a speedie dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side
 repaid him with the same coine; saying, That for his owne sake, and his dead Fa-
 thers, whom he had very dearely loued, hee would not faile to giue him all manner
 of succour. Hauing thus scalded one another with words, they were nothing slack
 in preparing the common meanes leading to their seuerall ends.

§. XIII.

The vnrworthy courses held by POLYSPERCHON, for the keeping
 downe of CASSANDER.

Great necessitie there was of timely prouision. For *Polysperchon* need-
 ed no other intructions to informe him of *Cassanders* drift, than the
 newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the readie disposition,
 which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomie*, to the strengthening
 of rebellion; and well hee knew that one principall hope of *Cassander*
 was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Gracian* Estate. Therefore (lo-
 uing to work circumspectly,) he called an other Councell, wherein it was concluded,
 That the Popular forme of gouernment should be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*,
 the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates and principall Men, into whose
 handes *Antipater* had committed the supreme authoritie, should forth with bee ei-
 ther slaine or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassanders*
 friends, and to raise vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclo-
 sed both an vnthankfull nature in *Polysperchon*, and a factious malice in his adhe-
 rents. For how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the
 Some went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose only bountie had in-
 abled him to doe it? or what could bee said in their defence, who sought to destroy
 many

many worthe men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greekes* were held restrained from stirring against the *Macedonians*; and in opposition to their private Enemie, gave the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire: But as in mans bodie, through sinnewes newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any discomper in the contrarie hand: so in bodies politique, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more enraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curbe them in their nearest purposes, than they are exasperated by the generall opposition of such as are divided from them in the maine trunk. Herby it comes to passe, that contrarie religions are invited to helpe against Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawne in, to take part in civill warres; and ancient hatred called to counsaile against injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; shee hath taught the arme to offer it selfe vnto manifest losse in defence of the head: they are depraved affections, which render men sensible of their owne particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

* The decree, whereby the *Greekes* were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ranne vnder the Kings name; but so, as one might easily discern, that *Polyperchon* had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as *Polyperchon* gaue, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deale of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sodaine from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appeare to haue some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it selfe too base and vnfit for a King to vse toward his conquered Subjects, and often-subdued Rebels.

§. XV.

* Of the great commotions raised in Athens by *POLYPERCHONS* decree.
The death of *PHOCION*.

30 **N**either the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captaine of the Garrison, which kept one of their Hauens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Towne, would needes take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hastie desires.

Nicanor, as a trustie follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the place, and *Menillus* (that was Captaine there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to Athens was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of *Antipaters* death, cried out vpon *Phocion*, saying, That he 40 had sufficient intrelligence of that accident, and might by aduertising them in due time haue put into their hands a faire opportunitee of thrusting out the *Macedonian* yoke. Fame more grievously would they haue bene offended, had they knowne the instructions, which *Cassander* had given to *Nicanor*, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not only retain *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrarie notwithstanding; but that hee should finde means to thrust some 50 Companies into *Praus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principall Hauen, against the high Towne. How to accomplish this he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good abilitie. But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him sufficient cause to doe that, which he would haue done without any cause given. They desired him to come vnto their Councell, assembled in the *Praus* there to consider of the Kings Proclamation; whither vpon *Phociens* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the warre which was readie to breake forth. Contrariwise they vrged him first of all, to make them Masters of
their

their owne, which how to vse they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend vnto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did alwaies measure iustice by profit, yet seldome thrust by that course) practised with *Dercyllus*, a Captaine following *Polyperchon*, and then lying neare at hand, that he should enter into the Towne, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion* who then governed in *Athenis*, a man very vnlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politike dishonestie, did quietly suffer him to depart and saue himselfe.

Nicanor hereupon beganne to deuill vpon taking *Piramus*; not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his owne iust reuenge. He leauied as many 10 Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychna*; which done, he issued into *Piramus*, tooke it, and intrenched himselfe therein: to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Hauens, saw him now Master of both. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Polyperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouering all, and addressed themselves vnto him; who made faire shewes, intending more mischiefe, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vaine Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queene. *Olympias* taking vpon her to command, before shee durst well adventure to returne into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the *Athenians* the places which hee held: but hee would first consider 20 more of the matter. *Polyperchon* had further ordeined, that the Isle of *Samos* should be rendred vnto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeede) so farre from purposing to let them haue *Samos*, that as yet he did not thoroughly intend to let them haue themselves. The commoditie of their Hauens was such, as he would rather get into his owne handes, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassanders*. His sonne *Alexander* not ignorant of this, made faire shew to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to entermeddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him they powred out vpon *Phocion*, depriving him of his Office. This 30 was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers, thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who distracted with sundrie passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought euerie one that best could inueigh against thinges past, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the euill threatening them. In this hurle burlie was *Alexander* deuiling how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, and held much priuie conference with him; which he could not so secretly carrie, but that his negotiation was discouered, whereby the vp-rore in the Towne was so farre incalcated, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accused, and driuen to seeke sauaguard of their liues by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polyperchon was in the Countrie of *Phocis*, readie to enter with an Armie into *Athens*. Thither came *Phocion* with his Companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their owne deserts, (hauing alwaies bene friends to the *Macedonians*, as farre as the good of their Countrie gaue leaue) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a Corinthian, *Polyperchons* familiar friend, went along with them, (in an euill houre) who promised to himselfe and them great fauour by meanes of his acquaintance. But *Polyperchon* was an vnstable man, very earnest in what he tooke in hand, yet, either for want of judgement in following them, or of honestie in holding the belt of them, easily 50 changing his intended courses, and doing thinges by the halues, which made him commonly faile of good successe. For feare of *Cassander*, he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to loue him: out of their loue hee gathered hope of deceiuing them, which made him to change his minde, and seeke

how

how to get into his owne handes those keyes, with which *Cassander* held them fast lockt vp: finding himselfe disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a fauldef-
honourable man, hee stood wauering betweene the contrarie allurements of profit
and reputation. To keepe the *Athenians* perforce at his deuotion, would indeede
haue done well: but the effecting of this beganne to grow desperate; and many
Townes of importance in *Greece* beganne to cast their eyes vpon his proceeding in
that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wisest way to redeme their good opi-
nion, by giuing all contentment vnto the popular faction, which then was growine
to be Master of that Citie. And in good time for this purpose were the *Athenian*
10 Embassadors come, treading (as one may say) vpon *Phocion*'s heeles, whom they
were sent to accuse. These had solemn audience giuen to them in the Kings pre-
sence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glori-
fied with all exterior shewes of maiestie; yet all too little to change *Aridam* into
Alexander: for hee did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as hee saw others
doe. For beginning of the businesse *Polysperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should
be tortured and flaine: This was enough to testifie his heartie affection to the Com-
monaltie of *Athens*, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose
Embassadors he then bad to speake. When their errand was done, and answere
to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest
20 were pronounced guiltie of treason; but to giue sentence, and doe the execution
vpon them, was (for Honours sake) referred vnto the Citie of *Athens*, because
they were Burgesses. Then were they sent away to *Athens*, where the rascall mul-
titude, not suffering them to speake for themselves, condemned them to die. So
they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion*, a man very conspicuous,
made the fortune of the rest to be of the lesse regard. Five and fortie times had hee
beene chosen Gouernour of the Citie, neuer suing for the place, but sent for when he
was absent: so well was his integritie knowne, and so highly valued, euen of such
as were no pretenders to the same vertue. Hee was a good Commander in Warre;
wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance,
30 and neuer vnfortunate. Neuer did the Citie repent of hauing followed his coun-
saile: nor any private man of hauing trusted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly
esteemed him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signes of his
loue) sent him two hundred talents of silver, and offered to bestow vpon him of four
Cities in *Asia* any one which hee would choofe. But *Phocion* refused these & other
gifts, howsoever importunately thrust vpon him; resting well contented with his
honest paueritie: wherein he liued aboue fourescore yeares, and then was com-
pelled by the vnjust iudgement of wicked men to drinke that poison, which by just
iudgement of the righteous God, so infected the Citie of *Athens*, as from that day
forwards it neuer brought forth any wortheie man resembling the vertue of their
40 Ancients.

§. XVI.

OF POLYSPERCHON his vaine expedition against
CASSANDER.

50 **N** Ot long after these things were done, *Cassander* with such forces as
Antigonus lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which newes drew *Poly-
sperchon* head-long into *Attica*, with a great Armie, but so ill victualled,
that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Only hee had
giuent some impediment to the enemy; who not contented with de-
fending what he held beganne to looke out, and make new purchases abroad. Find-
ing therefore himselfe vnable to driue *Cassander* out of *Athens*, hee left his sonne
Alexander, with such number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victuals;

to withstand his further incroching. The greatest part of his Armie he carried into *Peloponnesus*, to make the Countrey sure to himselfe, wherein *Cassander* had many Friends.

His doings in *Peloponnesus* were such, as they had beene in other parts of *Greece*. First, he beganne to fight with *Lacedæmonians*, restoring the *Democratic*, or Popular forme of government. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* beene made Rulers, should be either slaine, or driuen into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in most places: the vulgar sort being very readie to seale the Charter of their freedome and authoritie, with the blood of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which wished well to *Cassander*; especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyperchon* meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fiftene thousand serviceable men, well furnished of necessaries, and resolved to endure the worst. And neede there was of such resolution. For *Polyperchon* coming thither with all his power did so much, that he ouerthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall betwene them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came vp to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised vp an inner wall, to beare out the next assault. The Assailants having failed to carrie the Towne at the first attempt, tooke much paine to cleare the ground, and make faire way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to ouerthrow all that came in their way. But the townsmen perceiving their drift prepared boards driuen through with long nails, which they vsed as gall-throps, bellowing them slightly, couered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beafts were to passe. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beat vpon their sides with Arrowes and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Warres. Of these provisions they made happie vse in the next assault. For by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driuen back vpon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled vnder feet. *Polyperchon* came as ill furnished for long abode to *Megalopolis*, as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, hee forooke the siege, with some losse, and much dishonour, leauing some part of his Armie to lie before the Towne for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admirall, to Sea, to ioyne with *Aridæus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole Fleet vnder *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where hee fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the ouerthrow gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well sent out *Nicanor* againe, assuring him of the victorie, as well he might. For hee sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom hee had caused to bee wafted ouer the Straights in small Vessells by night; these before day-light setting vpon *Clitus*, drave his men, that lay securely on the Land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriving did assaile them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought *Polyperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facilitie in penning bloudie decrees, but when the execution was referred to his owne sword, he could finde the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to giue them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Governour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the partie of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted vnto him; as to an industrious man,

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man, and likely to preuaile in the end. Thus was the whole Countrey set in a combustion, vncasie to be quenched; which presented vnto *Antigonus* an opportunitie, that he neglected not, of making himselfe Lord of *Asia*.

p. XVII.

ANTIGONVS seeks to make himselfe an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with *EUMENES*, who disappointeth him. *Phrygia* and *Lydia* wonne by *ANTIGONVS*.

10



ANTIGONVS had in *Antipaters* life time a firme resolution, to make vnto himselfe the vmoit benefit that hee might of the Armie committed to his charge. And in faire season for aduancement of his purposes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; euen then, when all the builnes in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Armie remaining, saue onely the continuance of the siege of *Nora*; a small thing of it selfe, but as hard as a greater matter, and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the present estate was manifestly subiect, would in continuance of some yeares (which hee might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most feate was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men and horses might grow sickly and vnseruiceable: which made him to practise many deuises of keeping them in health and lustie. But when he had continued thus vp in this manner about a yeare, his hopes came to good passe, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himselfe, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great insufficiency of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelitie shewed vnto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to imploy in managng those high designes, wherein he doubted not that hee should bee withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. Hee sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a greater Lord than euer hee had bene, and the next man to himselfe, if things fell out as hee desired: in regard whereof hee required onely his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take, which done, hee might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enioy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* percing the forme of the oath perceiued the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For where-as, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the bloud, rather to keepe the *Decorum*, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding wordes and summe of all the rest were such, as tied him fast onely to *Antigonus*, omitting all reservation of dutie to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it vnseemely to become a sworne man to him, with whom hee had fought for the maiestie; and being assured that his voluntarie assistance, which way soeuer hee gaue, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore breake off the negotiation, and waite for some better occasion of enlargement which might perhaps beeleng in coming: but seeming to bee well agreed with *Antigonus*, hee prepared to giue vp his Holde and depart. As for the oath it selfe, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemne enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying their Allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his wordes, and gaue him leaue to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himselfe to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken vpon him, as soone as hee came downe to the Sea-side, to remoue

remoue some of the Gouvernours of Prouinces, behauing himselfe according to the authoritie which hee had recieued of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of warre. Neither did hee want sufficient pretence whereby to iustifie his proceedings. For if *Polyperchon* might lawfully hold the *Protectorship*, which the old man doing on his death-bed bequeathed vnto him, as a legacie, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not hee himselfe aswell retaine the *Leutenants*hip of *Asia*, that was granted vnto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordaine what should seeme conuenient whilst hee liued, not to dispose of thinges that should happen after his death? To giue a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: 10 if any were not herewith satisfied, he had threescore thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thurte Elephants in a readinesse to answere them.

The first that perceiued his drift, and prouided to resist him, was *Arideus* Gouvernour of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Townes of his owne Prouince, and fought to haue wonne *Cyzicus*, a faire Hauen Towne, and seated very conueniently for him, but was faine to goe away without it. Hercupon *Antigonus* tooke occasion to commaund him out of the Countrie. *Arideus* was so farre from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieue *Eumenes*. Neuerthelesse finding that he was vnable of himselfe to make long resistance, he tooke such companies as hee could drawe along with him, and so passed ouer into *Eurape*, to complaine at the Court. The like for- 20 tune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and fought the like remedie of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good wordes) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath alreadye bene declared.

p. XVIII.

ANTIGONVS pursues EVMENES, EVMENES hauing authoritie
from the Court raiseth great warre against ANTIGONVS
in defence of the Roiall house.

30



ANTIGONVS hauing thus gotten into his hands all, or most of *Asia* thelesse, was able to haue entred *Macedon*, and seised vpon the Court; which that he forbore to doe, it proceeded (as may seeme) for some of these reasons. It would haue bred as much ieioultie in *Cassander*, as feare in *Polyperchon*, which might haue brought them to termes of reconciliation; It would aske more time then hee could spare; and the enuie which followed the *Protectorship* was such, as hee that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to thinne, then to pursue. Besides all this, it was 40 manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war vpon him in defence of the Roiall house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well affected. Against him therefore hee bent his course, and with an Armie of twentie thousand foote, and foure thousand Horse, made great haft toward *Cilicia*, hoping to suppress him before hee should bee able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithfull to their dead master, which being well knowne in the Court, hee had commission sent vnto him from thence to raise an Armie, and make warre vpon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as hee should neede. Other letters also there were directed to all the Gouver- 50 nours of Prouinces, requiring them to giue assistance to *Eumenes*, and bee ordered by his direction: especially to the Captaines of the olde Souldiers, called the *Argasides*, or siluer-theeked bands, commaundement was giuen to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred

hundred horse, before this authoritie was given him : but now he purposed with all the strength which hee could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Roiall blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring helpe to her and her Nephew the sonne of *Alexander*; and in the meane time to giue her his aduice in that which *Polyperchon* required of her: for shee was desirous to returne into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counsailed her to remaine in *Epirus*, still such time as he could bring the warre to a good issue; which done, hee promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seed of *Alexander*.

10 Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire scarce any one could bee found among the Noble-men, in whom *Alexanders* mother, wiues, and children, might repose firme confidence, sauing onely this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedon* in blood, borne at *Cardia*, a Citie of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled hee was to trauaile as farre as *Persia* to gather together an Armie sufficient, to reuolt the enemies that pursued his heeles.

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§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. OLYMPIAS takes ARIDEVS and ERYDICE, whom shee cruelly puts to death.



OW, forasmuch as in this present warre all the Rulers of the Provinces did enter meddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it selfe, which brought a new face vnto the State, by the extirpation of the roiall house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it conuenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the warre it selfe, to shew breifly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawne into those courses, which ouerthrew most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatnesse of a few: as likewise to what extremitie the faction brake out in *Macedon* it selfe, about the maine controuersie of title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or should haue bene depending.

Arideus the King, being simple and fearefull, did onely what hee was bidden.

Polyperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdome, and become *Gouernour* to a King of his owne making.

6 *Erydice* the Queene discouering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than to let her husband serue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had bene through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignitie offered to himselfe by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for deciding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereto; and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him resolute, both to suppress the linage which shee hated, and to maintaine his beloued mistresse, either by supporting her weak husband, or by taking her to be his owne wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned ouer all, so as they might reigne in their severall Countreies, and establish their authoritie in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolomie* and *Antigonus* were well enough alreadie, if their ambition would haue suffered them to see it.

Pitho and *Selenus* lying farre off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach vpon their neighbours. Against these, *Peneestes* and some others with much adoe hardly made resistance, vntill such time as *Enmenes* came to them; who propounded to himselfe great matters which he liued not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queene (as it is common with *Repdames*) hated the children of her husband by his other wiues. It was thought that shee had giuen poyson to *Arideus*, which failing to take away his life had much impaired both his bodie and wittes. Now she considering, that *Enmenes* was too full of businesse to come home so soone as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily preuailed in Greece; thought it the best way to ioyne with *Polyperchon*, and set vp as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the sonne of *Roxane*, remouing *Arideus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so tooke her way towards *Polyperchon*, who ioyning with her entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these newes wrote verie earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other businesse, and come to succour her. Shee herselfe by entreatie, gifts and promises, drew to her partie as many of the *Macedonians* as shee could, vntill shee thought her owne side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polyperchon*.

These two Queenes met armed, as if the matter should haue been determined by their owne hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the revolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soone as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and sonne, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding herselfe thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.


Olympias hauing obtained this victorie without blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and that vpon the same considerations for which they had refused to beare Armes against her, the *Macedonians* would not sticke to maintaine her, whatsoeuer her proceedings were. Hauing therefore shut vp *Arideus* and his wife in a close roome, where they could scarce turne round, shee led them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for feare least the people should haue commiseration of him, that had reigned almost fixe yeares and a halfe) to put them to death. So she deliuered *Arideus* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to *Eurydice* shee sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poyson, willing her to chooe the instrument of her owne death, who praying that the like presents might one day bee sent to *Olympias*, yeilded her necke to the halter, hauing spent her last curses not in vaine. *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did *Olympias* then chooe out all whom shee commanded to be slaine. His brother *Iolans* that was already dead and buried, shee accused of poyson giuen to *Alexander*; and thereupon caused his Tomb to bee throwne downe, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this furie, began to condemne themselves, and the folly of *Polyperchon*, who had, quite contrarie to *Antipaters* charge giuen on his death bed, called this outrageous woman to the gouernment of the Empire.

poison. 84. 184. 206. 307. 358. 772. 1059. 790. 819. 905. 910. 920. 974. 984. 995. 1000. 1031.

§ XX. 30

† I.

The great expedition of CASSANDER, OLYMPIAS shuts her selfe in-
to Pydna, where CASSANDER besiegeth her. ÆACIDES King
of Epirus, comming to succour OLYMPIAS, is for-
saken, and banished by his owne
Subjects.

ASSANDER at that time laie before Tegea, in Peloponnesus; whither
when all these ill tidings were brought to him, hee neuer failed to
take the Citie, nor to giue order for the State of things in that Coun-
trie, (though Alexander the sonne of Polysperchon were there with
an Armie) but compounding with them of Tegea, hee willed his as-
sociates to looke to themselves as well as they could, till his returne and so in al, fast
he tooke his iourne toward Macedonia, carried headlong with the greedie desire of
iust reuenge. The Ætolians had taken the Straights of Thermopylae, in fauour of the
Queene and Polysperchon, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mispend any
time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could, great and small,
with which hee transported his Armie into Thessalie. There hee diuided his compa-
nies, appointing some vnder Callus, a subtile Captaine, to hold Polysperchon busied,
who then lay incamped neare to Perrebia; with the rest he marched directly against
Olympus. Shee, hauing once preuailed by the respect giuen to her dignitie, tooke
more care now to appeare Maiestically, than to make herselfe strong. To this end
shee made a solemne progresse to Pydna, a Sea towne, and well fenced, hauing in
her companie all the flowre of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom
was Roxane, and her yong sonne Alexander, heire to the great Alexander, by his
grandmothers designement: who, during his minority, kept the Soueraigne power
in her owne hands. But all this pompe serued to little vfe, against the violence of
the enemy, that soone presented himselfe before the wals; soonly it fed the besieged
with a vaine hope of succour, that would from all partes arrive, to rescue persons
of their qualitie. And hereof there soone appeared faire likelihood, which as soone
vanished, and went away in smoke.

For Æacides King of Epirus, made great hast to bring succour to Olympus, his co-
sen, with whom Deidamia his daughter was also shut vp. Neuertheless, his Subjects
were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine passages taken in the
way by Cassanders men, they called vpon him to retire, and quit the enterprize. The
Kings importunitie vrging them to proceed, and the oblitmate refusal of the Armie,
brake out at length into such termes, that when hee had raged in vaine against the
multitude, his authoritie, with which he thought to haue preuailed vpon them, was
by them taken from him and he compelled to forsake his Kingdome, and to wander
vp and downe in forraine Countries, a banished man; his people ioyning with the
enemy, against whom he had led them forth to warre.

Pydna in the meane time was closed vp straightly, both by Sea and Land, so that
neither any could issue out of the Citie, nor any reliefe bee conuied into it; but it
held out as long as any food was left, no memorable seruice being done there, whilst
great actions were managied abroad.

*A continuation of OLYMPIAS her Historie. POLYSPERCHON
defeated. Extreme famine in Pydna. OLYMPIAS
yields to CASSANDER.*

NOW, though order of time require it, that wee should rehearse the doings of *Eumenes* and *Antigonus* in this place, leauing *Olympias* yet a while to the hower of her destinie, which growes the faster vpon her, because shee may discerne it coming; yet that we may not bee compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by inserting her Tragedie in the midst of things, not manifestly coherent with it; we will heere (as elsewhere wee haue done and elsewhere must) continue to an end one Historie, that we may not be therewith distracted, when wee shall cometo the relation of another. All the hope of the beleiged, remaining in *Polyperchon*, was in like maner disappointed, as their former trust had bene, which was reposed in the succours of the *Epiros*. For *Callos*, who was fcnt against him, found the meanes to corrupt the greatest part of his Armie with monie, leauing him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other bulincle of warre, than a swift reitrait. When famine had so farre preuailed in the Citie, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellows, and sawdust being giuen to the Elephants for prouender; some of the souldiers obtaining the Queenes leaue; (who could not denie it) others, without asking leaue, yeelded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieued, and sent abroad into the Countrie. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by these men, did so affright her wel-willers, that such as had reserved themselves to the euent, came in a pace and submitted them to *Cassander*. At length, when the mortality was so great in the Towne, that the liuing were euen poysoned with the noysome sent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Gallie that shee had: wherein her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to bee vnto her as a house of torment, and a laile, out of which shee should not bee deliuered, but vnto an euill death. Being therefore vterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, vnaccustomed to so wretched a kinde of life, shee offered composition; and with much labour hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who hauing fetcht her Gallie out of the Hauen, accounted himselfe as good as master of her bodie) a graunt of her owne life. Immediately vpon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, was yeelded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out: for *Aristonous*, to whom *Olympias* had giuen charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Countrie, taking courage from the successe of some pettie seruices wherein hee had preuailed, beganne to promise himselfe great vnlikenhoods. But *Olympias*, to winne *Cassanders* fauour, very earnestly required him vpon his faith to her, that he should giue it vp. Hee did so; and presently after was killed by his priuate enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him vpon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke inuouation.

The death of OLYMPIAS, and her Condition.

VVhen *Olympias* had now heard sorrowfull tidings of all her friends, shee herselfe was called into question, and accused in an assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murders (they were so styled in her affliction, which in time of propperitie shee called iustice) by her committed. There was shee, (being not heard, nor called to speake) condemned to die. The suite was commenced and prosecuted

ted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slaine. But it was at *Cassander* mitigation; who (to haile the execution) sent her word that he would furnish her with a ship and other necessities, to save herselfe by flight: which when she refused, saying that shee would plead for herselfe, and tell her owne tale; hee dissembled no longer, but sent vnto her such men as hated her most, who tooke away her miserable life. Shee was daughter and sister vnto two Kings of *Epirus*, wife and mother vnto two the mightiest Kings of that or many other ages, a stout Ladie, and of vnreproueable chastitie; but her ambition was boundlesse; her hatred vnappassable, and her furie in reuenge most vnmannerly. Her peruerse conditions made her husband seeke other wiues and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him, and them. She was thought priuie to her husbands death; after which, very cruelly she slew his late wife *Cleopatra*, hauing first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beaulty furie broiled the other aliue in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her sonne *Alexander* (otherwile louing her well) forbade her to meddle in the government of *Macedon*. But God, more seuerely vnto cruell Tyrants, than onely to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to liue and fulfil the rest of her wickednesse; (which was his iustice vpon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others) after all which hee rewarded her malice by returning it vpon her owne head.

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†. IIII.

CASSANDER celebrates the funerall of *ARIDEVS* and *ENYDICE*; and seekes to make himselfe King of *Macedon*.

AFTER her death, *Cassander* gaue honourable buriall to *Aridens* and *Enydice*, among their Progenitours, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatness, he married the Ladie *Thessalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the daughter of King *Philip* by any other of his wiues; that by her hee might haue some title to the Crowne. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, and her young sonne, to close prison, remouing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to increase his fame, and purchase loue, hee built a Citie, called by his owne name *Cassandria*, that soone grew to be very great and powerfull. He rectified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it vnto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twentie yeares wast, being vtterly razed by *Alexander*. By these meanes, especially by the restauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies vnto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily preuailing in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in *Asia* for lesse tiles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

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CHAP. IIII.

Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONVS
got in Asia.

§. I.

The iourne of EVMENES into Persia. His wife dealing with
those that ioynd with him.



EV MENES, having ioynd vnto his companie the
Argyrasides, made hast into the Easterne parts, to
take possession of those Countreies, according to his
commission, and strengthen himselfe against Anti-
gonus. He tooke his journey through *Calefryria* and
Phenicia, hoping to reclaim those Prouinces, vsur-
ped with the rest of *Syria* (as hath beene shewed) by
Ptolomie, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this,
his halt of his passing forward was too great, his
Armie too little, and the readinesse of the people, to
returne to their due obedience, none at all. Besides
all which impediments, one inconuenience troubled him in all his proceedings, mak-
ing them the lesse effectuall. The Captaines of the *Argyrasides* were so toward,
that they seemed to repaire to him, and take his directions; and their fidelitie was
so vnsteadie, that he might haue more easily dealt with open Traitors. It was not
expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authoritie by courting them;
neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by compulsion. Therefore hee
fained, that *Alexander* had appointed vnto him in a dreame, a place for their meet-
ing, namely in a rich paulion, wherein an empty throne was placed, as if *Alexander*
himselfe had beene present at their consultations. Thus hee fired himselfe from
their vaine pride; but of their faith he could haue no assurance. Yet when *Ptolomie*
requested them, & *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though
not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So hee marched on, send-
ing before him the Kings warrant, which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as
reiecting the Kings authoritie, but excepting against the person of *Eumenes*, as a man
condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Armie, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*,
knowing well that he was not to relye vpon their assistance, who stood otherwise af-
fected than his affaires required, and were not to bee dealt with by perswasion,
sought passage by strong hand, through the Countreie of *Babylon*, in such wise, that
Seleucus, having in vaine assailed to hinder him, by opening the sluices of *Euphrates*,
was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be ridde of him. Thus
he came to *Peneestes* and the rest of the Easterne Lords, who were glad of his com-
panie, because of the differences betwene *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themselves. Yet the
contention about superiouritie, grew very hot among them; eury one finding mat-
ter enough, to feed his owne humour of selfe-worthinesse. But the former deuice
of assembling in one paulion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to fol-
low that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giuing aduice, and
best able to reward, by means of the authoritie giuen him, to take what he pleased
of the Kings treasures. By these means hee wonne to himselfe many of those, who
had most power to doe good or hurt.

§. II.

How ANTIGONVS, coming to see vpon EVMENES, was diuicd off with losse.

10 **A**NTIGONVS, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Prouince of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and driue him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soone as he had made himselfe strong enough, he remoued out of *Medopotamia*, where hee had wintered; and taking to him *Pitbo* and *Selenus*, with their men, hee marched directly against the enemies, with intent to giue them battaile. *Eumenes* had fortified the Castle of *Susa*, and was retired backe toward *Persia*, keeping the River of *Tigris* betweene him and his pursuers. The passages of the River were well garded, and good espiall kept vpon *Antigonus*, to obserue which way he tooke. Before he came to *Tigris* it selfe, he was to passe ouer *Coprates*, a great River, and not foordable, which he sought to doe by small vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge vpon *Tigris*, came with a thousand horse, and foure thousand foote, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and 20 draue them headlong backe into *Coprates*, wherein most of them were drowned; verie few escaping with life, except foure thousand that yeelded themselves prisoners, in sight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieue them. This losse made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heate of that Countie in the dog-daies, bredding discates in his Armie, by which many perished, caused him to remoue as farre as into *Media*. So he tooke *Pitbo* with him (leaving *Selenus* to beseege the Castle of *Susa*) and seeking to goe the nearest way, passed through savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, with his troups that were quite heart-broken.

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§. III.

Of EVMENES his winning. A battaile betweene him and ANTIGONVS.

40 **A**fter his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their businesse. Faine he would haue had them to enter vpon those Prouinces, which *Antigonus* had left behind him; to which also the Captaines of the *Argyrasides* or *Silver-shields* were verie inclinable, as desiring to draw nearer to *Greece*. But *Peucestes*, and the rest, whose Dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their owne particular Estates; and would needs march Eastward. These carried it; for the Armie was not strong enough to diuide it selfe into parts.

When they came into *Persia*, *Peucestes*, ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all meanes to win the Souldiers loue to himselfe. *Eumenes*, perceiuing whereunto those doings tended, suffered him awhile to keepe good cheate, till the time of warre drew neere. Then did he faine an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governor of *Armenia*, to *Peucestes* himselfe: The purport whereof was, that *Olympias* had vanquished *Cassander*, and sent ouer a great Armie vnder *Polyperchon*, to ioyne with *Eumenes*. 50 These newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine joy, so they wrought in all mens mindes a great willingness to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likeliest apparence of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, hee being farre the most sufficient Commander, as they found soone after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew neere vnto them, *Eumenes* by some mischance was fallen sicke, and

faire to be carried in a litter, the Armie marched in verie bad array, and was likely to haue bene forced to take battaile in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Capitaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his litter, and vpon the sodaine did call his men into so good forme, that *Antigonus*, perceiuing him a farre off, could not resistane from giuing him deserued commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewardes to the Capitaines, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiuing him, hee came to the triall of a battaile. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwile, hee was inferior in number both of horse and foot by a third part. The battaile was fought with variable successe, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victorie was vncertaine. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lie farre from their carriages: by which meanes *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command ouer his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the signe of victorie; for he buried his owne, and gaue leaue to his enemies, crauing it, to doe the like. But a greater signe of victorie had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and not onely buried his men verie honourably, at great leisure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (hauing tarried but one day) to scale away by night, and returne into *Media*, from whence he came.

§. IIII.

Of diuerse stratagems practised by *ANTIGONVS*, and *EVMEVES*, one against the other.

THUS did the warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part hauing stout Souldiers, and skilfull Generals: but the side which had hitherto preuailed, being hindered by the equall authoritie of many, from pursuing all aduantages to the best. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker in men and reputation, so that to repaire himselfe hee could find no way safer, than to put all to aduenture. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered farre asunder, so that if hee could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Betwene him and them, the way was not long, being onely nine dayes journey, but very bad, through a rough drie wilderness, hardly passable. Another way, fairer, and leading through a Countrie well peopled, but requiring twentie fve dayes journey, hee forsooke, partly for the length, partly and chiefly, because hee would come undiscovered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbade vnto his men the vse of fire by night, because he would not haue them desired a farre off. This commandement had bene well obserued foure or fve dayes, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bolde to cherish themselves, being neare to their wayes end. The light of these fires gaue notice of their coming; which being reported to *Peucestes*, and other Capitaines, they were so astonished with the sodaine danger, that in all hast they betooke themselves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leaurely, and willing them to abide, and draw vp their men together. They could scarce beleue him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as hee appointed, who failed not in making his word good. Hee tooke with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith hee occupied certaine toppes of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of *Antigonus*: there he chose a conuenient ground to incampe vpon, and made great store of fires in sundrie places, as if the whole Armie had bene present. This was a sorrowfull spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himselfe prevented of his purpose; and began to feare least hee should be compelled

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compelled to fight, whilst his men were tired with a long and painefull journey. Therefore he resolved to turne aside, & take the way to such places, as might better serve to refresh his Armie. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how readie *Eumenes* would be vpon all aduantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and thinke in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some inhabitants of that Countie to be taken, and brought before him; of whom hee learned, that they had sene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops.

10 It vexed him exceedingly to finde that hee had bene so deluded. Therefore hee went against these troupes with great furie, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for hauing so deceived him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not bee forced without much bulinesse, and long stay. All the Armie was come, save onely *Eudamus*, Captaine of the Elephants, who, besides those beastes, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his companie. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply comming to his enemies, sent about two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and so to defend himselfe as well, hee could; for his horsemen, overlaid with multitudes were quickly broken, and driuen to runne away vpon the spurte. Neither

20 knew they, who fate vpon the Elephants, which way to turne them, for on all sides they received woundes, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troupes of horse and foot, that came vnexpected to there rescue, and charging the assaillants vpon the backe, draue them to seeke their owne safetie by speedie flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*; who though hee knew not what his aduersarie meant to doe, yet hee knew very well what was fittest for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himselfe, provided there-
medie.

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§. V.

The conspiracie of *Pencestes* and others, against *Eumenes* his life.



Y these meanes *Eumenes* wahne great honour, and was by the whole Armie acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthie of the chiefe commaund. But *Pencestes*, and the other Captaines, guiltie of their owne much insufficiencie, were so transported with enuie, that they could now no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held

40 communication, as vpon a necessarie point, how they might finde meanes to murder him.

Surely, it is great iniustice to impute the mischief, continued against worthin men, to their owne proud carriage, or some other ill deserting: For, though it often happen, that small vices doe serue to counterpoise great vertues; (the sense of euill being more quicke and lasting, than of good) yet hee shall bewray a verie foolish malice, that, wanting other testimony, will thinke it a part of wisdom, to find good reason of the euills, done to virtuous men, which often times haue no other cause than their vertue it selfe. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtlesie, of a very sweete conuersation among his friends, and

50 carefull by all gentle meanes to winne their loue, that seemed to beare him any secret affection. It was his meere vertue that ouerthrew him, which euen they that fought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that hee should not bee slaine, before the battaile were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confided, that it stood best with their safetie, to bee governed by his directions. Of this trea-

son,

Ion, he was quickly aduertised by *Eudamus*, to whom hee had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he vied to borrow money when hee needed not, to the end that they should be carefull of his good, for feare of loosing their owne. Considering therefore, and discouling with himselfe of the villanie intended against him, hee made his last will, and burnt all his writings that contained any matter of secret; which done, hee reuolued many things in his minde; being doubtfull what course were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royall blood, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number, than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedonia* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with *Antigenus*, had bene against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that hee forbore, either to loofe the battaile willingly, or to flie into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himselfe among his old friends. At length hee resolved to doe his best against the common enemy, and afterwarde to looke to himselfe as well as he might.

ø. VI.

*The last battaile betweene ANTIGONVS. and
EVMENES.*

THe Souldiers, especially those old bandes of the silver-shields, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victorie, but only to bring them into the field, and set them in arraie; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Souldiers faces, but the chiefe Commanders were so mischieuously bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke vpon being beholding to him for the victorie. Yet he ordered the battaile so well, that without their owne great fault, they could hardly faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armie came to joyning, a horseman from the slide of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with aloud voice to the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickedness in fighting against their owne fathers, would now bee punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vaine. For the *Silver-shields* were men of threecore or fewentie yeares olde, strengthened more by continuall exercise, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often bene beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these refulgent warriours, the most Ancient and best regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew reuewarrie peniue, and aduanced headly, insupecting their owne cause, and fearing that the threatnings uttered would proue true,

Antigonus was now againe farre the stronger in horſe, which gave him cauſe of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine levelled field. Placing therfore himſelfe and his ſonne *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Pithon*, he did let forward courageouſly againſt the enemies, that were readie to give him a ſharpe entertainment.

Euemerus tooke vnto him *Peuceles*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of *Antigonus*, meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head against him on the sodaine, and (withall) to giue proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his enemies. In the right wing, opposite vnto *Pithon*, he befellowed the weakest of his horse and Elephants, vnder one *Philp*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient : commanding him to protract the

fight, and make a leifurable retrait, expecting the euent of the other fide.

So they joyned verie fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himfelfe mafter of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to winne fuch a victorie vpon his open enemies, as might giue him leifure and opportunitie to deale with his faile friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being, euen in their owne opinions, farre interior to thofe whom they muft encounter, were at the firft brunt prefently defeated by the *Silver-fields*, who flew aboute five thoufand of them, loofing of their owne, not one man. But in horfe, *Eumenes* was fo ouer-matched, that he could not repell *Antigonus*, who preffed him very hard, but was faine to ftand wholly vpon defence. Yet
10 his courage wrought fo well by example, among his followers, that the enemy could not winne one foot of ground vpon him, vntill fuch time as *Pencefter*, with one thoufand five hundred horfe, withdrew himfelfe out of the battaile, leauing his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rufh amongst his enemies, labouring to breake open the way vnto *Antigonus* himfelfe. And though hee failed of his purpofe; yet with great slaughter hee did fo beate vpon them, which came in his way, that the victorie hung along time in fufpenfe, vncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a flight fandie mould, through the trampling of horfes, men, and Elephants, did caft vp fuch a cloude of duft, as hindered the profpect, fo that no man could fee what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this aduantage, difpatched away fome companies of horfe, that paffed vnderfcouered beyond *Eumenes* his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, fenderly garded, (for that the whole bodie of the Armeie lay betwene them and danger) and therefore eafily taken. Had *Pencefter* retired himfelfe no further than vnto the carriages, he might not onely haue defended them, but peradventure haue furprifed thofe which came to furprife them, & fo haue done as good a peece of feruice as a better man. But hee was gotten fomewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the euent: and *Eumenes* was fo ouer-laboured both in bodie and minde, that he could not giue an eye to euery place, being not well able to continue where he was.
30 It happened fo, that the Elephants meeting together, thofe of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himfelfe euery way ouer-charged, began to giue backe, and withdrew himfelfe and his companions in good order, to the other fide of the battaile, where *Philip* (as hee was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loffe. The *Antigonians* had felt fo much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well contented to let him depart quietly, and wifhed not to fee him come againe; as faine he would haue done.

The loffe of the carriages was reported vnto him, as foone as he had any leifure to heare how things went, whereupon hee prefently ordered his men for a frefh charge, and fent for *Pencefter* that was not farre off, requelling him to bring in his mea, and renew the fight, whereby hee trusted, not onely to recouer their owne goods, but to enrich themfelves with the fpoiles of the enemies. *Pencefter* not onely refufed to joyne with him, but immediately withdrew himfelfe into a fafer place, where he might be further from fuch dangerous temptations.

By this, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were defirous to retume into their Campes. Yet *Antigonus* conceiued hope of doing fomewhat more; and therefore taking halfe his horfemen, he waited vpon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunitie to offend him: the other halfe hee committed to *Fulbon*, willing him to fet vpon the *Silver-fields* in their retraits; which
50 yet he forbore to doe, becaufe it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not fo much the better in horfe, as hee worke in foot: but the fpoile which hee got, by furprifing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other loffes.

p. VII.

How EUMENES was betrayed to ANTIGONVS, and slaine.

EV MENES, comming into his Campe, and finding the *Siluer-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheare them vp, and put them in hope of recovering all with aduantage. For their braue demeanour that day had so crused the enemy, that hee had no power left wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much lesse able to draw their Cartes after him, through that great Wildernesse, ouer the high mountaines.

But those perswasions auailed nothing. *Peucestes* was gone; the other Captaines would needs returne into the high Countries; & the Souldiers had no desire either to flie or to fight, but onely to recover their goods. Wherefore *Tentamus*, one of the two Captaines of the *Siluer-shields*, (who had in former times readily consented vnto traiterous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner *Antigonus*) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making himselfe great, and winning the loue of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requeiling him to restore vnto those old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the onely reward of their seruices in the warres of *Philip*, and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a subtile man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with a little entreatie performe a great deale more than they promised; and therefore he louingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of greater matters than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make warre against him. This answer pleased them so well, that they forthwith deuised how to deliuer him aliuie. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, and pretending more joy of their victorie, than sorrow of their losse, which they said they would redeeme by another fight, in the middelt of this goodly talke they leapt vpon him, caught hold of his sword, and bound him fast. So they halld him aways and stopping their cares against all perswasions, would not yeeld so farre, as to loosen one of his hands and let him kill himselfe, but brought him aliuie (that was their owne Generall, vnder whom they had obtained many victories) as it had beene in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Campe to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was faine to send a gard of horsemen and Elephants, to keepe him from being smothered, whom he could not sodainly resolue either to kill or saue. Verie few they were that sued for his life; but of these, *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus* was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if hee were saued, he would soon be the chiefe in great reputation, for his great abilitie. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the safest way to put him to death; which intending to haue done by famine (perhaps because he would keepe it awhile in his own power to reuertle the sentence, as desiring (if it might be) to haue him liue his friend; haist of other businesse made him doe it by the sword.

To this end came all the traualles of the worthie Generall, *Eumenes*; who had with great wisedome, fidelitie, and patience, laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purposed to cast downe. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie, but more notable was his gouernment of himselfe in all her changes. Aduersitie neuer lessened his courage, nor Prosperitie his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Armie, without full power to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by *Gaspar de Colligne*, Admiral of *France*, in our dayes, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soone after in the massacre of *Paris*; That rather than to leade againe an Armie of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus

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Antigonus himselfe gaue to the body of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the *Silver-shields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captaines he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-shields*, that had betrayed fo worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader, that should carie them into farre Countries, vnder pretence of warres; but with a priuie charge, to consume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them retorne alieue vnto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas, that beate vpon the shoares of Greece and Macedonia.

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§. VIII.

How ANTIGONVS slew PITHON, and occupied MEDIA. How hee remoued Governours of Prouinces, and made himselfe Lord of Persia, carrying away PEVCESTES.

THe two Armies being ioyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they spent the reit of the Winter; the common Souldier idly; the principall men intently bent vnto the businesse ensuing. *Pithon* began to consider his owne desertings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his Prouince. Besides, he thought himselfe as good a man as *Antigonus*, vnlesse it were in the souldiers opinion, which he iudged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberallitie. But in following this course, hee was driuen by necessitie to truit many, of whom he stumbled vpon some, that were vsueter, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Pithon*) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of dissention betwene him, and his honourable friend, vnto whom hee meant to commit the Government of all those Countries: his owne businesse calling him into the lower *Asia*. These reportes, comming daily to his eares, did finely delude *Pithon*. By his greatnesse with *Alexander*, his authoritie in that Prouince where they lay, whereof he was Governour; and the loue of the souldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintaine, euen an offensive warre. But what neede had he to vse the sword, when hee was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as soone as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to diuide the Prouinces with him, that meant nothing lesse than to yeld to any such diuision. As soone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slaine out of hand. For *Antigonus*, hauing begunne with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting downe indifferently all that stood in his way: but swamme carclely through the blood, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Governour in *Media*, to order the Prouince; and a Captaine, to suppress all commotions: thinking belike that the power and authoritie, so diuided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were deriued.

After this, he marched into *Persia*, where he was entertained, as absolute Lord of *Asia*. There began he to shew how well he vnderstood his owne might in esse. For he placed and displaced, at his pleasure, Governours in all Prouinces; leauing none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, excepting such as lay too farre off to bee dislodged easily.

Pevcestes, who ruled in *Persia*, thought with good cheare to redeeme old offences; but was decieued; hauing to doe with one, that could not be taken with such baits: he was caried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that neuer tooke effect. Thus he, that enuied the vertue of his friend, was driuen to flatter (in vaine) the

the fortune of his enemy; after which he liued a contemptible life, till hee died obscurely a man forgotten.

¶ IX.

How SELEVCVS was chased out of Babylon, by ANTIGONVS. The great riches of ANTIGONVS.

SELEVCVS was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good-will to *Antigonus*, and now gaue proofe of his heartie affection toward him, by making the Captaine of the Caille of *Susa* to meete him on the way, rendering vnto him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. His offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (through hauing in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleue it; but vsed him with excessive kindnesse, for teare so good a moode should change. In that Cattle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of money, made vp twentie five thousand talents. Hauing all this, he might well account himselfe a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happinesse. But large dominion was the marke at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent, to leaue no Countre behind his backe, that should not acknowledge him for Soueraigne Lord. Comming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstration of loue, and honoured with presents, becoming the maiestie of a King. All this he accepted with great grauitie, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the reuenues of that Prouince. This demaund *Seleucus* held vnreasonable; saying, that it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of that Prouince, which was giuen vnto him, in respect of his many good seruices to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerful; who vrged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessitie, moued *Antigonus* to presse him thus, but onely the desire to pick matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that he should find such issue, as *Pisbon* and *Peneestes* had done. Therefore taking with him onely fiftie horse, he conuied himselfe away, and fled into *Ptolomes* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from the violence of such a man, as went about to oppress all, that in former times had bene his betters, or at least his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countreies were yedded vnto him without battaile, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them hee wanted all pretences and to kill him it was not his desire, hauing receiued many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any iniuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldeans* brought a strange prophetic to *Antigonus*, bidding him looke well to himselfe, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, hee should recover *Babylon*, yea, winne all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battaile. Easie beleuers may giue credit to this tale. Had it bene true, methinks, *Antigonus* rather should haue hanged those *Chaldeans*, for giuing him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whome the destinies preferred for so great purposes.

When hee had settled things at *Babylon*, he tooke his iourne into *Cilicia*, where he wintred. There he tooke vp ten thousand talents more of the Kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yearly income to amount vnto eleauen thousand Talents.

CHAP. V.

Of the great ciuill Warre betweene ALEXANDERS
Captaines: and how they assumed the name and
state of Kings.

§. I.

10 The combination of PTOLOMIE, CASSANDER, and others, against ANTI-
GONYVS. Their demands and his answer.



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HIS great riches, and the rest of his power, made Antigonus dreaded, enuid, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. Ptolemie, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, had priuily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason, than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their practises hee had some notice; the good entertainment giuen vnto Seleucus, giuing him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he lent Embassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firme in their

loue toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was Ptolemie; it being likely that a good armie should preuaile more than a faire message. Therefore, as soone as the season of the year would permit, he tooke the way toward Syria, and was encountered by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much reioyce at his victorie, obtained against Eumenes their common enemy, and the honor that he had thereby gotten. In which

30 war, forasmuch as they being his Confederates must haue endured great losse, with hazzard of their whole estates, if the contrarie faction had preuailed; they held it very iust, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voiage, wherein they had been all aduenturers. Wherefore they desired him, that making betweene them all an equall diuision, of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best bee to euery ones liking, if hee would make ouer Cappadocia, with Lycia, to Cassander; and Phrygia, bordering vpon the Hellespont, to Lyfimachus; for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victorie, he might well spare some of those westerne Provinces, 40 to those that were seated in the West. As for Ptolemie, he would not craue any new addition, but rest contented within his owne Territories. Provided alwaies, that Seleucus their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne, out of which he had beene driven so iniuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent vnto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtaine with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, hee should yet bee able to redeme peace when soeuer he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to giue away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for feare only, least it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them worke, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefore, he roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profits of that victorie, which he alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeede they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, hauing by his meanes kept 50 their

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their governments, wherof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polyperchon*, and the counsell of estate in *Macedon*. But what meruaile was it, if they considered not how he had saved them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his meere bountie relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (saide he) in those daies command me to surrender Prouinces, and giue him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pittie him, and help him against his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Armie, and Fleet, on confidence whereof hee now presumes to threaten me. As for *Selenus*, how can he complaine of wrong, that durst not stay to pleade his right? I did vse him well; but his conscience told him that he had deserued ill; else he would not haue fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their owne, which some of them can hardly iustifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolemies* proceedings; and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

§. II.

The preparations and beginnings of the Warres.

When the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, some that were already sent ouer to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not vnurnished of monie, to draw friends to his side, and raise vp troubles to his enemies. Especially he laboured to make himselfe the strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than foreflowed his iourne into *Syria*, that he might get possession of Mount *Zibanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Nauie. Therefore, hauing erected Beacons, and laid post-horses throughout all *Asia*, to giue swift aduertisement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintaine the field.

Ptolemie lay in *Egypt*, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Prouinces hee kept with a few Garrisons, better seruing to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraigne enemy. So *Antigonus* tooke many Cities, and Places, of that Countrey, and beganne to set great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these busineses hee consumed a yeare and three moneths; not idly. For he tooke *Teppe*, and *Gaza*, which were yielded vnto his discretion, and well used. The strong Citie of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end, by famine, to render it selfe vpon composition, that *Ptolemies* Souldiers might depart with their Armes; which was permitted.

Ptolemie was not asleepe, whilest these things were in doing, though he kept himselfe within the bounds of *Egypt*, as in deede it behoued him to doe. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuerthelesse by Sea (where his enemy was as yet vnreadie) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, wherof *Selenus* had the chiefe command.

Selenus passed with an hundred saile along the coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Armie, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then gouerned by many petite Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolemie*; the rest were, by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Egyptian* with sharpe Steele.

The same commoditie of aide by Sea encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also

also *Cassander*, but not the sonne of *Antipater*, howsoever by the painfull and learned writer *Reimerus Reinsius*, he is by some over-sight, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolemie*, and his Confederates, and busily employ in their quarrell all his forces, which hee had hitherto kept in good neutralitie, and thereby enioyed rest; but now hee threw himselfe into dangerous warre, choosing rather to vndergoe trouble at hand, than to fall vnder certaine ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would haue over-welmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

§. III.

How each partie sought to winne the assistance of Greece. *ANTIGONVS* his declaration against *CASSANDER*. *ALEXANDER* the sonne of *POLYPERCHON* reuolterb from *ANTIGONVS*, who had set him vp.

IN the meane season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure vnto them the people of Greece, whose aide which way soeuer it inclined was of great importance. Herein at the first *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the *Lacedaemonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, of whom he waged eight thousand, and caused *Polyperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowle himselfe againe, and taking vpon him the title of Captaine of *Peloponnesus*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopefull beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kinde. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, hee called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the *Greekes* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, That *Cassander* had very cruely slaine *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had shut vp in close prison the poore Ladie *Roxane*, *Alexanders* wife, and his sonne begotten on her bodie. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himselfe King ouer the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Ladie *Thessalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match vnit for a man of no greater Parentage than he, to ioine with him in marriage. That in mere despight of those dead Princes, *Philip*, and *Alexander*, hee had planned the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new Cittie by him built, and called by his owne name *Cassandria*; and had reedified the Citie of *Thebes*, which for the great treason of the Inhabitants, was leuelled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons hee required them to make a decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute libertie the Ladie *Roxane*, and her sonne; and should yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Empire (by which name *Antigonus* himselfe was vnderstood) or else should be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemie to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece should be restored into freedome, this he did, not because he was carefull of their good, but for the neede which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perswaded, that not only the *Greekes* would adhere vnto him, as to their louing Patron, and fall off from *Cassander*; but that the Rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing, but his owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and thinke him the most faithfull of all others to the Roiall blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wise to be decieued with vaine shewes. His vnder-taking for the libertie of the *Greekes* was more effectuall, and got easie belife, in regard of his present hatred to *Cassander*. Yet herein also *Ptolemie* strove to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to winne to himselfe that valiant Nation, which afforded men farre more seruiceable in warre, than were to be found in any Prouince of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point, at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all sure, decieued himselfe, not without great cost. For he gaue to

Alexander the sonne of *Polyperchon* hue hundred talents, willing him to set the warre on foot in *Peloponnesus*, whereby it might appeare, that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponnesus*, *Cassanders* men had, with much blood-shed, grievously afflicted the contrarie factions; and he himselfe perceiuing, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way, to make what use he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiuing that *Alexander* came furnished with plentie of gold, wherewith he was able, not only to winne the doubtfull, but to corrupt such as might seeme best assured: hee thought it a good part of wisdom, to surrender vpon faire conditions, that which he could not assure himselfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore, he sent one to deale with *Alexander*, about the matters in controuersie; letting him know, that *Antigonius* was very skilfull in setting men together by the eares, not caring who preuailed, but only desiring to haue them weare themselves, whilest he was busied elsewhere, that so at length he might finde oportunitie to set vpon the stronger. If therefore *Alexander* were so wise, as to keepe in his purse the hue hundred Talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receiue the whole Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; it should be freely put into his hands by *Cassander*. Provided, that hee should from thenceforth, renounce all confederacie made with *Antigonius*, and enter into a sure and faithfull league with *Ptolomie*, *Cassander*, and the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise, hee might well perswade himselfe, that the Countrey which his Father could not keepe, when he was indeede the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste be wonne by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, so siling himselfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had liued a while with *Antigonius* since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discouer the intent, (which hee did not carrie verie secret) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept of good an offer; and did not stick to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subiect vnto no-mans controll.

Howbeit this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together, by treason of the *Sigynians*; who thinking thereby to haue made themselves free, were soone after vanquished in battaile by *Cratesipolis*, *Alexanders* wife, a discreet and valiant Ladie. Shee in reuenge of her husbands death crucified thirtie of the Citizens taken in fight; and hauing by seueritie taught them obedience, did afterwards containe her Armie in good order, and governed those places that shee held, with the loue and commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

§. IIII.

The *Ætolians* rise against *CASSANDER* in fauour of *ANTIGONVS*, and are beaten. A fleet and land-armie of *ANTIGONVS*, utterly defeated by *PTOLOMES* Lieutenant. In what termes the warre stood at this time. *ANTIGONVS* drawes nearer to Greece.



ANTIGONVS, when he found, that with so much monie he had only bought an enemy, beganne to raise troubles to *Cassander* and his other aduersaries, in Greece, by stirring vp the *Ætolians* against them; Likewise he laboured to winne to his partie the Ilands in the *Greece* Seas, by whose assistance he might bee the better able to deale with *Ptolomie*, that greatly preuailed by reason of his strong fleet. But neither of these attempts had the successe which he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, and alwaies enuying the greatness of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but

fo, that commonly their games equalled not their losses. *Cassander* wanne some of their owne Countrie; forthed the *Acarnanians* against them, and compelled *Glauces*, King of the *Syrrians*, whom he vanquished in battaile, to forsake their side, and binde himselfe to beare no armes against *Cassanders* friends.

On the other side, as many petty Ilands were drawne to ioyne with *Antigonus*: so the Fleet of the *Rhodians* vnder *Theodatus*, who was Admirall to *Antigonus*, passing along the coast of *Asia* toward *Cyprus*, with an Armie vnder conduct of *Perilaus* marching on the shore for mutuall assistance, was quite ouerthrowne by *Ptolomies* Naue; *Polysytus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalfe had bene sent into *Peloponnesus* against
10 *Alexander*, finding no neede of his seruice in that Countrie, because *Alexander* was come ouer to their side, returned homeward, and by the way heard of the course which these *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly surprisid. He rode with his Fleet behinde a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces hee placed in ambush, whereinto *Perilaus* falling was taken prisoner, with many of his men, and many were slaine, making little resistance. *Theodatus* the Admirall perceiving this, made all hait to helpe his fellows that were on Land; but whilst hee with all his Fleet were intenting only to that business, *Polysytus* appeared at their backs; who as soone as he perceiued their disorder, haltened about the Cape, and charging them behinde suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings
20 cauled *Antigonus* to deale with *Ptolomie* about some composition. First, hee sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in person. But *Antigonus* would not yeeld vnto the demands of *Ptolomie*: so the parlie was vaine.

Hitherto each part seemed to haue indifferently sped in the Warre, and thereby to haue equall cause of hope and feare. This late victorie with the good successe of his affaires in *Cyprus*, did seeme to make amends to *Ptolomie* for his losses in *Syria*. Likewise the reuolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equall the Confederacie made betwene the *Seleucians* and him; as also those petty skirmishes, that had bene in *Asia* the lesse, to *Antigonus* his aduantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but aduers to him; and by the troubles brought vpon his estates in
30 those parts by the two *Cassanders*.

Contrariwise, *Antigonus* valued the losse of his men, monie, and ships, no other-wise than as the paring of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would easily grow againe; but the enlargement of his Territorie by addition of *Syria*, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby hee had fed vpon a limbe of *Ptolomies* his enemy, and strengthened the bodie of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to count'erpoyze the bad, he meant to proceede as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no monie.

That which most molested him was the attempts of his enemies vpon *Asia* the 40 lesse, wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had hee cause to feare, lest the people, being tied vnto him by no bond of allegiance, might vpon small occasion reuolt from him, to men of as honorable reputation as hee himselfe. To prevent this, and to be nearer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affaires did seeme to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Armie in *Syria*, vnder his sonne *Demetrius*, to whom, being then but two and twentie yeares old, he appointed many ancient Captaines as assistants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to winter.

B. V.

How *LYSIMACHVS* and *CASSANDER* vanquished some enemies, raised against them by *ANTIGONVS*. The good successe of *ANTIGONVS* in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against *CASSANDER*.

THe coming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the processe of his businesse thereabouts. For his enemies had thort leisure to thinke vpon molesting him in Asia: they themselues were held ouer-hardly to their owne worke on Europe side. *Senthes* a King of the *Thracians*, ioyning with some Townes that rebelled against *Lysimachus*, brought also the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrell. All these relied vpon *Antigonus*, who was to helpe them with monie, and other aide. The *Ætolians* likewise tooke courage, and rose against *Cassander*, hauing *Æacides*, lately restored to the Kingdome of *Epirus*, their assistant. But *Lysimachus* gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themselues. Hee sodainly presented himselfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne to their dutie. He fought a battaile with the *Scythians*, and wild *Thracians*, and draue them out of the Countrie. Finally, he ouer-came *Senthes*; and following the heat of his victorie, slew *Pausanius* in battaile, whom *Antigonus* had sent ouer with an Armie; and all his men he did either put to ranfome, or fill vp with them his owne Bands. The like successe had *Philip*, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the *Ætolians*. For he wasted their Countrie; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to helpe them; and after the victorie, fought againe with their forces ioyned in one, ouerthrowing them, and killing *Æacides* that vnsfortunate King. Finally, hee draue the *Ætolians* out of most of their Countrie, and forced them to seeke their safetie among the wild Mountaines. Of the *Epirotes* he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present Warre.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his aduersaries with painefull traualle; after which they remained only lauers. *Antigonus* himselfe at faire leisure wanne all *Caria* the whilest, and sent Armies into *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing libertie vpon all the Cities he tooke out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Countrie of *Peloponnesus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Ile of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firme Land were by these meanes wonne to be his in true and vehement affection, readie to doe or suffer any thing for him, that had made so euident a demonstration of his readinesse, to giue them the libertie indeede, which others promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would faine haue shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made thew as if he would passe ouer into *Macedon*: by which terror he forced *Cassander* to repaire thither in all haste, with the Best of his strength, leauing many good Townes of *Greece* so weakely guarded, that well they might take courage to helpe themselues, if any forraigne succour appeared. The aide which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Cassanders* departure, entred the Countrie; draue his Garrisons out of diuers Cities; forced the Gouernour of *Athens* to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of *Thebes*, and set the people at libertie. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before bene raised out of her old ruines by the mere power of *Cassander*; of which act hee was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had bene some hainous crime: Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the Citie, and the loue of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increase, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than

than backward vpon their miserable nullitie, that held them vncapable of being any thing.

¶ V. I.

Victories of PTOLOMIE by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which PTOLOMIE and SELEVCVS wanne, against DEMETRIUS the Sonne of ANTIGONVS.

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the presence or nearenesse of *Antigonus* gave life to his affaires in the lower *Asia*, and *Greece*; so the delignes of his enemies, taking advantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the Easterne parts, wherewith in the year preceding hee had overtopped them. The Isle of *Cyprus*, whose Princes wauered betwene contrarie affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their couenant with *Ptolomie*, was visited by an *Egyptian* fleet, wherewith *Ptolomie*, in his owne person, easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Gouvernour of the whole Countrey. With the same fleet he ranne alongst the Sea-coasts, wassing a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the spoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned laden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers Subjects were oppressed, made all halt out of *Syria* to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed foot with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did he tire himselfe and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that by launching out into the deepe could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many dayes, if neede had for required. Answerable to the vanitie of this expedition was the success. For *Ptolomie* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether hauing lightened his ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, hee would returne vpon those maritime Countreies; or make toward *Syria*, where his comming was expected. He was indeede gone into *Egypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was describing a royall Armie, which he leuied with all conuenient speede, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was faine to chooseth out of vncertainties the most likelyhood, and returne the way that hee came, with all his companies, which were fitter for seruice in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the *Cilicians*. Hee had scarce refreshed his Men and Horses in *Syria*, when the newes arrived of *Ptolomies* comming with a puissant Armie, to giue him battaile. Hereupon he called to counsaile his principall friends, who aduised him to giue way to the time, and expect some better opportunitie in the future: being a yong man, and weakly furnished with means to resist such ancient and famous Generalls, as *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus*. His counsaile seemed rather to proceede from the cold temper of those aged men that gaue it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For *Demetrius* considering himselfe to bee the sonne of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Armie, thought his owne title waightie enough to bee laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found hee much reason that should moue him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himselfe, that such odds of number, and of great fame, would rather serue to adorne his victorie, than hinder him in obtaining it, hee resolved to put the matter to triall, without expecting the advantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoile and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at *Gaza*, with purpose to encounter them, as soone as they had finished their wearisome iourneie ouer the Deserts of *Arabia*.

Ptolomie

Ptolomie and *Seleucus* iuiuing out of so rich a Prouince, as *Aegypt*, came to well prouided of all necessaries, that their Armie felt not any great grieuance of the euill way, when battaile was presented them, which confidently they vnderooke. In all things else they had the ods of *Demetrius*, of Elephants they were utterly vnprouided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Palisado, fastened together with chaines, and sharpened in such manner, that the Elephants could not seeke to breake vpon it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces, which (besides that they had aduantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate seruices, by them performed that yeare, whilst the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vaine iournies, or long and dulling expectation, they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein *Demetrius* was embattailed. The fight beganne, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time; each part striving more to winne honour, than to satisfie any other passion, as hauing little cause of hatred, or reuenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who vpon no necessitie would needes fight a battaile with disadvantage, beganne to appare by his losses. Hee had committed himselfe to Fortune, hauing more to loole by her than he could get: but in this fight shee was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; vnlesse it may be said, that the error brought vpon his men, by the losse of his Elephants, was bad luck. Those beasts were in that kind of warre hardly to be resisted on plaine ground, and therefore at the first they made great spoile amongst *Ptolomies* men. Afterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were sorely hurt, and euery one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horsmen of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and preuailed little, till now perceiuing that all must lie vpon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they beganne to shrink, and many of them to provide for their safetie by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had strouen so long in vaine to make his men abide, that hee himselfe was likely to be lost; he was faine to giue place to the stronger, making a violent retrait as farre as to *Asolus*, which was about thirtie miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carrriages was in *Gaza*, whither some of his companie turned aside, hoping to sive such goods, as in hast they could pack vp. This foolish couetousnesse was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilst they forgetfull of the danger, had filled the streets with lumpier Horses, and cloied vp the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch, others, to carrie out what they had already laden, *Ptolomies* Armie brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the Citie altogether.

This victorie restored vnto *Ptolomie* the best part of *Syria*, a Prouince more easie in those times to get, than to keepe; and opened the way into all the greatnesse of *Seleucus*. For betwene *Gaza* and *Phanicia* no place offered resistance. In *Calefria* and *Phanicia*, some townes held out a while, but were soone taken in by *Ptolomie*. Among these were the great Cities of *Tyrris* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was giuen vp by the Inhabitants; *Tyrris* by the Garrison, falling to mutinie against their Capitaine; who trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomie*, and honorably entertained, in respect of his fidelitie.

§. VII.

How SELEVCVS recovered Babylon, and made himselfe Lord of many Countreies in the higher Asia. The Kingdome of the Greekes, which beganne with this Dominion of SELEVCVS.



While Ptolemie followed his businesse with such prosperitie, *Seleucus* tooke leaue of him, and went vp to *Babylon*, to trie his owne fortunes; which hee found so favourable, that recovering first his owne Province, hee became at length master of the better part of *Alexanders* purchases.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of vnlikelihoods. His traine of no more then eight hundred foote, and two hundred horse, a number too small, to haue bene placed as Garrison, in some one of those maine great Cities, against which hee carried it into the higher *Asia*. But little force is needfull, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found so good a Governour, that none of them would finde courage to resist him; but lest that worke to *Antigonus* his owne men, wishing them, ill to speede. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in those Countreies, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves ioyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection so generally, it was not a safe course for the *Antigonians*, to thrust themselves into the Townes of most importance; for every man of them should haue been troubled with daily enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and trie the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who revolted to the enemy, with more then a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more than seeke to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his securitie in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly tooke it; and so got the entire possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*.

Antigonus had bellowed in *Media* and *Persia*, forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the utmost of his Dominion. In the Countreies about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his owne great Armie lay betwene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victorie at *Gaza*, had opened vnto *Seleucus* the way into those parts; he found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. Having now gotten what he sought; it behoued him to seeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Armie in *Media*, ioyning vnto himselfe, out of *Persia* and other Countreies, all needfull helpe, came with ten thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, either to saue all from being lost, or to driue *Seleucus* out of that which he had wonne.

Against this power, *Seleucus* had only foure hundred horse, and somewhat about three thousand foot, wherewith to oppose himselfe: his large conquest of vnwarlike Nations hauing yielded him many louing subjects, but few souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neare to the River of *Tigris*, he withdrew himselfe from the place where his resistance was expected, into certaine marishes not farre off; where he lay secretly waiting for some aduantage. *Nicanor* thought that hee had bene fled, and was the lesse carefull in fortifying his campe. In recompence of this vaine securitie, his campe was taken by surprize, the first night of his arrival; the

the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Persia*, together with fundrie of the Captaines, were slaine, he himselfe was druen to flee for his life into the Deserts; and the whole Armie yielded vnto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanour, after the victorie, drew all *Media*, *Susiana*, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord, without any further stroke stricken.

This victorie of *Seleucus* gaue beginning vnto the new stile, of *The Kingdome of the Greekes*, an accompt much vsed by the *Iewes*, *Chaldaens*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first yeare of this *Era*. The authoritie of that great Astrologer *Ptolomie*, from which, there is no appeale, makes it plaine, that the five hundred and nineteenth yeare of *NABONASSAR*, was the fourescore and two yeare of this accompt. Other inference hereupon is needlesse, than that note of the learned *GAVRICVS*, That the first of these yeares was reckoned compleat, at *Babylon*, together with the end of foure hundred thirte and eight yeares after *NABONASSAR*. With the obseruation of the *Saturne*, recorded by *Ptolomie*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the same Planet to haue bene so placed in the signe of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldaens* had obserued it, in the same yeare; which was from *Nabonassar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourescore and two yeare; and the last of the hundred thirte and seuenth *Olympiad*. These obseruations of the Celestiall bodies, are the surest markes of time: from which he that willfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in Historie, and the yeares of succeeding Princes (that are not seldome ambiguous, by reason of vnremembered fractions) if they seeme to be here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthe of note; that these yeares of the *Greekes*, were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one yeare, that is found betweene actions, related by the severall Authors of the two Bookes of the *Machabees*, who follow diuers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomie*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a yeares distance.

§. VIII.

How *PTOLOMIE* sett all that he had wonne in *Syria*. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed vnto the *Macedonians*, by those that had bene subiect vnto the *Persian Empire*. Of diuers petite enterprizes, taken in hand by *ANTIGONVS* and *DEMETRIVS*, with ill successe.



N A happie houre did *Seleucus* aduenture, to goe vp to *Babylon*, with so few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he staid longer vpon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomie* could haue spared him none at all, *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, hauing lost the battaile at *Gaza*, receiued from *Ptolomie* all his owne goods, his Pages, and Seruants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous message, to this effect: That no personall hatred was the ground of this Warre, which hee and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only termes of honour, wherein they would seek to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomie*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earnest desire, of requiring him, with some as braue liberalitie. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could bee spared, out of the Garrisons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabouts; and aduertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour lost. *Antigonus*, vpon the first newes of this ouerthrow, had said, That

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That the victorie which *Ptoleme* wanne vpon a bearded Boy, should bee taken from him by bearded men: yet vpon desire that his sonne, whom he tenderly loved, should amend his owne reputation, He was content to make a stand in *Phrygia*. *Ptoleme* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did neuertheless follow his owne businesse in *Caeleſſia*; thinking it enough, to send part of his Armie vnder *Cilles* his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had bene already vanquished, when their forces were entire. This peradventure would haue bene sufficient: had not *Cilles* too much vnderualue the power of such an Enemie. Hee thought that this yong Gallant, having lately saved his life by flight, would now bee more carefull of having a faire way at his back, than aduenturous in setting further forward, then vrgent reason should prouoke him. In this confidence he passed on without all fears, as one that were already Master of the field, and should meete with none, that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careless march; he tooke the lightest of his Armie, and made his iourne with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came vpon *Cilles* vnexpected, and was on the suddaine, without any battaile, Master of his Campe: taking him aliue, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit serued not only to repaire the credit of *Demetrius*, which his losse at *Gaza* had almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bountie of *Ptoleme*, with equall fauor, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptoleme* so weakened by this losse, nor *Demetrius* so emboldened by his victorie, that any matter of consequence therevpon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptoleme*; and therefore he fortified himselfe in places of aduantage: *Ptoleme* on the other side was loath to engage himselfe in an enterprize, wherein he might perceiue, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he should either be driuen to make a shamefull retreat, or a dangerous aduenture of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing slow in his way towards *Syria*; whither hee made all haste, not so much to relieue his sonne, as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceedingly, that the yong man had so well acquitted himselfe, and being left to his owne aduice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late victorie, he brought such forces, as might serue to re-conquer all *Syria*: meaning, that the honour of all, should be referred vnto the good foundation, laied by his sonne; whom from this time forwards, he imployed in matters of greatest importance.

Ptoleme had now lesse reason, to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to haue assailed the Campe of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of consultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines aduised him to retire into *Egypt*; allaying many good arguments, to that purpose: which they might well perceiue to bee agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good successe against *Perdiccas*, in the like defensiu warre. So he departed out of *Syria*, preserving his honor, as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any suddaine passion of feare: and he departed at faire leisure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismanle some principall Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Countie that he left at his back, fell presently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by peeces: so easie was it in those times, for the Captaine of a strong Armie, to make himselfe Lord of a great Prouince.

We may iustly wonder, that these Kingdomes of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations, (which the victorie of *Alexander* had ouer-runne, with so hastie a course, as gaue him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not only by himselfe, but by the Captaines of his Armie after him. The hot contentions

tentions for superiority between the King of *Israel*, and those of *Damascus*; between *Egypt*, and *Babylon*; *Babylon*, and *Nimue*; the *Persians*, and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to haue once bene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, wonne, lost, and againe recovered, by contentious Masters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the Fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appeare the more strange, if wee shall consider, how the seuerall States of *Greece* (many of which had neuer possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their Spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of libertie: and how these proud Conquerors were glad to offer it, desiring to haue them rather friends than seruants, for feare of further inconuenience.

It muſt therefore be noted, that moſt of these Countries, had alwaies bene subiect vnto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords; whom the *Babylonians* and *Persians* long ſince had rooted out, & held them in ſuch bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Maſters. This had vtterly taken from them all remembrance of home-borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the *Persian* Empire: ſo that wanting within themſelues all ſoueraign power, or high authority, the life and ſpirit of euery Eſtate; then lay as dead, & were bereaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had bene members.

Why the *Persian Satraps*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captaines, after the death of *Alexander*, ſtrive to lay hold vpon thoſe Provinces, which had many ages bene ſubject vnto them, and ſcarce foure yeares in quiet poſſeſſion of their enemies; or why at leaſt they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did ceaſe to aſſight them) to get their ſhares among his followers, if not wholly to diſpoſſeſſe them of their new purchaſes: it is a queſtion, wherein, who is not ſatisfied, may finde no leſſe reaſon to ſuſpect the Hiſtorie, than authority to confirme it. For wee ſeldom reade, that any ſmall Kingdome, preuailling againſt a farre greater, hath made ſo entire a conqueſt, in the compaſſe of ten yeares, as leſt vnto the vanquiſhed no hope of recouerie, nor meanes to rebell; eſpecially when ſuch diſorders, or rather vtter conſuſion hath enſued, by the furie of ciuill warre among the Victors.

The cauſe why the *Macedonians* held ſo quietly the *Persian* Empire, is well ſet downe by *Machiuaell*; and concerns all other Kingdomes, that are ſubject vnto the like forme of Gouernement: the ſumme whereof is this. Whereſoeuer the Prince doth hold all his Subjects vnder the condition of ſlaues; there is the conqueſt eaſie, and ſoone aſſured: Where ancient Nobilitie is had in duerregard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is wonne. Examples of this are the *Turkiſh* Empire, and the Kingdome of *France*. If any Inuader ſhould preuaile ſo farre vpon *Turkie*, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for brethren beſt vnto not to ſuffer aliue) were taken or ſlaine: the whole Empire would quickly be wonne, and eaſily kept, with out any danger of rebellion. For the *Baſias*, how great ſoeuer they may ſeeme, are meere ſlaues; neither is there in all that large Dominion any one man, whoſe perſonall regard could get the people to follow him in ſuch an attempt, where in hope of priuate gain, ſhould not counteruaile all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwiſe, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conqueſt, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though hee further got the better part of the Countrey, and were by farre the ſtrongeſt in the field. For, beſides the Princes of the Roſiall bloud, there are in the Kingdome ſtore of great men; who are mightie in their ſeueral Countries, and hauing certaine Royalties and Principallities of their owne; are able to raiſe Warre, in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobilitie, will alwaies ſtirre vp and inflame them, ſo that vnill euery one peece were wonne, and euery one (an endleſſe worke) of the chiefe Nobilitie, brought

brought vnder or destroyed, the victorie were not compleat, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobilitie, doth often-times make way for an Inuader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a faire entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to bee satisfied at full, in all their demands; and hauing what they would, they soone returne to their old allegiance, vpon condition to keepe what they haue, vnlesse they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himselfe. The *Turke*, on the other side, needs not to feare any perill, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principall men. The greatest mischiefe that any of them could worke against him, were the betraying of some frontier Towne, or the wilfull losse of a battaile: which done, the Traitor hath spent his sting, and must either flee to the enemy, whereby he looseth all that he formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harme, he must adventure to excuse himselfe vnto his Master, who seldom forgives the Captaine, that hath not striven by desperate valour, against his misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so joyning themselves vnto any Inuader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them haue any followers or dependants at all, other than such, as are subject vnto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principall men, doth
 10 leaue vnto them no meanes, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him assistance, if aduersitie should make him stand in neede of them. For there is scarce any one among the *Turkes* *Bassas* prouinciall Governours, that knowes either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the losse and vtter ruine of the *Turkish* Empire, can loose any foot of his proper inheritance, and it is the proper inheritance of the Subject, which is also
 20 a Kingdome vnto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conqueror, who hath no other deuice painted on his Ensigne, than the picture of
 30 flauerie.

As is the *Turkish* Empire, so was the *Persian*, void of libertie in the Subjects, and vtterly destitute of other Nobilitie, than such as depended vpon meere fauour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall blood, and others, descended from the Princes that joyned with *Darius*, the Sonne of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in *Persia*; but their reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safetie in not meddling with affaires of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Persian* Princes were held, it may appeare by this, that the Kings Vncles, Cosin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaues*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking vnto these great Monarchs. That vpon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaues; it is ealie to be discerned, in that example of
 40 crueltye, practised by *Xerxes* vpon his owne brother *Mastises*, which hath bene formerly noted, in place more conuenient. As for the *Satrapes*, or Governours of the Prouinces, it is needlesse to cite examples, proving them to haue beene meere Slaues: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuches, by whom the King was gouerned.

To this want of Nobilitie in *Persia*, may be added the general want of libertie, conuenient among the people: a matter no lesse auailable, in making ealie and sure the conquest of a Nation, then is the cause assigned by *Machiuel*. For as *Aesop* his Ass, did not care to runne from the enemies, because it was not possible,
 50 that they should load him with heauier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to beare: so the Nations, that endure the worst vnder their owne Princes, are not greatly fearefull of a forraigne yoke: Nor will be hastic to shake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, then was that whereunto they had bene long
 Z z z z accusto-

accustomed. This was it that made the *Gassoignes* beare such faithfull affection, to the Kings of *England*; for that they governed more mildly than the *French*: this enlarged the *Venetian* jurisdiction in *Lumbardie*; for the Townes that they wanne, they wanne out of the hands of Tyrannous oppressors: and this did cause the *Macedonians*, with other Nations, that had beene subiect vnto the posteritie of *Alexanders* followers, to serue the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were ealed of many burthens, which had beene imposed vpon them by their owne Kings.

So that of this tamenesse, which we finde in those that had beene subjects of the *Persian* Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeede beene absolutely conquered by the *Persian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caspian* Sea. Such also were the *Arabians* bordering vpon *Syria*: against whom *Antigonius* sent part of his Armie; thinking thereby to bring them vnder; or rather to get a rich bootie. The Captaine that hee sent fell vpon the *Nabathians*; at such time as they were busied in a great Mart, wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians*, for *Myrrhe*, *Frankinsence*, and other such commodities. All, or most of these rich wares, together with five hundred talents of siluer, and many prisoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold vpon: for their coming was suddaine, and unexpected. But ere they could recouer *Syria*, the *Nabathians* over-tooke them, and finding them wearie with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of foure thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse, only fiftie horse escaped. To reuenge this losse, *Demetrius* was set out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not resisted by any Armie, but by the naturall defence of a vast Wildernesse, lack of water, and of all things necessarie. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein hee lost not much honor: for they craued it, and gave him presents. Returning from the *Nabathians*, hee viewed the Lake *Asphaltites*; whence hee conceived hope of great profit that might be raised, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandrie of his sonne, *Antigonius* was well pleased; and appointed men to the worke: but they were slaine by the *Arabians*, and so that hope vanished.

This peettie enterprise, with the ill succeffe accompaning them, had much impaired the good advantage against *Ptolomeus*: when the newes of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the losse of those great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected; neither was it safe to transport the warre into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria* and the lower *Asia* should haue beene exposed, to the danger of ill affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and *Demetrius*, with fiftene thousand foot and three thousand horse, was sent against *Seleucus*. These forces being sent away, *Antigonius* did nothing: and his sonne did lesse. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themselves from necessitie of fight; some places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without letting in Garrison more men than he could spare; neither did hee get much; and therefore was faine to set out the brauerie of his expedition by burning and spoiling the Countrie; which hee did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemies, who thenceforth held it as his owne assured.

Antigonius had laid vpon his sonne a peremptorie commandement, to returne vnto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seeme) that in such an vnstedfast state of things, either the Warre might bee ended, by the fire of the first brunt; or else it would bee vaine to strue, against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessities should frustrate the valour, that by length of time was like to become lesse terrible to the Enemy. *Demetrius* therefore, leauing behinde him five thousand foote, and a thousand horse, rather

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rather to make shew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himselfe, with greater forces, could doe little more than nothing, forsooke the enterprise, and went back to his Father.

§. IX.

A generall peace made and broken. How all the house of ALEXANDER was destroyed.

10

THese ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with vnicessuall trauaile, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred but meer desire of Empire had moued them to enter into the warre; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulnesse growing vpon the slow advancement of their seuerall hopes, that made them willing to breath a while, till occasion might better serue to fight againe.

20

Besides that maine point, *Of resigning the Provinces which euer one held*, there were two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a false colour, to the businesse: That the sonne of ALEXANDER by ROXANE, should be made King; when he came to full age; and, That all the Estates of Greece should be set at libertie. The advancement of yong Alexander to his Fathers Kingdome, seemed to haue bene a matter, forcibly extorted from Antigonus; in whom was discovered a purpose, to make himselfe Lord of all. But this, indeede, more nearly touched Cassander. For in his custodie wast yong Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in sort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had seene the old Queene Olympias taken and murdered, that sought to haue put them in possession of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betweene them, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done, and reuenge expected; vpon this conclusion of peace, grew vp faster than any time before, in the heart of Cassander: who saw the Macedonians turne their fauourable expectation, towards the sonne of their laterenowned King.

30

All this, either little concerned Antigonus; or tended greatly to his good. The yong Prince must first haue possession of Macedon: whereby Cassander should be reduced to his poore office, of *Captaine over a thousand men*, it not left in worse case. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder Arideus; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne strength. He in the meane time, by his readinesse to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himselfe from that ill-fauoured imputation, of seeking to make himselfe Lord of all that Alexander had gotten.

40

The like aduantage had he in that Article, of *rescuing the Greekes to their libertie*. This libertie had hitherto bene the subject of much idle discourse: but it neuer tooke effect. Antigonus held scarce any Towne of theirs; Cassander occupied most of the Countrie: which if he should set free; he must be a poore Prince; if not; there was matter enough of quarrell against him, as against a Disturber of the common peace.

In the meane season, the Countries lying betweene Euphrates and the Greeke seas, together with a great Armie, and monie enough to entertaine a greater, might serue to hold vp the credit of Antigonus, and to raise his hopes, as high as euer they had bene.

With much disadvantage doe many men contend, against one that is equal to them

them all in puissance, *Cassanders* friends had lett him in an ill case; but he could not doe withall: for where euey one mans helpe is necessarie to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are wearie. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becomming Subjects vnto any man; much lesse to the sonne of an *Asiatique* woman, of whom they had long since refused to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a short course, and caused both the Child and his Mother to be slaine: freeing thereby himselfe in a trice, from the dangerous necellitie of yeelding vp his gouernement, which he must haue done when the child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Ladie of singular beaurie, which was perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to haue her sonne; being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great *Alexander*. Immediately vpon the death of *Alexander*, she had vied the fauour (if it were not long) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfiing of her owne bloudie malice, vpon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewise married, according to the custome of those Countries, wherein pluralitie of wiues is held no crime. For hauing by a counterfuit letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poore Ladie into her hands, shee did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods iust vengeance, were shee and her sonne made away, in the like secret fashion; euen at such time, as the neare approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, growe dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander*, was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing vnto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords, of all that they had vnder them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein euey one perswaded himselfe of successe, rather better than worse. Here vpon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had worke enough at home) beganne to rowze themselves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improue his owne stock. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were busie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the libertie of *Greece*: yet did the same argument minister vnto *Ptolemie*, matter of quarrell, against both him and *Cassander*. *Ptolemie*, complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrisons into some Townes, which ought, in faire dealing, to be set at libertie. Vnder colour of redressing this enormitie, he sent an Armie into *Cilicia*; where he wan foure Townes, and soone after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his Enemies.

After this; putting to Sea with a strong fleet, he ranne along the coast of *Asia*, winning many places: and in that voyage allured vnto him a Nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but discontented with theill requitall of his seruices) whom finding shortly, as false to himselfe, as he had bene to his owne Vnkle, he was faine to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the *Greekes* at libertie, appeared not so plaine, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the loue of that valiant Nation, He made at the last an expedition into *Greece* it selfe: where hauing first see some little Ilands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised so great an expectation, of finishing the long desired worke, that *Cratespolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyperchons* sonne, gaue vp into his hands the Townes of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Ptolemie had conceived a vaine beleefe, that the *Greekes* emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart, and rise vp in armes: whereby with little labour, their libertie might be gotten; and hee bee acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long seruitude had well-neare extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recouer

against *Cassander*. If they would haue continued their quarrells, he could well haue afforded them leisure, and haue thought the time well spent, in beholding their contentions. For he was thoroughly perswaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vaine with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all vnder. According to these haughtie concepts, he demeaned himselfe among his followers; looking bigge vpon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them, to reuolt from him: but it was no great losse to be forsaken by those that looked with enuious eyes, vpon that fortune, whereon their owne should haue depended. Against this enuie of his owne men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedie, such as was like to giue him a goodly title, to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Sister vnto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*, whom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoeuer shee discovered much willingness therunto, yet was shee in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose, to get her by compulsion; either because his fancie being an old man, was not ouer violent; or rather because his ambition, wherevnto all his affections had reference, could haue made small vse of her, by doing such apparent wrong. Shee had bene married vnto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death shee came to her brother in *Asia*; hoping, belike, to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of those braue Capitaines, that were, in times following, so hot in loue with her, durst then aspire vnto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe with providing her of an husband. Shee therefore, being a luttie widow, suffered her bloud, so farre to preuaile against her honour, that shee supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Parramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jest: saying, that shee was his sister, and must be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empire lay, in a manner, void, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had bene: then did many seeke to obtaine her, while shee her selfe desired only a proper man, with whom shee might lead a merie life. To this purpose did shee inuite *Leonatus* vnto her; who made great haile; but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, shee had her choise of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomeus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had wiues already, *Ptolomeus* had many wiues, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wiues, being noted of too much dotage in that kinde. This hindred not his sute: peradventure it advanced it, by giuing to *Cleopatra*, some hope of mutuall tolleration. To him therefore shee bequeathed her selfe, and was taking her iourne from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to stay, vntill his Masters further pleasure should be knowne. *Antigonus* had now a while by the eares: he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her goe. Shee would not be his wife; he had none honest pretence to force her; and to keepe her prisoner, had bene the way, by which he might haue incurred a generall hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Ladie lesse respected than *Alexanders* owne sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to procure her death: for to let any other enioy the commoditie of so faire a title to the Kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Gouverneur of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certaine women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as mischievous conspirers, against the life of that good Ladie. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his owne opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murder was detected, we neede not aske: for seldom

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is that bloudie crime intecalead; and neuer so ill imberbed, as when great per-
sons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great extinguished, and it
was extinguished by the hands of such as thought vpon nothing lesse than the ex-
ecution of Gods iustice, due vnto the crueltie, of these powerfull, but merelies
Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, vpon so wic-
ked foundations of innocent bloud, were loone after cast downe, ouerwhelm-
ing themselves or their children, with the ruines, as the sequels will declare.

How *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Antigonvs*, gaue libertie to *Athen*,
expelling the Garrison of *Cassander* out of those parts. The im-
moderate honors decreed by the Athenians to *Antigonvs*
and *Demetrius*.

One being left aliue, that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood
with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, ac-
knowledging no Superior, should freely prolesse themselves Kings
in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill
beleeued the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbeare it: nei-
ther seemed it conuenient in the iudgement of *Antigonvs*, to crowne his last action
with such a title, as if he had attained vnto greatness by that foule murder; the in-
famie whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his owne head. He purposed
therefore to vndertake a plausible enterprise, euen the libertie of *Greece*: whereby it
was apparent, that he might get such honor as would not only downe all bad re-
ports, but make him be thought equal to any name of roialtie, whereof in seeking
modestie, hee was not comituous. To this purpose, hee deliuered a strong Armie,
with a Nauie of two hundred and fiftie saile, and five thousand talents of siluer, vnto
Demetrius his sonne: willing him to beginne at *Athen*, and thence to proceede;
in setting all the Countrey free.

Demetrius came to *Athen* before he was expected: so that without resistance he
entred the Hauens; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolome*, *Cassanders* good friend,
had bene arrived. But when it was knowne, both who he was, and what was the
cause of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations;
Demetrius *Philerus* forooke the Towne, and withdrew himselfe to *Thebes*, vnder
safe conduct; only the Garrison in *Munychia* stroue to make good that piece, which
after a while was wonne vpon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius*
went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Cassander*, and restored
the Citie to libertie.

I thinke it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme no
better than meere trifles: for euen by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as
well disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they
commonly straine themselves, to the obseruance of generall commended rules; in
lesser things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Ladie *Cratespolis*
lay in *Patras*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*, hoping, belike, that he might,
by his meanes, better her estate, and recover her Townes of *Sydon* and *Corinth*, de-
tained by *Ptolome* (to whose Lieutenant, in those places, *Demetrius* before his de-
parture out of *Greece*, offered monie for the surrender of them. Yet the only busi-
nes he pretended was loue. He being aduertised hereof, left his forces in the Coun-
tie of *Megara*, and taking a companie of his lightest armed, for guard of his per-
son, made a long iourne to meete with her. This troupe also, he caused to lodge a
great

great way from his Tent, that none might see her when she came. As closely as the businesse was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigenus*; and bring him to any termes of reason, by taking his deare sonne prisoner. Their project tell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddenly vpon him, that he had no better shift, than to muffle himselfe in an old cloake, and creepe away disguised; leaving them to ransack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medley of conditions; especially an extreme dissolutenesse in wanton pleasures, and a painefull industrie in matter of warre. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deuiling Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, then how to rule his good. For aduersitie made his valour more actiue; prosperitie stupified him with an overweening, wherein he thought, that he might doe what he listed. His fortune was as changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till shee had wound vp the thread of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finishing his businesse at *Megara*; he resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assaile *Munychia* by force, that so hee might accomplish the libertie of *Albens*; which, vntill it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the Citie. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through helpe of their Engines that scoured the walls, prevailed vpon the resolution of those that lay within it and wanne the place in two daies. The walls, and all the defences of that peece against the Citie, were leuelled with the ground, and so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom it wthall was given their libertie, with promise to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lower, than of any other victorie, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and industrie. For the *Athenians*, hauing forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make vp that defect with their tongues: conuerting to base flatterie, that eloquence of theirs, which the vertues of their Ancestors had suted vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the name of Kings; they consecrated the place, in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he centred their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of *DEMETRIUS the a-lighter*; they called them by the Names of the Gods their Saviours, ordaining that every yeare, there should be chosen a Priest of these Gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters with the Gods*; like as were they, whom they sent vnto the Oracle of *Iupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a frivolous diligence, to rebearse all their flatteries; these being so grosse. Hereby they not only corrupted the yong Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would haue pleased the old man, to be of no vse. For he could not handsomely take vpon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*; vnlesse hee would seeme to approve their vanitie, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he so tickled, with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theodori*, or *Consulters*, came shortly after, desiring him to relieue them with Corne, and Timber to build ships; he gaue them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather, so weak is great power in resisting the assaults of flatterie.

21. 99. 131. 427. 542. 551. 0. 734. 743. 751. 2. 4. 764. 797. 820. 1065.
 789. 796. 4. 820. 6. 61. 1. 1. 944. 983. 1010. 1065. XI.
 852. 888. 950. 976. 982. 1015. 1027. 6. 1077. 8

§. XI.

The great victorie of DEMETRIUS against PTOLOMIE in Cyprus. How ANTIGONVS and DEMETRIUS tooke vpon them the stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.



10 From this glorious worke, Antigonus called away Demetrius, vnto a bulinesse of greater difficultie: meaning to imploy his seruice against Ptolomie in Cyprus. Before his departure out of Greece, he was willed, to establish a generall Counsaile; that should treat of matters, concerning the common good of the Countrey. About the same time, Antigonus withdrew his owne Garrison out of Malros, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands: whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other, to oppress the Greekes, so would he be farre from doing it himselfe. This was enough, to hold his reputation high, among these new purchased friends: it followed, that he should conuert his forces, to the winning of ground vpon his Enemies.

A pittifull Tragedie had lately hapned in Cyprus; through the indiscretion of Menelaus, Ptolomies brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. Nicoteles, King of Paphos, was entred into some practise with Antigonus: yet not so farre that he thought him selfe past excuse; by which confidence, he was perhaps, the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false hearted King of Paphos at one blow, Menelaus was sent thither: who surrounding Nicoteles his house with Souldiers, required in Ptolomies name, to haue him yeelded to the death. Nicoteles offered to clear himselfe; but Menelaus told him, that die he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessitie, caused the vnhappy King, to rid himselfe of life, and his death strooke such an impression into his wife, that shee not only flew her selfe, but perswaded the wiues of her husbands brethren, to doe the like. Also those brethren of Nicoteles, vnto whom Ptolomie had intended no ill, being amazed with the suddainesse of this calamitie, did shut vp the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Whatsoever the crime objected was; Nicoteles perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though Menelaus deserued the blame, for his rigorous proceeding: yet it is to be thought, that much dislike fell also vpon Ptolomie: as men that are grieved, cast an ill affection, euen vpon those, that gaue the farthest removed occasion.

Not long after this, Demetrius came into Cyprus, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that Ptolomie was like to make. The Cyprians did litle or nothing against him: either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not themselves haue the rule of their owne Countrey. Menelaus therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Armie, and fought with Demetrius. But hee was beaten, and driuen to saue himselfe within the walls of Salamis; where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour hee had no likelihood to make good the place, much lesse to retain possession of the whole Island. His greatest helpe at the present, was the fidelitie of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could winne from him, nor good v'lage (when any of them were raken prisoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the first opportunitie. Most of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in Egypt, which was enough to keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this their resolution haue stood long, against the ods of number, which Demetrius had of men as resolute, and againa his terrible Engines of batterie, if Ptolomie had not halted to the rescue.

Ptolomie brought with him, a hundred and fortie Gallies, besides two hundred Ships

ships of burthen, for transporting his Armie and Carriages. This fleet made a terrible shew, when it was delcied a farre; though more than halfe of it, was vnfit for seruice, in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Ptolomie* sent vnto *Demetrius*, a threatening message: willing him to be gone, vnlcst he would be ouerwhelmed with multitudes, & trampled to death in a throng. But this yong Gallant, repaid him, with words of as much brauerie, promising to let him escape, vpon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of *Sieyon* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more then one hundred and eightene Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of *Ptolomie*; better stored, with weapons fit for that seruice; and very well furnished with Engines in the prowes, to beat vpon the Enemie. Neuerthelesse he stood in great doubt, of threescore Gallies, that lay in the Hauens of *Salamis*, least *Menelaus* with them should set vpon his back: in which case, it was likely that all should goe very ill with him. Against this mischiefe, hee bestowed ten of his owne Gallies in the mouth of that Hauens, to keepe *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horse-men on the shore, to giue what assistance they could, he with the rest of his fleet, puts to Sea against *Ptolomie*.

The fight beganne early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull success. The Generalls were not ranged opposit one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his owne fleet. Each of them preuailed against the Squadron 20 wherewith he encountered; but the success of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his victorie in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally draue all to betake themselves vnto speedie flight. As for *Ptolomie*, he was faine to leaue his aduantage vpon the enemie in one part of the fight, that he might relieue and animate those of his owne which needed him in another. Where in hee found his losse ouer-great, to be repaired, by contending any longer, against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to saue himselfe, in hope of better euent, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battaile, no vnusuall accident; yet was the victorie greater then could haue beene expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-seruices, which the *Greekes* and *Phantians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had; aboue those which followed *Ptolomie*: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no lesse, than in the qualitie of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reasonably iudge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carying the strength of *Ptolomies* Armie, did not more encourage his owne men and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight; than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight, they fell off, and stood aloofe. For though it were fitting, that they should so doe; yet a multitude, prepossessed with vaine concepts, will commonly apprehend very slight occasions, to thinke themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that *Menelaus* issuing with his fleet out of *Salamis*, should charge the enemies in sterne, was vtterly frustrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to barre vp the mouth of the Hauens; which they manfully performed, as great necessitie required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in fight; especially of the assailants: whereas on the contrarie, they that finde some part of their feares vaine, doe easily gather hopefull spirits, and conceiue an opinion of their owne abilitie to doe more than they had thought vpon, out of their not suffering the harme that they had imagined.

Whatsoeuer the causes of this victorie were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomie* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken, or sunke. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer strue against the violence of Fortune; but yielded vp all that hee held in *Cyprus*, together with his Armie, consisting of twelue thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse,

horfe, and those Gallies in the Haven of *Salamus*. The same dejection of Spirit, was found, in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had seduced the *Egyptian* by Land: none of them repoling any more confidence in *Ptolome*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Armie they now increased.

- It was generally beleueed, that much more depended on the cunct of this fight, than the Ile of *Cyprus*, for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a yeare, till he were aduertised of the issue.
- 10 In this moode *Arislodemus* found him, a notable flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured, with the Message of these good newes. *Arislodemus* had bethought himselfe of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his ioyfull errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himselfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone, he went forward, looking very sadly that no part of his tidings, might appear in his countenance. Report of his arriuall (for it was knowne where he had bene) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after Messenger, to meet him on the way, and bring speedie word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be wonne from this demure Gentleman.
- 20 Thus marched he faire and softly forward, with a great throng at his heeles (that serued well to set out his Pageant) vntill he came in sight of *Antigonus*; who could not containe himselfe, but went downe to meet him at the Gate, and heare the newes. Then did *Arislodemus*, vpon the suddaine, with a high voice salute *Antigonus* by the name of King; vttering the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pompe, as before he had couered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gaue that name of King, both to *Antigonus*, and to his sonne *Demetrius*. *Antigonus* in requitall of the long suspence, wherein *Arislodemus* had held him, said that it should also be long ere he recieued his reward. But the title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not with a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his sonne.
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- When it was once noised abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long, ere their fellowes were readie to follow the good example. *Ptolome* his friends would by no means endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected, for the losse of a fleet: therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldnesse enough, to put the Diademe about his owne head: *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the Barbarous people, taken vpon him as King: but now he vsed the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himselfe contented, with his owne name: whereby how focuser he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his crueltie, against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sonnes, after him, were bold to vsurpe, though with ill success, as will appear, when they shall enter vpon the Stage; whereon these old Tragicallians, vnder new habits, as no longer now the same persons, beginne to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes alreadie past.
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CHAP. VI.

Of the warres betweene the Kings of *Egypt, Asia, Macedonia, Thrace, and others*: vntill all *ALAXANDERS* Princes were consumed.

§. I.

The Expedition of *ANTIGONVS* against *Egypt*, with ill success.



ALL the rest of these Kings had taken that name vpon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himselfe, as becoming his greatnesse: which was such as gaue him hope, to swallow them vp, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his owne strength, hee resolved to linge out *Ptolomie*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand; when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose hee prepared an Armie of eightene thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with foure-score and three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of a hundred and

fiftie Gallies, and a hundred ships of burden. The Land-forces he commanded in person: of the Nauie *Demetrius* was Admirall.

When all was readie for the iourne, the Sea-men aduised him, to stay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleiades*. But his haitie desire, to preuent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolomie* should make, rejected this counsaile; imputing it rather to their feare than skill. Wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Towne which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his owne name, that was soone changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortall Enemie) and came to *Gaza*; where hee met with his fleet. The nearer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haile hee made: thinking by celeritie to preuaile more then by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carrie ten daies prouision of victuals; and had many Camells loaden with all necessaries for passing the Deserts, ouer which he marched with no small toile, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Casius*, which is neare adjoyning to *Nilus*, he saw his fleet, riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore; in ill case, and many ships wanting. It had bene sorely beaten with foule weather, wherein some were lost, others driuen back to *Gaza*, or scattered else where into such creeks as they could recouer: *Demetrius* himselfe, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long beat it vp against the winde, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremitie, he and all his must haue perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these ouer-weari'd, thirstie, and Sea-beaten Souldiers receiued reliefes. After these painefull trauailes there followed a Warre no lesse painefull than to little purpose, for *Ptolomie* had so fortified all the passages vpon the Riuer of *Nilus*, as he assured himselfe either to end the warre there, or if his guards should happen to be forl, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weakening of the Assailants, as he should alterward, with a second Armie (which he held entire) entertaine the Inuader vpon aduantage enough. All that *Antigonus* sought was to come to blowes speedily, *Ptolomie* on the contrarie to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gaue him water enough, but wood hee had none to warme it, and while *Antigonus* assaulted the Rampiers raised vpon the Riuer in

vaine, *Ptolomie* assaued the faith of his Souldiers with good successe, for with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them ouer so fast, as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments, vpon the passages next the enemye, and in the meane while taken a resolution to returne, *Ptolomie* had turned him out of *Egypt*, ill attended.

Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments, but in all likelihood with the same ill successe that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*: had he not readily remoued his Armie further off, from the noise of their entertainment, that had alreadye bene wonne from him. To prevent therefore as well the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a fort retreat, hee secretly practized the aduice of his Councell, vpon whom the burden must bee laid of his entrance, and leauing *Egypt*.

It is indeede lesse prejudiciall in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses, be laid on Copellours and Captaines, than on Kings, on the Directed than on the Director, for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious, than that of a Vassall; *Charles* the fift, as many other Princes haue done, laid the losse and dishonour he receiued in the inuasion of *France*, by the way of *Provincie*, to *Antonie de Leua*, whither justly or no, I know not; but howsoever all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof colt that braue Captaine his life. Certainly to giue any violent aduice in doubtfull enterprises, is rather a testimonye of loue, than of wisdome, in the giuer; for the ill successe is alwaies cast vpon the Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I haue sometime knowne it that great Commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, haue not only bene disswaded, but held in a kinde by strong hand, from hazarding their owne persons, and yet haue those kinde of Mutinies neuer bene called to a Marshalls Court.

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§. II.

How the Citie of Rhodes was besieged by
DEMETRIVS.



His departure of *Antigonus* left behinde it many dead carcases, and a great deale of joy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomie* held a solemne feast, and sent Messengers abroad, loaden with glad newes, to *Seleucus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side with the report of this his late felicitie, though it appeared but in a defensiu warre. *Antigonus* on the contrarie flattered himselfe with another interpretation, calling the joyes of his enemies for witness of his owne greatnesse, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare saucers by the last bargain, and himselfe, as he supposed, hauing lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retreat. Howsoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires henceforth in another fashion, for that which he could not cleaue a-sunder by great blowes, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the Tree it selfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, he resolved (leaving the great ones to grow a while) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies Dependants, whom the forenamed Confederates should be fitt, either to relieue, or to loose; and hereby he doubted not, to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike prouisions, promised him victorie. At this time the Citie of Rhodes was very mightie, being well gouerned, and hauing long held it selfe in good Neutralitie, it drew the better part of all the trade

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of

of those parts, and thereby a great deal of riches to it selfe, to maintaine which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed ships, by which it not onely beat off all Pyrates and pettie Theeves, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacie.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must eyther refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendlesse and a part, or joyne themselves to some one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carried them to the *Aegyptian*, both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatnes, & neighbourhood was fearfull vnto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages, more apparent; gaue argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himselfe against them by pettie iniuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grieuances, while he made a more waightie preparation to pursue the warre against them openly and strongly. All things soone after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprise, he employed his sonne *Demetrius* against them in their owne Iland, who brought such terrour vpon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance, and seruice against whomsoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this charge came, and that the alteration was perswaded by feare, and not by love; raised his demands to an intollerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be deliuered him and libertie to lodge in their Port as manie ships of warre as himselfe pleased: these conditions, more properly to be imposed vpon a State already conquered, then on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored vnto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, and made them resolute to defend their libertie to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bond-men, and wisely rather to make them their fellow Citizens, than to make themselves fellow slaues with them.

Demetrius hauing refused the faire conditions offered, and the *Rhodians* the fearefull oncs propounded them, makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, he set in hand with his Engines of batterie; in the inuention and vse of which, he neuer shewed himselfe a greater Artisan, then in this warre. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults giuen them for a whole yeare, after many braue sallies out of the Towne, and the famine which they indured within the Towne, which had proued farre more extreme, if *Ptolomie* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embassadors, gaue ouer the siege; a hundred Hostages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrates and officers of the Citie.

Hercunto *Demetrius* was brought by the vsuall policie of warre, and state: for while, with the flower of all his fathers forces, he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the warre as in former times, by practise and surpris, but by a strong and well compounded armie, which hee himselfe led as farre as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed and indangered *Athens* it selfe. On the other side (though with lesse successe) did *Polyperchon* invade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous vndertakings vpon *Greece*, aduised the *Athenians* and *Ætians* to dispatch their Embassadors towards *Demetrius*, and aduised *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, then to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten, by setting all *Greece* at libertie.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Iland, then that the *Rhodians* erected statues in honour of *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, but for *Ptolomie*, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most reliefe, they consulted the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a God. The Priests which attended in the Temple

Temple of *Hammon*, gave the same faire answer to *Ptolomie*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Master, for as *Alexander* consulted the Oracle with an Armie at his heeles; so was *Ptolomie* at this time Lord of the soile: and yet was this a farre more cleanly creation, then that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of *Alexanders* Captaines could not content themselves with the stile of Kings, but that they would needes be called Gods.

Oracles
401. 272. 217. 223. 233. 248. 1058
0876. 3876. 7316. 807. 682. 954. 9716. 9946. 1009. 43. 26. 424. 9. 436. 8. 488
731. 4. 745. 416. 770. 221
558. 598. 609. 616. 65
632. 724. 454. 421. 12
-84

§. III.

How *Demetrius* prevailed in Greece, *Cassander* desires peace of *Antigonus*, and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of warre against *Antigonus*.

DEMETRIUS comming with a strong Fleet and Armie into Greece, quickly draue *Cassander* out of *Attica*; and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the Straits of *Thermopylae*. Herein his reputation did much availe him; which was so great, that sixe thousand of his enemies Souldiers revolted vnto him. So partly by the greatnesse of his name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those straights, and giuing libertie vnto the people, hee bestowed vpon the *Athenians* those peeces, which had bene fortified against them, to block them vp. Then went he into *Peloponnesus*, where he found the like, or more easie successe: for hee suddainly tooke *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Countrey, bestowing libertie vpon such as needed it. The Towne of *Sicyon* hee translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old seat into another place: and called it after his owne name *Demetrias*. This done, he betooke himselfe to his pleasure: At the *Isthmian* games he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Captaine Generall of Greece, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he despised all others, making it a matter of jest, that any, saue himselfe or his Father, should vsurpe the name of King. But in his behauiour hee was so farre vnlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, he deferred none other name then of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as readie as euer to deuise new honours for him: among which they made one decree, that whatsoever King *Demetrius* should command, ought to bee held sacred with the Gods, and iust with Men.

All Greece being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great feare, least the warres should fall heavily vpon him in *Macedon*, which to auoide, he knew no better way then to make peace with his enemy betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embassadors; but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, then that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in soliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heede to themselves; neither found hee them slow in apprehending the common Danger, for *Lysimachus* knew, that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soone be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that, which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himselfe in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with ioynt forces they should all together set vpon the common

Enemy.

Hercof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That hee would as easily scatter them, as a flock of Birds are driuen away with a stone. With these conceits hee pleased himselfe, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. Helay at that time in his Towne of *Antigonia* (a name

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that it must shortly looke) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glorie. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* had committed vnto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to passe ouer into *Asia*, while himselfe with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellepont*, beganne to make hot warre vpon the Subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to joyne with him, by faire means; winning others by force, and wasting the Countrey round about.

To repress this v unexpected boldnesse, *Antigonus* made hastie iourneys, and came soone enough to recouer his losses, but not strong enough to driue *Lysimachus* home, or compell him to come to battaile. *Lysimachus* waited for the comming of *Seleucus*; keeping himselfe the whilest from necessitie of fighting. But *Babylon* was farre off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to bee soone in a readinesse. The Winter also did hinder his iourne: which enforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspense, and bred much expectation. Yet might all haue come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* bene so froward, that hee refused to yeeld vnto any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neare with a mightie Armie of his owne (for hee had gathered strength in that long time of leisure, which *Antigonus* had giuen him) and with great aide from *Ptolomie*, that was joyned with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull case, *Demetrius* was called ouer into *Asia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obaid. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, vpon reasonable termes: to the end he might not be driuen to leaue any part of his Armie for defence of the Countrey; and that his iourne might bee without any such blemish of reprobation, as if hee had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* should be at libertie. *Cassander* was glad to bee so rid of an Enemy, that was too strong for him. Yet would this league haue done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise then they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred vnto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, euery one found meanes to cleare himselfe of all incumbrances elsewhere, to the end that each might freely apply himselfe to the trial of the maine controuersie in *Asia*.

§. IIII.

How *ANTIGONVS* was slaine in a great battaile at *Ipsus*, neare vnto *Ephesus*; wherein his whole estate was lost.

SELECVS, with his Sonne *Antiochus*, joyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Armie, which was (all considered) not inferioriour to that of the Enemy. In greatnesse of name (that helpeth much in all warres, but especially in the Ciuill) they were rather vnanswerable, than equall to their aduersaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them vnder with a mastering spirit, and had bene reputed a King indeede, when the rest were held but Vsurpers of the title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, hauing giuen proofe of his worth in many great seruices of all kinds, and enriched the Art of warre with many inuentions, which euen his enemies, & particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had sometimes flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully stolen away from him to saue his life; with yong *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this iourne; and *Lysimachus*, that had liued long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeilded to their opposites: yet so, that as

ancient Captaines vnder *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthie enough, to receiue any benefit that fortune might giue, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardie and well exercised: many of them hauing serued vnder *Alexander*; though of those old Companies, the long space of two and twentie yeares had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections; the followers of *Seleucus* were easily perswaded, that in this battaile they must either get the vpper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged vnto the Confederate Princes: whereas *Antigonus* his men could discern no other necessitie of fighting, than the oblique qualitie of their Lord, that needes would be Master of all. *Antigonus* had about three-score and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three-score and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were sixe thousand short of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the odds of five hundred; of Elephants they had four hundred, and a hundred and twentie armed Chariots of warre; which helps, though they little had auailed the *Persians*, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captaine.

Antigonus himselfe, either troubled with the vnspected greatnesse of his enemies forces, or preasing little good like to ensue, grew very pensiue, communicating much in priuate with his sonne, whom he commended to the Armie as his Successor: whereas in former times he had neuer been so iocund, as towards the houre of battaile, nor had beene accustomed to make his sonne, or any other, priuie to his counsaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deuised, I hold it needlesse to recount: *Diana* of *Ephesus* dwelt neare to the place of battaile, a busie Goddesse in many great fights, and therefore likely to haue beene thrust into the fable, if any matter, nearly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to beleue that these two so gallant Armies, contayning well neare all the strength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such worthie Commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an easie losse in regard of the much varietie, wherewith euery storie aboundeth in this kinde. The most memorabile things in the battaile, were these. *Demetrius* with his best force of horse, charged valiantly vpon yong *Antiochus*; whom when hee had broken, and put to flight, hee was so transported with the heat of his good successe, that he neuer gaue ouer his pursute, but left his Father naked, and lost thereby both him, and the victorie. For when *Seleucus* perceiued this aduantage, he enterpoised his Elephants, betwene *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troupes of horse offering to breake vpon the enemies battaile, wheresoeuer it lay most open, he did so terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather chose to reuolt from their Lord, whillt they were fairly inuited, than to sustaine the furie of so dangerous an impression. This cowardize, or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into flight: expoling their Generall to the last end of his delinies. *Antigonus* was then foure-score yeares old, very fat and vnwieldie, so that hee was vnapt for flight, if his high spirit could haue entertained any thought thereof. Hee had about him some of his most trustie followers, and as many others as hee could hold together. When one that perceiued a great troupe making towards his person, told him, *Sir King, yonder companie meanes to charge you;* he answered, *Well may they; for who defends me? but anon DEMETRIUS will releue vs.* Thus expecting, to the very last, that his sonne should come to the rescue, hee receiued so many Darts into his body, as tooke away his lately ambitious, but then fearefull hopes, together with his troublefome life.

His great abilitie in matter of Armes, together with his insatiable desire of Empire, haue sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loued by his friends; as one that could not moderate his

his fortune, but vsed insolence towards all a like, as if it had beene some vertue nearest representing a Kingly Majestie. This was the cause that so many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Armie forooke him in his last necessitie. For those Kings and Princes that call all the careful indications of their Vassalls, onely dutie and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest seruices: shall finde them selues vpon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is now onely that staies by aduersitie) not onely the most friendlesse, but euen the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he liued; in part he left it to be verified vpon his son.

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§. V.

How DEMETRIUS forsaken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to SELEVCUS and PTOLOME, beginning a new fortune, and shortly entering into new quarrells.

OR *Demetrius*, at his returne, from the idle pursuit of yong *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to saue himselfe, with foure thousand horse, and five thousand foot, by a speedy retrait vnto *Ephesus*, whence he made great haste towards *Athens*, as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremitie. But whilst he was in the midst of his course thither, the *Athenian* Embassadors met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admittid into their Citie. These were Embassadors, not *Theori*, or *Consulers* with the Oracle. It was a shamelesse ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his miserie, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamitie more afflikt the vnfortunate Prince, than to see his aduersitie despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends. Yet was he faine to giue good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Haven, of which he now stood in great neede, and therefore was faine to speake them faire, that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shall liue to teach them their old language, and speake vnto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships he sailed to the *Issmus*, where he found nothing but master of discomfort. His Garrisons were euer y where broken vp; the Souldiers hauing betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King onely of a small Armie and Fleet, without monie or meane, wherewith to sustaine him and his followers, any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part, of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in diuiding among the Conquerers, and those few places which as yet held for him (hauing not perchance heard the word of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieue. For to put himselfe into the field, on the side of *Asia*, hee had no power; and to inclose himselfe in any Towne, how strong soeuer, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to burie himselfe and his estate. Hee therefore creeping thorow those bulshes, that had fewest briers, fell vpon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdome, whereof hee gaue all the spoile, that was gotten, to his Souldiers: his owne losses hauing bene too great, to be repayed againe by small prizes.

In the meane while, the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Prouinces, of which their late victorie had made them Lords: wherein *Seleucus* had a notable aduantage, by being present and Master of the field. For neither *Ptolomie*, nor *Cassander*, were at the overthrow giuen, hauing onely sent certaine troups to re-inforce the Armie which *Seleucus* led: who tooke hold of a part of *Asia* the lesse, and all *Syria*, being no otherwise diuided from his owne Territorie than by the Riuier of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order bene taken by the Confederates, for the diuision of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made only in their

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their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that he could of the victorie: at which, neuertheless others did repine, and though they neither could, nor durst, accuse him of ill dealing, for the present, yet seeing the over-greatnesse of *Seleucus* brought no lesse danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted vpon the same reason of state as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined: for he read it in the Law vniuersall of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendship on all sides, and cure themselves of all vnprofitable passion: the hatred of each to other, and their ioues being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were touned so farre too light, as *Seleucus* who had to day slaine *Antigonus* the father, and driuen *Demetrius* the sonne out of *Asia*, fought to morrow, how to match himselfe with *Stratonice*, *Demetrius* his daughter, and so by *Demetrius* to serue his turne against *Lysimachus*.

The storie of this *Stratonice*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the sonne of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in loue, and so distempered, as *Seleucus* his father, to saue his sonnes life, gaue her (though she were his wife) vnto him, and how his passion was discouraged by his pulse; is generally noted by all Writers. But neuer did this alliance betwene *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; betwene *Ptolemie* and *Lysimachus*; between *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; between *Demetrius* and *Ptolemie*; though for the present it brought one of them again into the rank of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages betwene Christian Kings haue done in latter times: namely betwene the *Austrians*, the *Aragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither haue the Leagues of those elder times bene found more faithfull, then those of the same later times haue bene, as in the stories of *Charles* the eighth of *France*, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of *Francis* the first, and of the Kings of *Naples*, *Dukes of Milan*, and others, the Reader may obserue: betwene whom from the yeare of our Lord, *One thousand, foure hundred, ninetie and five*, when *Charles* the eighth vndertook the Conquest of *Naples*, to the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, when *Henric* the second died, the Histories of those times tell vs that all the bonds, cyther by the bed or by the booke, cyther by weddings, or Sacramentall Oathes, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reape this profit, by giuing his daughter to his enimie *Seleucus*, that he recouered *Cilicia* from *Philarchus*, the brother of *Cassander*; who had gotten it as his share in the diuision of *Antigonus* his possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to holde it by his proper forces, from him, that entred vpon it as a lawfull Heire: neither would *Seleucus* lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Consideracie he should haue done, against the common enimie. So *Philarchus* with very angry complaint, as well against *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went vnto *Cassander*; whither *Phila*, his sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being sent for that purpose by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not strong enough to deale with *Cassander*, and therefore glad to make vse of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne prosperitie, he neuer tooke notice to the others good. About the same time he tooke to wife a daughter of *Ptolemie* (plurallitie of wiues being familiar with these *Macedonians*; that had learned it in their *Easterne* conquests) and so was he by two marriages, rather freed from two enimies, then strengthened with two friends: for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise then might serue to aduance their owne ambitious desires.

Seleucus and *Ptolemie*, could both of them haue bene contented better, that *Demetrius* with helpe of their countenance, should seeke his fortune somewhat farther off, than settle his estate vnder their noses. Particularly *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himselfe: and *Ptolemie* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Isle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were so, that *Seleucus* would faine haue set his new father in law vpon the neck of *Lysimachus*; or whether hee were indeede greedie of the bargain, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for readie monie,

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his late purchase of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not hearken, but meant to keepe as much Land as hee could, hauing alreadie found in *Cilicia* twelue thousand talents of his fathers treasurie, that would serue him to make sport a while. This refusal so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angrie termes hee demanded the Citie of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to bee surrendered vnto him; which were the only places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. In stead of giuing them vp, *Demetrius* tooke present order to haue them better manned; and spake it stoutly, That were hee ouer-come a thousand times, yet would hee not hire *Seleucus* to become his sonne in law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his father-in-law 10 two Townes, from whom he had alreadie taken more then well hee knew how to gouerne. But the fire consumed it selfe in words, which had it fastned vpon armes, like it is that the weaker should haue found friends, out of enuie to the stronger.

B. VI.

How *Demetrius* wanne the Citie of *Athens*, and preuailed in *Greece*, but lost in *Asia*. Of troubles in *Macedon* following the death of *Cassander*.

IN the meane while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to vse the libertie, which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, vnder the tyrannie of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their distempered Citie was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keepe off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This aduantage hastened him, whom they had once called their God and Saviour, to present himselfe vnto them, in the habit of a reuenging furie. Hee brought against them all the force that he could wel spare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtful Easterne friends, were vnwilling to giue impediment to any businesse, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His first enterprize in *Athens* had ill successe; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But hee soone repaired the losse; and (after some victories in *Peloponnesus*, where hee wanne diuers Townes that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, wasted the Countie of *Attica*, and cut off all reliefe from the Citie, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feede the great multitude within it, any long time: for it stood in a barren soile, and wanted now the command of those Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals; being also destitute of meanes to keepe such a Nauie, as might bring in supply, or dare to doe any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolomie*, who (trusting thereby to winne the loue of *Greece*) had loaden a hundred and fiftie ships with corne, and sent them to releue the hungrie Citie. But these hundred and fiftie were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore halted them away by times, as hauing done enough, in aduenturing to come so neare, that they might be discrid. This brake the heart of the people; among whom the famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Sonne did fight for a dead Mousie, which dropped downe betwene them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadors to yeld vp the Towne, and craue pardon, hauing so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence, to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they faine to abolish this decree: rather because they knew not what else to doe, then because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victorie, did not only forbear to take away the liues of these vnthankfull men; which they had submitted vnto his mercie;

mercie; but out of his liberalitie gaue them foode, and placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Nethertheless hee was growne wiser then to trust them so farre as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bad him take their Hatens, and dispose of them at his pleasure, he was ready to lay hold vpon the word, and leaue a sure Garrison within their walls, to keepe them honest perforce: After this he went into Peloponnesus, vanquished the Lacedaemonians in two battailes, and was in very faire possibilitie to take their citie: when the dangerous news called him in all haste, of *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomie*, that preuailed faster vpon him elsewhere, than himselfe did vpon his enemies in Greece. *Lysimachus* had wonne many Townes in Asia; *Ptolomie* had gotten all the Isle of Cyprus, except the Citie of Salamis, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children and Mother, that were straightly besieged. While he was be- thinking himselfe which way to turne his forces, a notable peece of businesse offered it selfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in Macedonia, and soone after him, *Philip* his eldest sonne, whose two yonger bretheren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, fought for the Kingdome. In this quarrell *Theffalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed better affected to *Alexander*, then to her elder soane: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his owne Mother. The odiousnesse of this fact gaue a fauile lustre to *Alexander's* cause: drawing the generallitie of the Macedons to take his part, as in reuenge of the Queenes death, vpon that wicked pericide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lysimachus*, whose Daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his partie good without some forraigne aide. For which cause he called in both *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*, who how they dealt with him, it will soone appeare, in the following Tragedie, of him and his brother. Their Father *Cassander* had bene one that shifted well for himselfe, at such time as euery man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered diuision of the Empire. Hee was cunning in practise, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing then were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely haue made away. He deeply hated the memorie of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wall, vpon some opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditarie quarrell, deriued from his Father, whom shee could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelty, that shee vsed against his friends, both alitie and dead, as it made him aduenture vpon shedding the Royall blood; wherewith, when once hee had stained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that course of murder. His carelesnesse to destroy those women and children, whose liues hindred his purpose, argues him to haue bene rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: such cruelty being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a farre off the dangers, that may quietly passe away: and seekes to auoide them by base and wicked means, as neuer thinking it selfe safe enough, vntill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may bee said, that they had well deserued the bloudie end which ouer-tooke them; yet it befelmed it *Cassander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexander's* children had by no law of men deserved, to die for the tyranie of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the diuine Iustice brought swords vpon his wife and children, that well reuenged the cruelty of this bloudie man, by destroying his whole house, as hee had done his Masters.

d. VII.

OF PYRRHVS and his doings in Macedon. The death of CASSANDERS children. DEMETRIUS gets the Kingdome of Macedon; preuailes in warre against the Greeks; Loseth reputation in his warre against PYRRHVS, and in his Citie Governement, and prepares to win Asia. Now all conspire against DEMETRIUS.

PYRRHVS and LYSIMACHVS invade him, his Armie yeelds to PYRRHVS, who shares the Kingdome of Macedon with LYSIMACHVS.

PYRRHVS, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince *Æacides*, which perished in warre against *Cassander*, was hardly preserued, being a sucking Infant, from the furie of his Fathers enemies. When his Followers had conueighed him to *Glaucias*, King of *Ilyria*; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would haue bought his life with the price of two hundred talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his Heire. *Glaucias* was so far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that hee restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelue yeares of age. Within the compasse of five yeares, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, draue him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went hee to *Demetrius* (who married his sister) became his Page; followed him a while in his wars; was with him in the great battaile of *Issus*, whence hee fled with him to *Ephesus*; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomie*. In *Ægypt* he so behaued himselfe, that he got the fauour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principall wife; so that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon sent home, with moitie and men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomie*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdome of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that businesse betwene the children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassanders* sonnes, was so farre too weake for *Pyrrhus*, that hee had no desire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an hasty agreement, and diuided the Kingdome with his younger brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the aide of *Pyrrhus* so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacitie to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarmania*, and much more of the Countrey, as the reward of his paines: leauing the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessitie enforced the brethren to composition: but their composition would not satisfie *Demetrius*, who tooke the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a foole, to come so farre with an Armie, and finde no worke for it. This was a fruitiuous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to doe as *Pyrrhus* had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wise course, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him vpon some aduantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the storie, and it might bee true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, beleued it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himselfe was feasted and slaine by *Demetrius*; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder. Executing the fact so well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughtie man *Cassander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was builed in warre with a King of the wilde *Thracians*: for thereby hee was compelled to seek peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtaine, he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to bee giuen vp; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his sonne in law. At this ill bargaine *Antipater* grieuously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stormed, vntill his Father in law, to saue the labour of making many excuses, tooke away his trouble.

troublefome life. Thus in halte, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to auoid molestation, were flaine the children of *Cassander*: of *Cassander* that had flaine his owne Masters children, in a wife course of policie, with carefull meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his owne houle, that fell downe vpon his graue, ere the earth on it was thoroughly sealed.

It might be thought, that such an accesse of Dominion, added much to the greatness of *Demetrius*. But indeede it shewed his infirmities; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of ciuill Gouvernement: but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the vse and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none other, than to doe what a King listed. Hee gaue himselfe offer to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those that offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing iustice. He hath more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it: warre being his recreation, and luxurie his nature. By long rest (as fixe yeares raigne is long to him, that knows not how to raigne one yeare) he discouered so much of his worst condition, as made both the people wearie of his idleness; and the Souldiers, of his vanitie. He was freed from care of matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost, though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolemie* had with great honor, entertained and dismissed his mother and children. This afforded him the better leisure, of making warre in *Greece*: where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and wonne their Citie twice in short space, but vsed his victorie with mercie. Against *Lysimachus* he would haue done somewhat (the peace betwene them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this journey purchased nothing but enmitie. Another expedition he tooke in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse event. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*; which hee had indeede as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdome; he had also made excursions into *Thessalie*; but there needed not any handfome pretence of quarrell, seeing *Demetrius* thought himselfe strong enough to ouer-runne his enemies Countrey, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they haue knowen raw Nouices in that facultie, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinarie. *Pyrrhus* was a Captaine, whom later ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the ranke of Generalls, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, he mist that part of the Armie, which *Demetrius* led, and fell vpon the other halfe: which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, shewed in single combat against *Pananchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of bodie, challenged this yong Prince to fight hand to hand, and was victoriously beaten. The loile of this battaile did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behauiour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his best qualitie. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeite manner, some of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (saie they) none, laue *Pyrrhus*, is like him indeed, in performing the office of a Captaine.

These rumours were not more nourished by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by dislike of their owne King; whom they began to disesteeme, no so much in regard of his vnprofitable journey into *Epirus* (for he had wasted much of the Countrey, and brought home his Armie in good case) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intollerable. His apparell seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too sumptuous and new fangled, but very vnmanly; and seruing chiefly, to be a daily witness, how much hee contemned them and their good opinion. Of his Souldiers lues hee was rechelesse: and suffered vnwisely this vn-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay. Hee made a mockerie of iustice; and (as it were, to publish vnto all his Subjects, how

all the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay.
for Captaine to be so proud

little he esteemed it or them) hauing by a shew of popularitie invited Petitioners, and with a gacious countenance entertained their Supplications, hee led the poore suters after him in great hope, till coming to a bridge, he threw all their writings into the Riuet; pleasing himselfe, in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courtes he grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacitie, and invading *Macedon*, had almost wonne it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sick in his bed: who recouering health, and taking the field, had such great oddes of strength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he beganne to haue some feeling of the generall hate, which to redresse, he did not (for he could not) alter his owne conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by letting them on worke in such an action, wherein his beitt qualities might appeare; that is, in a great warre. His intent was to invade *Asia*, with a Royall Armie: wherein the fortune of one battaile might giue him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, hee first made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that so hee might leaue all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mightie Armie, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse: with a Naue of fise hundred saile, wherein were many thips, farre exceeding the greatnesse of any that had bene scene before; yet so swift and veltall withall, that the greatnesse was leant part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomie* suspect their owne forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to ioyne against this ambitious sonne of *Antigonus*; that was like to proue more dangerous to them all, than euert was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once preuailed in *Asia*, there could be no securitie for his friends in *Europe*; what league soeuer were of old concluded. Therefore they resolved to beginne with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his owne Kingdome. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Armie: but whilst he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Campe, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berbaa*. The matter was not ouer great: were it not, that mindes prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold vpon small occasions of dislike. All the camp was in vp-rore: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to vtter seditious words, and many desired leaue of *Demetrius*, to goe to their owne houses, meaning indeede to haue gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Armie, he thought it the wisest way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lysimachus* their owne Countreman, against *Pyrrhus* that was a stranger: hoping by victorie against the *Epirot*, to recover the loue of his followers, in such sort that hee might afterwards at leasure deale with the other. But herein his wisdome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as haſtie as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others answered, of his person, his armor, and other tokens whereby he might be knowne; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his creſt. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Diuers of them stole away, and ranne ouer into *Pyrrhus* his campe: where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get sight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all salute him King. To trie this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and presented himselfe bare-headed in view of the camp, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The newes of his arriual found a generall applause, and euery one began to looke out, with desire to see eye on him. His face was not so well knowne as his helmet; therefore he was admonished to putt it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their seruice; neither were there any, that spake for *Demetrius*; only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and shift for himselfe.

himselfe. So Demetrius threw aside his maskers habit, and attiring himselfe poorly, did fearefully scale away out of his owne Campe: deseruing well this calamitie, whether it were so, that he would not hearken to the good counsaile of his friends, or whether his behaviour deuipt him of such friends, as would dare to let him heare the vnpleasant sound of necessitate truth.

Whilest Pyrrhus was making this triumphant entrie, into the Kingdome of Macedonia; Lysimachus came vpon him, very vnseasonably, and would needs haue halfe: saying, that he had done as much as Pyrrhus in the warre, and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gaines. The bargain was quickly made, and the diuision agreed vpon: each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all, vpon better oportunitie.

§. VIII.

How DEMETRIUS gathering forces, enterprised many things with all successe, in Greece and Asia. How he was driuen vpon SELEVCVS, and compelled to yeeld himselfe. His imprisonment and death.

THE Athenians, were as vnthankfull to Demetrius in this his aduersitie, as they had beene in former times. For they presently forooke his friendship, and called Pyrrhus out of Macedonia to be their Patron. Demetrius, when hee went against Lysimachus, had left a great part of his forces in Greece, vnder his sonne Antigonus. Therefore it is like, that he had soone gotten an Armie; though Philas his wife (who is highly commended for a wise and vertuous Ladie) did poison her selfe, vpon desperate griefe of his misfortune. The first, vpon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the Athenians, that had well deserued it. Hee beganne to lay siege to their Towne: but was pacified by Crates the Philosopher, whom they made their spokesman; and taking faire words instead of satisfaction, passed ouer into Asia, with eleuen thousand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune against Lysimachus, for the Prouinces of Lydia and Caria.

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile vpon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obedience. There were also some Captaines, that fell from Lysimachus to him, with their companies, and treasures. But it was not long, ere Agathocles, the sonne of Lysimachus, came vpon him, with an Armie so strong, that it was not for Demetrius his good, to hazard his last stock against it. Wherefore, he resolved, to passe through Phrygia and Armenia, into Media, and the Prouinces of the higher Asia; trusting to finde a Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grieuouly impeached by Agathocles: who pursued him close, and cut off all his provisions, driuing him to take which waies he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes, Demetrius vanquished this troublefome enemy: neuertheless, hee could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titulatic King, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the Riuier Lycus, so many of Demetrius his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driuen to trauaile with such speede, as might well be called a plaine flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Capitaine, escaped into Cilicia. Seleucus had gotten possession of Cilicia, whilst Demetrius was occupied in Greece: yet was it no part of Demetrius his errand, to lay claime to the Countrey; but with vehement and humble letters he besought his sonne in law, to call to minde their alliance, and to pitie him in his great miserie. These letters, at the first wrought wel with Seleucus, and hee condescended to the request: yet considering further how

Demetrius
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Demetrius had carried himselfe, when he recovered strength after the battaile at *Issus*, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Armie.

Many treaties were held betweene them; of which none tooke effect, through the jealousie of *Seleucus*. Therefore, mere desperation enforced *Demetrius*, to fight like a mad man; and his furie got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickness tooke and held him fortie dayes, in which time, a great number of his few men, ranne to the enemie. T his notwithstanding hee still held out; and once had like to haue taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming been discovered by fugitiues, that gaue the alarme. Finally, when all his Armie had forsaken him, and left him, with a few of his friends, to shift for himselfe: hee was compelled, by the last of those adherents (for euen some of those few forsooke him) to yeeld vnto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his owne humanitie, by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence though otherwise hee liued him with as much fauour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept vnder sure guard in a demie island, wherein were goodly walks, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he asked roially, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his libertie was referred vnto the coming of yong *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*, out of the high Countries. In this sort he spent three yeares, liuing merrily all the while (as one that now enioyed the happinesse, which with so much trauaile and blood-shed, hee had sought in vaine) and then died, leauing to his sonne *Antigonus*, the same which his father had left vnto himselfe; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Carrinth*; his qualities haue appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his house will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places conuenient.

§. IX.

The death of *PTOLOMIE*, of *LYSIMACHVS*, and of *SELEVCVS*, that was last of *ALEXANDERS* Captaines: with other occurrences.

About the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptoleme* King of *Egypt*; a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. Hee had, by many Wiues and Concubines, many children: out of whom he selected *Ptoleme Philadelphus*, and caused him to raigne together with himselfe, two or three yeares before he died, that so hee might confirme him in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, *Ptoleme Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptoleme*) was grievously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexanders* Captaines left; *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*. These two needed would fight for it, who should be the longest liuer of that braue Companie. The true ground of their quarrell was, their neare equalitie of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was, the murders which *Lysimachus* had committed vpon many of his Nobles, together with his poisoning *Agathocles* his eldest sonne: whose wife and children fled vnto *Seleucus* for aide.

The *Macedons*, after seven Moneths pause, hauing spent their first heat of admiration, beganne to hearken so well to *Lysimachus*, their naturall Countie man, that they forsooke *Pyrhus*, vpon none other ground than because hee was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, what they lightly gaue him. *Lysimachus* had raigned about

about five yeares alone, when the Citie of *Lyfimbria* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by euents, to haue foretiewed the fall of his house. His owne calouie, and the intigation of a mother in law, caused him to poison his Sonne *Agathodes*, which drew vpon him that warre, wherein (after the losse of all his fiftene children, that were taken away by diuers accidents) he perished himselfe.

Seleucus was encountered by *Lyfimbria* on *Asia* side, where one battaile concluded the warre with *Lyfimbria* his death. It pleased *Seleucus* more than the victorie, that he was the last of all the great Heroes which had followed *Alexander*. For now he seemed to himselfe, as Lord and Heire of all the conquered world. So he passed ouer into *Macedon*, to take possession of *Europe*, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his daies, and within seuen moneths followed *Lyfimbria*, and other of his fellowes, by a bloudie death: being treacherously flaine by *Ptolemie Ceraunus*, whose friend and Patron he had bene. Seuentie and seuen yeare old he was, when hee fought with *Lyfimbria*, and *Lyfimbria* was seuentie and foure. With them ended the generation of old Capitaines, that had seene the daies, as it were of another world vnder the *Persian*: yet was there left one equall to any of them, in the Art of warre: even *Pyrrhus* the *Epirat*, of whom we spake before; that is now readie to enter into warre with the *Romans*, a more warlike people, than *Alexander* himselfe euer did encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a storie more important, than any likely to ensue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdomes, that were held by *Alexanders* Successors, with lesse (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

CHAP. VII.

30 The growth of Rome: and setting of the Easterne Kingdomes.

§. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italie, from the death of *TULLVS HOSTILIVS*, vnto such time as they were assailed by *Pyrrhus*.



40 OW Rome was founded by *Romulus*; settled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many, though small, victories, it gathered strength; vnto such time as it became the head of *Latium*, by the conquest of *Alba*, in the raigne of *Tullus Hostilius*: it hath bene already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatnesse, beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*; and extending it selfe out of *Italie*, to ouerwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it conuenient (as in like cases I haue done) briefly to set downe the growth of this mighty Citie, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not haue bene diuulgered in the ages, wherein they were seuerally performed, without much interruption of the Historie, that was then occupied in matter more important.

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After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when hee had reigned two and thirte yeares, was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grandchild to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Rome*. He walled the Citie about, enlarged it with the hill *Ascentine*, which he enclosed; built a bridge over *Tyber*, and the Citie of *Ostia* vpon the Sea, sixteene miles distant from *Rome*. Finally, hauing reigned foure and twentie yeares, he died, and by his last will hee left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the sonne of *Damaratus* a *Corinthian*, who auoiding *Cypselus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquiny*, by the name of which Towne hee was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that Citie in *Hetruria* comming to *Rome*, and encouraged by some ominous occurrents, together with his wife *Tauaquilis* prophetic, he grew a fauourite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Gracian* wit humoring the factions of the *Roman* Court, in so much that after his decaile, he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the Citie. He doubled the number of *Senators*, and enlarged the Centuries of Horse-men: neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace: for he preuailed often against the *Tuscanis*, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph tooke their originall.

When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned eight and thirte yeares, he was slaine by the sonnes of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had beene left Guardian. But *Tauaquilis* his wife, perceiuing what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sicke, but not dangerously. And withall signified vnto them, that in the interim of his sickness, one *Seruius Tullius*, whom from his birth she alwaies propheticd to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of *P. Corniculenus* and *Oerisia*, a well defended, but captiue woman) brought vp in her house, and husband vnto her daughter, should supplie her husbands place, in gouerning the State, vntill his recoverie: which gouernment, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdome in as good sort, as if it had beene a priuate household. At length, hauing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous: and finding also that the two sonnes of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had beene committed to his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to adde water, not oile, to fire) gaue the milde daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed sonne; and the violent, to *Aruns*, the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it happened; the two milde ones being made away, the furious matures were readily joynd in marriage: who soone concurring, and calling the Senate together, beganne to lay claime to the Kingdome. Vpon this tumult, *Seruius Tullius* halting to the Senate, (where he thought by authoritie to haue bridled Insolencie) was throwne downe the staires, and going home fore bruised, was slaine by the way, when he had reigned fortie and foure yeares. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to driue his Chariot ouer her fathers corpes; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This *Tarquinius*, exercising crueltie without iustice, and tyrannie without mercie, vpon the people and *Senators*, hauing tired himselfe and them at home, vied the same rage of treacherie vpon his borders. He tooke *Orcutulum*, *Surfusa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gaby*. The issue of besieging *Ardea*, a towne eighteene miles distant from *Rome*, was of bad successe. In the heate of which warre, his sonne *Sextus Tarquinius* violently rauished that chaste Ladie *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatinus* wife: who in way of expiation for so vnchaste a deed, thought good to walsh out those spots of infamie with her owne blood; so (hauing first bequeathed the reuenge vnto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatinus*, and *Junius Brutus*) she

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Lucretia

she killed her selfe: whereupon (chiefly by *Iunius Brutus* his resolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was depoced and banished; and fled to *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria* for succour, in the hue and twentieth year of his raigue, and the two hundred fortie and fourth from the building of their Citie: in which space *Rome* had scarce gotten full possession of fittene miles round about her.

Iunius Brutus by the helpe of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquinius*, and freed his countrey from that beaue yoke of bondage, intorced the people by solenne oath, neuer to admit any government by Kings amongst them: whereupon they rancked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State vpon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetuall to annuall, and from a single gouernour to a double, left perpetuall or sole dominion might be some motiue to vsurpation; and in stead of Kings they called them *Consuls*, signifying, as it may be interpreted, *Providers*: that their titles might remembre them of their place, which was to be alwayes mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard setting of troubled waters, that the people after this innouation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their owne securitie, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to resigne vp his authoritie, fearing that tyrannie would be hereditarie, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of *Tarquinius* fauoured already of their condition. In his roome was substituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eyes, gaue libertie, in matters of controuersie, to appeale from the *Consuls* to the people: and that he might as well in goods as in person, auoyde occasion of suspition, caused his owne house to be pulled downe, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had bene a *Citadell*. Neyther was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment, which concerned as well the peoples safetie, as their fauour: for hauing got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne sonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to restore the banished Kings; he caused them, publickly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

Hitherto the *Romans*, hauing by the vnblemished integritie of *Brutus*, well appeased all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter employ their militarie designements, against *Forainers*; first, for their libertie; secondly, for enlarging of their possessions, and lastly, for defending their confederate Prouinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome* situated as it were in the mid-way betweene *Latium* and the *Tuscan*, hauing as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minoritie, cannot but giue occasion of offence to her neighbours; vntill by maine opposition, hauing preuailed against her borders, shee vsed them as instruments, whereby to obtaine the rest.

Their first warre in the first yeare of *Consuls*, was against *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria*, who being ouer-perswaded by *Tarquinius* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to seate him againe in his Kingdome.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Codes*, hauing long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge ouer *Tibris*; at length feeling himselfe too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into the Riuer, like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hote spirits, and returned safe to his fellowes, with the like resolution to giue a new charge. *Porfenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Ianiculus*, which is the verie entrance vnto the Citie, and found the victorie, in a manner, assuredly his owne: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of *Alatius Scaeuola* (who hauing by error slaine *Porfenna* his Secretarie, instead of the King himselfe, did in scorn of torments threatened, burne off his owne hand) hee thought it not

any whit prejudiciall, either to his safetie, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleene, was not quite abated, though *Arms* his sonne, and *Brutus* his enemy, in single combat, had slaine each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion hee was, for their chastitie, not for beautie, mourned the losse of him one whole year. Into his place, for the residue of his year, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the year expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquine, vpon his ouerthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to strive against the streame, and spent the residue of his time, which was about foure-teen years, priuately at *Tusculum*. Yet his sonne-in-law, *Mamilius Tusculanus*, romaching a frell at thole old repulles, because *Porfenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succour vnto the *Tarquines*, mustered vp his *Latines*, and gaue battaile to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue vncertaine, vntill *Anulus Posthumus*, the *Roman Dictator*, (for they had created this Magistracie greater than Consuls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidst the Enemy; and *Cosus* or *Spurius Cassius* (master of the Horse-men, an assistant Officer to the *Dictator*) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might runne with free violence, to recover againe their Ensignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went current, of *Cassius* and *Pollux*, two *Gods*, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye witnesses of their valour, and fellow helpers of their victorie; for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the *Romans* fierce spirits, hauing no object of valour abroad, reflected vpon themselves at home; and the sixteenth year after the Kings expulsion, vpon instigation of some desperate bankrouers, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an vproare in the holy Mount; vntill by *Menenius Agrippa*, his discret allusion, of the inconuenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might haue some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in their controuerfies, the Consuls authoritie notwithstanding. This was enacted; and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement amongst themselves, they had continuall Warre with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Amongst these, the *Volsi* and *Aequi* held them longest, who made warre, of themselves, vpon the *Romans*: whereby they lost the best Citie in their whole iurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Martius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*: a name honorable then, as deriued from a great victorie: although, by reason of the puerie of the Towne, a *Roman* Generall, in after times, would haue bene alhamed of that title. But yet these graces had bene no occasion of disparagement, had hee not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, aduised to sell come, which they procured from *Sicily*, at too high a rate, to the people: whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, and after judgement, banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsi*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renew their forces against him, which being committed vnto him, and to *Attius Tullius*, he preuailed in field, so farre forth, that hee was come within foure or foue miles of the Citie. Incamping there hee made fo sharpe warre, and was at such defiance, with his Countrey, that hee would not relent, by any applications of Embassadours, vntill his Mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subjects to their Countrey, than friends to their sonne and husband, were more auaileable to *Rome*, then was any force of armes. Hercupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Armie, was after put to death among the *Volsi*, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunitie: or (as others surmise) liuing with them vntill old age, hee died naturally.

Not

Not long after this, the *Veij* in *Hetruria*, prouoked the *Romans*; against whom the *Fabij*, three hundred and sixe in number, all of one Familie, intrated and obtained, that they only might be imployed, as it had been in a priuate quarrell. These *Fabij*, after some good seruices, lying incamped at *Cremora*, were circumuented and all slaine: one only of that whole house, had beene left, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In proceſſe of time, the *Romans* were also troubled with the *Volſci*, at the hill *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minucius* their Conſull, with his whole Armie, had beene diſcomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* choſen *Dictator*, and taken from the plough to the highell honour in *Rome*, with ſucceſſe anſwerable to his expedition, diſperſed his enemies, and freed his Countrey in the ſpace of ſixteen dayes. In the continuance of this *Volſcian* warre it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeares before choſen *Gouernors* of the State, and inactōrs of *Solons* lawes amongſt them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the meane while the Conſuls, and all other Magiſtracies) would haue rauished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginus*, Captaine of a Companie, and lying then in campe at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people, in a vproare, tooke the Hill *Auentine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to reſigne vp their authoritie againe, to new Conſuls.

After this, either new quarrells, or deſire to reuenge old loſſes, drew the *Romans* into a new warre, againſt the *Veientes*, and their adherents, vpon whom hauing tried their forces, with diuerſitie of Captaines, and varietie of euent, they vanquiſhed the *Falſci*, and the *Fidenates*, and vtterly ſubdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Falſci*, *Furius Camillus* ſhewed no leſſe integritie than fortitude. For when a Schoolemaſter, by trayning forth into the *Roman* campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yielding them all vp as Hoſtages: *Camillus* deliuered this Traitor bound vnto his Schollers, willing them to whip him back into the Citie; which forthwith yielded vnto him in reuerence of his juſtice. The ſiege of *Veij* was ten yeares, and ſo troubleſome, that the *Romans* were there firſt enforced to winter abroad vnder beaſt ſkinnes (to which they were the more eaſily induced, becauſe then firſt they received pay) and to make vowes neuer to returne without victorie.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got ſo large ſpoiles, that they conſecrated their tenths to *Apolla Pythius*: and the whole people in generall, were called to the ranſacking of the Citie. But yet they were no leſſe vnthankfull to *Camillus* for his ſeruice, than before they had beene to *Coriolanus*; For they baniſhed him the Citie, vpon ſome ocaſion of inequality in diuiding the ſpoiles; yet he requited their vnkindneſſe with a new peece of ſeruice, againſt the furie of the *Gauls*: who being a populous Countrey, and very healthfull, the fathers (as ſometimes now) liued ſo long, that the ſonnes, deſtitute of meanes, were enforced to roaue abroad, ſeeking ſome place, where to ſet vp their reſt: and withall being a Nation vail in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandered as Roouers ouer many Countreies. Some of them lighting on *Italie*, ſet vpon *Cluſium*, a Towne in *Hetruria*; whereof *Rome* hauing information (and being careful of her Confederate Townes) ſent Embaſſadors, warning them to deſiſt from ſuch injurious enterpriſes. But the barbarous people, not regarding the meſſage, vpon ſome iniurie offered by the *Roman* Embaſſadors, conuerſed their forces from *Cluſium* towards *Rome*; and giuing a great overthrow to the *Romans*, by the Riuer *Alia*, vpon the ſixteenth day before the *Calends* of *Auguſt* (which day was after branded for vnluckie, and called *Allenſis* in the *Roman* Kalender) they hasted towards the Citie. Then was *Rome* the true map of miſeric and deſolation. For ſome leauing the citie; ſome creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and euery one ſhifting for himſelfe, ere the enimie came; *Rome* was abandoned, as indefenſible. The Veſtal Virgins, in this tumult, were ſafely conuaid away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering

decomin

Perollo fight

802

X thering boldnesse out of desperate feare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leaue of the world, did seate themselves in Thrones, in their severall houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had lived, in State. The younger fort, which *M. Marcius* their Capitaine, tooke vpon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this, the *Gauls* were entred the Citie, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoile, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senators, that sat in their Majestie, with a graue resolution: hauing first reuerenced them as *Gods*, anon they tryed whether they would die like men. When the Citie was thoroughly rifled, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them worke for the space of *seuen* Moneths. Once they were like to haue surpris'd it by night, but being discryed by the gagling of *Geese*, *M. Marcius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed vpon: the *Gauls* being wearie, and the *Romans* hungrie. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* should take a thousand pound waight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilst the gold, was in waighing, the *Gauls*, with open insolencie, made their waights too heauie: *Brennus*, their Capitaine, casting his sword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cauiling, came *Furius Camillus*, with an Armie, from *Ardea*, (where he had liued in his banishment) and fell vpon the *Gauls*, with such violence, that hee disperfed their troupes, quenched the fire of the Citie with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoiles with aduantage, and forbeare the gold, in accepting which, they had lately bene so nice. Further, hauing rid the Citie of them, he so hotly pursued them, through a great part of *Italie*, that the remainder of their Armie, which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this first, had the like ill success. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Coruinus* (each of which in single fight, slew a Champion of the *Gauls*) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable seruice, was afterwards accompted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their Citie, were earnestly bent to goe to the *Vej* to inhabit; but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of *Vej*, they changed their gouernment from Consuls to militarie Tribunes. The gouernement of these also, after some yeares, was by ciuill disension interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled: another while there was an Anarchie: Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Consular authoritie was established; it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should alwaies bee a *Plæbeian*. This was after the building of the Citie, three hundred sixtie six yeares. And now *Rome* by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minoritie, dares set forth against the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirtie miles off: situated betwene *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campanians* their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeld themselves subjects to *Rome*, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute, or what else whatsoeuer to obtaine protection, which the *Romans*, although both Countries had bene their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fifth, should deuour the lesse, easily allowed off; especially aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of Come and Wine, pleasant Cities and Townes, but especially *Capua* it selfe, the fairest Citie then in all *Italie*.

The Families of the *Papyrij* and *Fabij* were most employed in the managing of this warre, which indured the space of fiftie yeares. And in this season were the *Romans* oftentimes dangerously encountered by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Posthumus* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominie: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* lost the field with three thousand men.

But

But for these losses, many great victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrell. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) beganne to stirre. So the one and the other of these two Countreys, became at length, tributarie to *Rome*.

In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce betwene the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latines* beganne to challenge equal freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing Office, so that they required to have one of the Consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand, of the *Latines*, was not vnreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were a *Latine* Collonie; besides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud, to admit any such capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betwene them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the vertue of the Consuls.

Manlius Torquatus, and the elder *Decius*, were then Consuls, whom the Spoth-layers aduertised, that the side should be victorious, which lost the General in fight. Hereupon, *Decius* the Consull, exposed his life to the Enemie, and purchased victorie (as was beleued) by his death. In which kinde of deuoting himselfe for his Ar-mie, the sonne of this *Decius*, being after Consull, did imitate his father, in the *Hetrurian* warre. But (as *Tullie* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Dees*, that purchased victorie, by rushing into the midst of the enimies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the liues of so worthie Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Countie. The discipline of *Manlius* was no lesse resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemie. For breach of which order, he caused his owne sonne to be put to death, who had slaine a Captaine of the *Latines*, being challenged, in single fight.

When the *Latines*, the *Aequi*, *Volscei*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, 30 with some other people, were brought vnder obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of *Italie*, to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* aduentured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the Roman Consull, walking all their Countie with fire and sword, from the River *Nar* and *Velis*, to the *Adriatique Sea*, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians*, that made triall of the Roman Armes, were the *Tarentines*, and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as Mediatours, betwene the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptorie denunciation of warre, vnto that partie, which should dare to refuse the peace by them tendered. These threats, which discovered their bad affection to *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Sam-nites* were vtterly subdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their 40 abilitie of performance.

The *Romans* complained, that certaine ships of theirs were robbed; and sent Embassadours vnto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Vpon some wrong done to these Embassadours, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the *Lucani*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apuliens*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome*, to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the Roman strength, taught all these people to know their owne weaknesse. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aide (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceiued, that the Dominiion of *Rome* should be 50 confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all *Italie*, which already, in a manner it did ouer-spread.

§. II.

How Pyrrhus warred vpon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battailes.

PYRRHVS, forsaken by the Macedonians, and vnable to deale with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to liue in rest: which he abhorred no lesse than a wifer Prince would haue desired. He had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that vnscled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdome: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so encreased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdome, to make an offensiue warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth*, at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Vpon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might haue wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that hee might serue to giue some hinderance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of imploiment, and couetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadors came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with braue offers, as needing none other aide then his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themselves vnder his protection. They had in their companie, some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised, in behalfe of their severall Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and fill by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered *Cyneus* his chiefe Counsaillor, asking what he meant to doe after euery of the victories which hee hoped to get: that, hauing wonne *Rome*, he would loone be Master of all *Italie*; that, after *Italie* he would quickly get the Isle of *Sicily*; that, out of *Sicily* hee would passe ouer into *Africk*, and winne *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Countrey; and being strengthened with the force of all these Prouinces, hee would be too hard, for any of those, that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cyneus* enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would liue merrily; a thing (as *Cyneus* then told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if he could bee contented with his owne.

Neuerthelesse, this *Italian* expedition seemed vnto *Pyrrhus*, a matter of such consequence, as was not to bee omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Armie, of almost thirtie thousand men, well sorted, and well trained Souldiers: part of which he sent ouer before him vnder *Cyneus*, with the rest he followed in person. At his comming, he found the *Tarentines* very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, vterly carelesse to provide for the Warre. Wherefore he was faine to shut vp their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a strickt muster, as was to them very vnpleasing, though greatly beehooing to their estate.

Whilst he was occupied with these cares, *Lucius* the *Roman* Consul drew near, and beganne to waile *Lucania*, a Prouince confederate with the *Tarentines* in this Warre.

The *Lucanians* were not readie to defend their owne Countrey; the *Samnites* were carelesse of the harme, that fell not (as yet) vpon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would haue beene, but their valour was little: all of these had beene accustomed to shrinke, for feare of the *Roman* fortitude; and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more vpon his owne forces, than the issue of their vaunting promises. Hee was now driven, either to set forward, with those that him selfe had brought into *Italie*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein

wherein little was to be repofed; or elfe to weaken the reputation of his owne fufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to vp-hold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had bene fattered by foule weather at Sea, were fafely come to him: with which herfcolued to affay the valour of the *Romans*, againft whom hee proudly marched.

Launius the Confull was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and giue him battaile, ere all his adherents fhould be readie to joyne with him. This boldneffe of the *Roman*, and the slackneffe of the *Mefapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger moft
10 concerned, caufed *Pyrrhus* to offer a treatie of peace: requiring to haue the quarrel, betwene the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to winne time, that the *Samnites* and their fellows might arrive at his Campe; or whether, confidering better at neare diftance, the weight of the bufineffe, which he had taken in hand, he were defirous to quit it with his honour, the fhort anfwere, that was returned to his propofition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* fent him this word, that they had neither chofen him their Iudge, nor feared him their enemy.

Hereupon, both Armies haftened their march vnto the River of *Siris*: *Launius* intending to fight, before the arrivall of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from
20 paffing that River, vntill his owne Armie were full. Vpon the firft view of the *Roman* Campe, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue difcipline of warre: which caufed him to let a ftrong *Corps de garde*, vpon the paffage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, vntill he faw his beft advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only fkillfull in the Art of warre, but couragious in execution. For the *Roman* Armie entred the Foord, in face of his *Corps de garde*; and their horfe, at the fame time, beganne to paffe the River, in fundrie places: which caufed the *Greekes* to forfake the defence of their bank, and fpeedily retire vnto their Campe.

This audacitie forced *Pyrrhus* to battaile; where with he thought it beft to pre-
30 fent them, ere their whole Armie had recovered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marfhall his battailes; himfelfe with the horfe, charged vpon the *Romans*: who ftooly receiued him, as men well exercifed in fuffaining furious impreffions. In this fight, neither did his courage tranfport him beyond the dutie of a carefull Generall; nor his prouidence in directing others, hinder the manifeftation of his perfonall valour. It behooued him indeede to doe his beft; for he neuer met with better oppofers. Once, and fhortly after the fight began, his horfe was flaine vnder him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the vfe of his Kings armour, which was torne from
40 his back. This accident had almoft loft him the battaile: but he perceiving it, difcovered his face, and thereby reftored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vaine joy. The fight was obftinate, and with the greater loffe (at leaft of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his fide, as long as only fpeare and fword were vfed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whole vnufual forme and terrible afpect, the horfes of the *Romans* (vnaccuftomed to the like) were not
60 able to fuftaine; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battailes, perceiving their horfe put to rout, and driuen out of the field; finding alfo themfelves both charged in flanke, and ouer-borne, by the force, and huge bulke, of thefe ftrange beafts; gaue way to neceffitie, and faued themfelves, as well as they
50 could, by haffe flight: in which confederation, they were fo forgetfull of their difcipline, that they carried not to defend their Campe, but ranne quite beyond it, leauing both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victorie was foon spread ouer *Italic*; and the reputation was no leffe than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to bee heard, that a *Roman* Confull,

Consull, with a select Armie, should loose in plaine battaile, not only the field, but the Campe it selfe, being so notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more bravely wonne by *Pyrrhus*, for that hee had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the vnwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he tooke, in hauing the glorie of this action peculiarly his owne, at such time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Samnites*, for comming (as we say) a day after the faire. Neuerthelesse, he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore, he thought it good to compound with them, whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose hee sent vnto them *Cyneas* his Embassadour; 10 demanding only to haue the *Tarentines* permitted to liue at rest, and him selfe accepted as their especial friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberall gifts, labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recovering their captiues, or their danger, by the rising of many States in *Italie* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blinde Senator, did stirre them vp to make good their honour by warre. So they returned answere, that whilest *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italie*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report, that *Cyneas* made, at his returne, of the *Roman* puissance 20 and vertue; as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great desire of confederacie, with that gallant Citie. Hereupon many kinde Offices passed betweene them: but still when hee vrged his motion of peace, the answere was, *He must first depart out of Italie, and then treat of peace*.

In the meane season, each part made prouision for warre; the *Romans* leauing a more mightie armie than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access vnto his forces, of all the East parts of *Italie*. So they came to triall of a second battaile, wherein (though after long and quell fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants, gaue to *Pyrrhus* a second victorie. But this was not altogether so joyfully, as the former had beene: rather it gaue him cause to say, that such another victorie would be his vtter vndoing. For hee had lost the flower of his Armie in this battaile, and though he draue the *Romans* into their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of preuailling against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilest he should bee driuen to spend vpon his old stock. Neither could hee expect, that his Elephants should alwayes stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would soone teach the *Romans*, that were apt Scholes in such learning, how to make them vnseruicable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carrie his honour safe out of *Italie*: 30 which to doe (seeing the *Romans* would not helpe him, by offering or accepting any faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a slight occasion, presented by 40 fortune, that follo weth to be related.

ð. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How P^{to}lemy, being invited into Sicill, forsooke Italie; wanne the most of the Isle; and lost it in short space.

P^{to}lemy returns into Italie; where he is beaten by the Romans, and so goes back to his owne Kingdome.



Hen P^{to}lemy Ceraunus had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron Seleucus, he presently seized vpon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in Europe, as if they had bene the due reward, vnto him, that had slaine the Conquerour. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of strength and reputation enough, to aduance him selfe against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to haue him their King, that had (as he professed) reuenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousnes of his fact, by which they were freed from subiection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that vpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselves that his raigne might proue good, though his entrance had bene wicked. These affections of the *Macedonians* did serue to defeat *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt vpon the Kingdome. As for *Antiochus*, the sonne of *Seleucus*, he was farre off, and might be questioned about some part of *Asia*, ere he should be able to bring an Armie neare vnto Europe. Yet hee made great shew of meaning to reuenge his fathers death: but being stronger in monie than in armes, hee was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murderer. While these three stroue about the Kingdome, *Pyrrius*, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made vse of their dissention: threatening warre, or promising his assistance, to every one of them. By these meanes he strengthened himselfe, and greatly aduantaged his Italian voiage, which hee had then in hand: requesting monie of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Ptolomey*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to haue them restored at two yeares end) more for feare than for loue: that so he might free himselfe from trouble, & quietly enjoy his Kingdome.

Thus *Ptolomey* grey mightie on the suddaine; and the power that by wicked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked hee increased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong Citie of *Cassandria*, was held by *Stratonice* his sister, the widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therein with her yong children. Her hee circumvented by making loue to her, and (according to the falshood of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinitie) taking her to wife, with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere he slew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his villanie found; vengeance came vpon him from a farre, by the furie of a Nation, that hee had neuer heard off. *Belgus* a Captaine of the *Gauls*, hauing forced his passage through many Countreies, vnto the confines of *Macedon*, sent a proud message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with monie, or otherwile, to looke for all the miseries of warre. These *Gauls* were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrie, to seeke new seates, in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* tooke and burnt the Citie of *Rome*. They had divided themselves, at their setting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell vpon *Italie*, the other, passing through the Countreies that lie on the Northerne side of the *Adriatick Sea*, made long abode in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adioyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeme peace with tribute: as now they would haue compelled *Ceraunus* to doe vnto whole borders they came about an hundred and eight yeares after such time as their fellows had taken *Rome*.

When their Embassadors came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would give: His answer was, that he would be contented to give them peace; but it must bee with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yeeld vp their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor give any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the *Gauls* did laugh; saying, that they would soone confute with deeds, the vanitie of such proud words. It may seeme strange, that he, who had given away part of his Armie unto *Pyrrhus*, for very leage; should be so confident in vndertaking more mightie enemies. The King of the *Dardanijs* offered to lend him twentiethousand men against the *Gauls*; but hee scorned the offer; saying, that hee had the children of those, which vnder the conduct of *Alexander*, had subdued all the East. Thus hee issued forth against the barbarous people, with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the victorie must needs haue followed the reputation of a great name. But hee soone found his great error, when it was too late. For the enemies were not only equal in strength of body, and fiercenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the *Macedonians* in numbers, that few or none escaped their furie. *Ptolomie* himselfe grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whilest the battaile continued; and they presently strooke off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vter astonishment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all *Macedon* with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Countie as lost. Only *Sophenes*, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Armie, with which hee many times got the vpper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from vsing the victorie at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Soldiers would haue made him King, which title he refused, and was content with the name of a Generall. But (as mischiefe doe feldome come alone) the good successe of *Belgius*, drew into *Macedon* *Brennus* another Captaine of the *Gauls*, with an hundred and fiftie thousand foot, and fiftene thousand horse; against which mightie Armie, when *Sophenes* with his weake troups made opposition, hee was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* againe compelled to hide themselves within their walls, leaving all their Countie to the spoile of the Barbarians.

Thus were the *Macedonians* destitute of a King, and troden downe by a Nation, that they had not heard of, in lesse then fiftie yeares after the death of *Alexander*, who sought to discouer and subdue vknown Countiees, as it all *Greece*; and the Empire of *Persia*, had beene too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very seasonably had these newes beene carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italie*, who sought a faire pretext of relinquiishing his warre with the *Romans*; had not other tidings out of *Sicily* distracted him, and carried him away in pursuite of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned ouer the whole Iland, the *Carthaginians* sent an Armie to conquer *Sicily*, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This Armie did so fast preuaile, that the *Sicilians* had no other hope to auoide slaueerie, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*, whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought more for their good roo obey, than to liue vnder the well knowne heauie yoke of *Carthage*. To him therefore, the *Syracusans*, *Leontines*, and *Agrogentines*, principall Estates of the Ille, sent Embassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions, of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so vnluckily, both at one time. Yet whether hee thought the businesse of *Sicily* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps hee beleeued (as came after to passe) that his aduantage, vpon *Macedon*, would not so hastily passe away, but that hee might finde some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leisure, ouer into *Sicily* he transported his Armie, leauing the *Tarentines* to thier for themselves; yet not leauing them free as hee found them, but with a Garrison in their Towne, to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of *Italie*, was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature aduice; so were his actions following, vntill his returne vnto *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered, or note worthy. The Armie which he caried into that Ile, consisted of thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse: with which, soone after his descent in *Sicill*, he forc't the *Carthaginians*, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also wonne the strong Citie of *Eryx*, and hauing beaten the *Mamertines* in battaile, hee beganne to change condition, and turne tyrant. For he draue *Sofstratus* (to whom his crueltie was suspect) out of the Iland, and put *Thenon* of *Syracuse* to death, being jealous of his greatnesse; which two persons had faithfully serued him, and deliuered the great and rich Citie of *Syracuse* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as hee serued himselfe, and salued the disreputation of his leauing *Sicill*, by an Embassage sent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, imploring his present helpe against the *Romans*, who since his leauing *Italie*, had well neare disposited them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occasion, hee embarked for *Italie*; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assailed in *Italie* it selfe, by eigheteene hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the straits of the Countrie. Lastly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, hee fought a third battaile with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious ouer him, and forc't him out of *Italie*, into his owne *Epirus*.

A Prince he was farre more valiant than constant, and had he beene but a General of an Armie, for some other great King or State, and had been directed to haue conquered any one Countrie or Kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would haue purchased no lesse honour, than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Captaine, or a valianter man, hath beene no where found. But he neuer staid vpon any enterprise; which was, indeede, the disease hee had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

§. IIII.

How *ANTIGONVS*, the sonne of *DEMETRIVS*, deliuered *Macedon* from the *Gauls*. How *PYRRHVS* wonne the Kingdome of *Macedon* from *ANTIGONVS*.

He vertue of *Sophenes* being too weake, to defend the Kingdome of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Bellus*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus*: the *Macedonians* were no lesse glad to submit themselves vnto the gouernment of *Antigonus*, than they had formerly beene desirous, to free themselves, from the impotent rule of his father *Demetrius*. His comming into the Countrie, with an Armie, Naue, and treasure, becomming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much comidence: for hee was driuen to vs against the *Barbarians*, only those forces, which he brought with him, hauing none other than good wishes of the *Macedons*, to take his part. *Brennus*, with the maine strength of his Armie, was gone to Spoile the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, hauing left no more behinde him, than he thought necessary to guard the borders of *Macedon*, and *Pannonia*; which were about fiftene thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their Followes: and therefore sent vnto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceranus*, hee had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was vnwilling to weaken his reputation, by condescending to their proud demands: yet he judged it vsuit to exasperat their furious choler, by vn courteous words or vllage, as *Ceranus* had ouer-fondly done. Wherefore

he entertained their Embassadors in very louing and sumptuous manner, with a roiall feast: wherein he exposed to their view, such abundance of massie gold and siluer, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessels, wherein it was serued. He thought hereby, to make them vnderstand, how great a Prince he was, and how able, if neede required, to wage a mightie Armie.

To which end, he likewise did shew vnto them, his Camp and Nauie, but especially his Elephants. But all this brauerie serued only to kindle their greedie appetites; who seeing his ships heauie loaden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified, himselfe (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferiour vnto the *Gauls*: thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possessors, to spend the riches, which they accompted assuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouthes, than of spoile and purchase: which tale, caried the *Gauls* head-long, to *Antigonus* his camp, where they expected a greater bootie, than the victorie ouer *Cerannus* had giuen to *Belgius*. Their coming was terrible and suddaine; yet not so suddaine, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it: who distrustful the courage of his owne men, dislodged somewhat before their arriual, and conueighed himselfe, with his whole armie and carriage, into certaine woods adjoyning, where he lay close.

The *Gauls*, finding his Camp forsaken, were not hastie to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the emptie Cablines of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched euery place in vaine, angrie at their lost labour, they marched with all speede toward the Sea-side; that they might fall vpon him, whilest hee was busie in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terror which they had brought vpon *Antigonus*, they were so carelesse of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoile of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in couert, and had saued it selfe by getting aboard the flect: in which number were some well experienced men of warre, who discovering the much aduantage offered vnto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manlie hold vpon the oportunitie. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gaue so braue a charge vpon the disordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldnesse was thereby changed into suddaine feare, and they, after a great slaughter, driuen to cast themselves into the seruice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this victorie, caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient beliefe of the *Macedonian* valour: by which, the terrible and resistlesse oppressors of so many Countries, were ouerthrowne.

To speake more of the *Gauls*, in this place; and to shew how about these times, three Tribes of them passed ouer into *Asia* the lesse, with their warres and conquests there; I hold it needlesse: the victorious armes of the *Romans*, taming them hereafter, in the Countries which now they wanne, shall giue better occasion, to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoeuer the good successe of *Antigonus* got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had wonne this victorie, could not thereupon be perswaded, to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the seruice, wherein his conduct was no better, than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull vnto *Pyrhus*: though as yet, he knew not so much. For *Pyrhus*, when his affaires in *Italie* stood vpon hard termes, had sent vnto *Antigonus* for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he sure to get, either a supply, wherewith to continue his war against the *Romans*, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italie*, vnder colour of making

making his word good, in seeking reuenge. The threats which he had vsed in brauerie, meere necessitie forced him, at his returne into *Epirus*, to put in practise.

He brought home with him, eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an armie too little to be imployed, by his relesse nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell vpon *Macedon*; intending to take what spoile he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this bulesse, two thousand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers, reuolted into this Pyrrhus, and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, receiued him. Such faire beginnings, easily perswaded the
10 courage of this daring Prince, to set vpon *Antigonus* himselfe, and to hazard his fortune, in triall of a battaile, for the whole Kingdome of *Macedon*.

It appears, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight, with this hot warrior; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to weare him out of the Countrey. For *Pyrrhus* overtooke him in a straight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the *Gauls*, and the *Elephants*, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest proofe that he was in retreat. The *Gauls* very brauely sustained *Pyrrhus* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slaine) after a sharpe fight: wherein it seems, that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the streight, and not aduancing to their succour, took away
20 their courage, by deceiuing their expectation. The Captaines of the *Elephants* were taken soone after; who, finding themselves exposed to the same violence, that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus*, and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort: which emboldened *Pyrrhus*, to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreame difficultie (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had scene so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discovered so well their affections, that hee aduентured to draw neare in person, and exhorted them to yield. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower.
30 All forsooke *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled a long with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small forces left, and monie enough to entertaine a greater power, had he knowne where to leaue it. But whilest he was thinking, how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his seruice; whereby hee might repaire his losse: *Ptolemie*, the sonne of *Pyrrhus*, came vpon him, and easily defeating his weake forces, draue him to flie from the parts about *Macedon*, to those Townes a farre off: in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such times as he looked abroad into the world, and made himselfe a King.

This good successe reuiued the spirits of the *Epirots*, and caused him to forget all sorrow, of his late misfortunes in the *Roman* warre: so that he sent for his sonne *Hellenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come ouer into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest; and let the *Italians* shift for themselves.

§. V.

How PYRRHVS assailed Sparta without success. His enterprize vpon Argos, and his death.

50 **P**YRRHVS had now conceiued a great hope, that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing, that in open fight, he had vanquished the *Gauls*, beaten *Antigonus*, and wonne the Kingdome of *Macedon*; There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeede, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had wonne, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set vp against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what
Ccccc 3 he

he pleased. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of five and twentie thousand foot, two thousand horse, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warre against *Antigonus*, and the giuing libertie to those Townes in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important, than warre against a Prince already vanquished, and almost vitally dejected. Especially the *Lacedemonians* feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrey, had betaken himselfe to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdome. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make thew of any displeasure, that he bare vnto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to haue two of his owne yonger sonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours hee deluded men, euen till he entred vpon *Laconia*; where presently he demeaned himselfe as an open enemy: excusing himselfe, and his former dissembling words, with a iell; That he followed herein the *Lacedemonian* custome, of concealing what was truly purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedemonians*, to deale in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they fought to oppress: but now they complained of that, as falsehood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwaies practised as wilddome, till it made them distrustful, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Neuerthelesse, they were not wanting to themselves, in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; causing such as could beare armes, to rescue themselves fresh against the assault: which *Pyrrhus* had vnwisely deferred, vpon assurance of preuailing.

Sparta was neuer fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soone after this (it being built vpon vncuen ground, and for the most part hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with walls; at the present, only trenches were cast, and *baricadoes* made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easie. Three daies together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus*, exceeding fiercely, and no lesse stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preferred the Towne the first day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindfull of saving the person of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though already they had torne in sunder the *baricadoes*. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captaines got into *Sparta*, with a good strength of men; and drew the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had beene helping his friends in warre) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his owne countrey stood, vntill he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kinde in *Pyrrhus* desire to preuaile against all impediments. But the things which workes shewed, how great his error had bene, in forbearing to assault the Towne at this first coming. For he was so manfully repelled, that hee saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course, he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Armie, though not strong enough to meet the enemy in plaine field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtful what way to take; being diuersly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilst hee was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inuiting him thither; with promise, to deliuer that Citie into his hands.

Small dissension raging then hotly in *Argos*, caused the heads of seuerall factions, to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the comming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous, to rid their hands of such powerfull Assistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himselfe to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argues*, that he came to Que them from the tyrannie of *Pyrrhus*; and that hee would be

begone if they needed not his helpe. On the other side, *Pyrrhus* would, needes perswade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them safe from *Antigonus*, offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

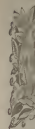
The *Argives* tooke small pleasure, in hearing the *Foxe* and *Kite* at strife, which of them should keepe the *Chickens* from his enemye: and therefore prayed them both, to diuert their powers some other way. Hercunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gaue *Hoiages* to assure his word: for he was the weaker, and stood in neede of good-will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promise: *Hoiages* he would giue none, to his inferiours; especially, meaning deceipt. This made them suspect his purpose to be such, as, indeede, it was. Yet he lesse regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthis of assurance, by giuing such a bond, as hee intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie should be opened by night vnto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie, without any tumult, entred the Citie: till the *Elephants*, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to passe the Gate. At the taking off, and setting on againe, of those Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both giue alarme to the Citie, and some leasure to take order for defence, before so many were entred, as could fully Master it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindered the *Gauls* (that had the *Vanguard*) being ignorant of the waies, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much aduantage, by their knowledge of euery by-passage: and setting vpon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great losse, and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore, vnderstanding by the confused noise, and vnequall shoutings of his owne men, that they were in distresse, entred the Citie in person, to take order for their reliefe, and assurance of the place. But the darkenesse, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, vntill breake of day. Then beganne he to make his passage by force, and so farre preuailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is said, that seeing in that place, the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in such posture as if they had bene combattant, hee called to minde an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indee, the coming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his owne men; with diuers ill accidents, gaue him reasonable cause to haue retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had bene away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gaue back, so did others thrust forward, and the *Argiues* pressing hard vpon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retreat, with his owne sword. The tops of the houses were couered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her owne sonne in dangerous case, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore, shee tooke a tile stone, or slate, and threw it so violently downe on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that hee fell to ground astonished with the blow; and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

This ended the restless ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of *Ilacion* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith possessed the armie, the bodie, and the children of his enemye. The bodie of *Pyrrhus*, had honourable funerall, and was giuen by *Antigonus* vnto *Helenus* his sonne; which young Prince he graciously sent home, into his Fathers Kingdome of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus*, held the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the posteritie of *Selencus*, raigned ouer *Asia* and *Syria*; and the house of *Ptolomie* had quiet possession of *Egypt*: vntill such time, as the Citie of *Rome*, swallowing all vp, digested these, among other Countries, into the bodie of her owne Empire.



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THE FIRST PART OF
THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM

the setled rule of ALEXANDERS Successors
in the East, vntill the ROMANS, preuailing
ouer all, made Conquest of ASIA and
MACEDON.

THE FIFT BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punicke Warre.

§. I.

*A discussion of that probleme of LIVIE; Whether the Romans could
haue resisted the great ALEXANDER. That neither the Macedonian
nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to
the English.*



HAT question handled by LIVIE, Whether the
great ALEXANDER could haue preuailed against
the Romans, if after his Easterne conquest, he had
bent all his forces against them, hath bene, and
is, the subject of much dispute; which (as it
seemes to me) the arguments on both sides do
not so well explaine, as doth the experience
that Pyrrhus hath giuen, of the Roman power,
in his daies. For if he, a Commander (in Han-
nibals iudgement) inferior to Alexander, though
to none else, could with small strength of men,
and little store of monie, or of other needfull
helps in warre, vanquish them in two battailes, and endanger their estate, when it
was well setled, and held the best part of *Italie*, vnder a confirmed obedience: what
would Alexander haue done, that was abundantly provided of all which is need-
full

full to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halfe so well fetled. It is easie to say, that *Alexander* had no more, than thirtie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse (as indeede, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried ouer, not many more) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate *Asiaticques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolomie*, *Antigonus*, and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, mery one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power; shall easily finde, that such a reckoning is farre short of the truth.

It were needlesse to speake of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of batterie, 10 and the like: of all which, the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, save men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punicke* warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting vpon the shoare, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceive, how sure too weak they would haue proued in such seruices.

Now for helpers in warre; I doe not see, why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deserue to be laid in ballance, against those parts of *Italie*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subjection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the Easteme world, more wealthie, indeede, than 20 valiant, could haue afforded vnto the *Macedonian*: let vs only conjecture, how the States of *Sicill* and *Carthage*, nearest neighbours, to such a quarrell (had it happened) would haue stood affected. The *Sicilians* were, for the most part, *Grecians*; neither is it to bee doubted, that they would readily haue submitted themselves vnto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that *Alexander* comming into those parts, would haue brought excessiue joy; to them that were faine to get the helpe of *Pyrhus*, by offering to become his subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*; if *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne besieged Citie, could, by aduenturing to saile into *Africke*, 30 put their Dominion, yea and *Carthage* it selfe, in extreme hazard; shall wee thinke that they would haue beene able to withstand *Alexander*? But, why doe I question their abilitie, seeing that they sent Embassadours, with their submission, as farre as *Babylon*, ere the warre drew neare them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* mult, without other succour, than perhaps of some few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none, that forsooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) haue opposed their valour, and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countries, to them knowne, if they would haue made resistance. How they could haue sped well, in vndertaking such a match, it is vn easie to finde in discouerie of humane reason. It is true; that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is 40 against cowardly fooles, and the vnfortunate; for whofoeuer contends with one too mightie for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enimie goes beyond him in power; or else must looke, both to be ouercome, and to bee cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman*, or the *Macedonian*, were in those daies the better Souldier, I will not take vpon me to determine: though I might, without partialitie, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Armi- which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of warre; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning 50 fortune, who can giue a rule that shall alwaies hold? *Alexander* was victorious in euery battaile that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of euery warre. But forasmuch as *Lucius* hath judged this a matter worthe of consideration; I thinke it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italie*: where in three

CHAP. I. S. I. of the Historie of the World.

three yeares after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the power of that State, were surprized by the *Sannites*, and enforced to yeeld vp their armes. We may therefore permit *Liue* to admire his owne *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captaines of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the same conceipt should blind our judgment, we cannot permit without much vanitie.

Now in deciding such a controuersie, I me thinks it were not amisse, for an *Englishman*, to giue such a sentence betwene the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) betwene the *Aracter* and *Aricini*, that should about a peece of land; saying, that it belonged vnto neither of them, but vnto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman*, were the best Warriour? I will answer: The *Englishman*. For it will soone appeare, to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no aduantage of weapon; against no savage or ynnamalie people; the enemy being farre superiour vnto vs in numbers, and all needfull prouisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of warre.

In what sort *Philip* wanne his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were; whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian Phalang* was, and how well appointed, against such armes as it commonly encountered: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing storie of them, doth sufficiently vnderstand. Yet was this *Phalang* neuer, or very seldome, able to stand, against the *Roman* Armies: which were embattailed in so excellent a forme, as I know not, whether any Nation besides them haue vsed, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater vse, than those with which any other Nation hath serued, before the fierie instruments of Gunne-powder were knowne. As for the enemies, with which *Rome* had to doe; we finde, that they, which did ouer-match her in numbers, were as farre ouer-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom shee had little aduantage in armes, had as little aduantage of herin multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well obserueth) was a part of her happinesse; that shee was neuer ouer-laid, with two great warres at once.

Hereby it came to passe, that hauing at first increased her strength, by accession of the *Sabines*; hauing wonne the State of *Alba*, against which shee aduentured her owne selfe, as it were in wager, vpon the heads of three Champions: and hauing thereby made her selfe Princess of *Latium*: shee did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion ouer all *Italie*: The *Carthaginians* had well neare oppressed her: but their Souldiers were Mercinarie; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their owne doores. The *Aetolians*, and with them all, or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*: hee being beaten, did lend her his helpe, to beat the same *Aetolians*. The warres against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiaticques*, were such as gaue to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as bafe of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicily*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands by vsing her aide, to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not neede to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when shee had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say: that among all their warres, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared, comparable to the *English*. If my judgement seeme ouerpartiall; our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

First, therefore it is well knowne; that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had neuer any so braue a Commander in warre, as *Julius Caesar*; and that no *Roman* armie, was comparable vnto that, which serued vnder the same *Caesar*. Likewise, it

is apparent, that this gallant Armie, which had given faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* warre, when it first entred into *Gaulle*, was neuertheless vterly disheartened, when *Caesar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may iustly impute, all that was extraordinarie in the valour of *Caesars* men, to their long exercise, vnder so good a Leader, in so great a warre. Now let vs in generall, compare with the deedes done by these best of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall seruice; the things performed in the same Countrey, by our common *English* Souldier, leauied in battes, from following the Cart, or sitting on the *shop*-*stall*: so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairely, and beleuee *Caesar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witnesse, what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Caesars* time, *France* was inhabited by the *Gaulles*, a stout people, but inferior to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; euen when the *Romans* gaue them assistance. The Countrey of *Gaulle* was rent in sunder (as *Caesar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were gouerned by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it applicable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not only in generall through the whole Countrey, but betwene the petty States, yea in euery Citie, and almost in euery house. What greater aduantage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there was a greater. *Arminius*, with his *Germans*, had ouer-runne the Countrey, and held much part of it in a subjection, little different from meere slauierie: yea, so often had the *Germans* prevailed in warre vpon the *Gaulles*, that the *Gaulles* (who had sometimes bene the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equall to those daily Inuaders. Had *France* bene so prepared vnto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it selfe, by this time, and long ere this time, would haue bene ours. But when King *Edward* the third beganne his warre vpon *France*, hee found the whole Countrey settled in obedience to one mightie King; a King whose reputation abroad, was no lesse, than his puissance at home; vnder whose Ensigne, the King of *Behemia*, did serue in person; at whose call, the *Genoueyes*, and other Neighbour States, were readie to take armes: finally, a King vnto whom one Prince gaue away his Dominion, for loue; another sold away a goodly Citie and Territorie for monie. The Countrey lying so open to the *Roman*, and being so well fenced against the *English*; it is note-worthie, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meere vanitie, to match the *English* purchases, with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gaue the greater proofe of militarie vertue. *Caesar* himselfe doth witnesseth, that the *Gaulles* complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their owne hardinesse was ouer-masted, by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of batterie, raised and planted against their walls, as more than humane workes. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the *Roman*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valliant, as any vnder the skie, are commonly put to the worke, by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to haue regard, of the great difficultie that was found, in drawing all the *Gaulles*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with ioynt forces they might oppose their assailants: as also the much more difficultie, of holding them long together. For hereby it came to passe, that they were neuer able to make vse of opportunitie: but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellowes; and sometimes driuen, to giue or take battaile, vpon extreme disaduantages, for feare, least their Companies should fall a-sunder: as indeede, vpon any little disaister, they were readie to bracke, and returne euery one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (which was little lesse than all this) great oddes in weapon, gaue to the *Romans*, the honour of many gallant victories. What helpes? or what other worldly help, than the golden metall of their Souldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in scats of Warre? Yea, did they not thinke themselves therein our superiours? Were they not in armes, in horse, and in all prouision, exceedingly beyond vs?

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- a The Dolphin of Viennoir.
b The King of Majotca.

Let vs heare, what a French writer saith, of the inequality that was betwene the French and English, when their King John was readie to giue the on-set, vpon the Black Prince, at the battaile of Poitiers. *JOHN had all advantages ouer EDWARD, both of number, force, shew, Countrie, and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choise of all his horse-men (scilicet, Med then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme.* And what could hee with more?

I thinke, it would trouble a Roman antiquarie, to finde the like example in their Histories; the example, I say, of a King, brought prisoner to Rome, by an Arme of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with fortie thousand, better appointed, and no lesse expert warriors. This I am sure of; that neither Syllax the Numidian, followed by a rabble of halfe Scyllions, as Lute rightly teames them, nor those cowardly Kings *Perseus* and *Genius*, are worthie patternes. All that haue read of *Cresius* and *Agemourt*, will beare me witnesse, that I doe not alliege the battaile of Poitiers, for lack of other, as good examples of the English vertue: the proofe whereof hath left many a hundred better marks, in all quarters of France, than could the valour of the Romans. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the French Crosse-bow: my answer is readie; that in all these respects, it is also (being

drawne with a strong arme) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more vse. The Gunne, and the Crosse-bow, are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakenesse, or sicknesse, or a sore finger, makes the long Bow vnfrueicable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custome of our Anceiours, to shoot, for the most part, *point blanc*: and so shall hee perceiue, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battaile. This takes away all objection: for when two Armes are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the most, can be deliuered, before they close. Neither is it in generall true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Crosse-bow: But this is the rare effect, of an extraordinarie

arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske, How then came it to passe, that the English wanne so many great battailes, hauing no advantage to helpe him? I may, with best commendation of modestie, referre him to the French Historian: who relating the victorie of our men at *Crenant*, where they passed a bridge, in face of the enemy, vseth these words; *The English comes with a tol* de Serres, conquering brauerie, as be, that was accustomed to gaine euery where, without any slay: hee forceth our garde, placed vpon the bridge, to keepe the passage. Or I may cite another place of the same Authour, where hee tells, how the *Britons*, being invaded by Charles the eight, King of France, thought it good policie, to apprell a thousand and two hundred of their owne men in English Cassacks; hoping that the very sight of the English red Crosse, would be enough to terrifie the French. But I will not stand to borrow of the French Historians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Aemilius*, report wonders of our Nation) the propolition which first I undertooke to maintaine; That the militarie vertue of the English, preuailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of Romans, which was assisted with all advantages that could be desired. If it be demanded; why then did not our Kings finish the conquest, as *Caesar* had done? my answer may bee (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the *Acadie*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gaue this note; *Belli potentes sunt magis quam sapienti potentes*; They were more warlike than politique. Who so notes their proceedings, may finde, that none of them went to

work like a Conquerour: saue only King *Henrie* the first, the course of whose victories, it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the Romans attempt the conquest of Gaul, before the time of *Caesar*? why not after the Macedonian warre? why not after the third *Punicke*, or after the *Numantian*? At all these times they had good le-

sure:

John de Serres.
batteille de Poitiers

JOHN had all advantages ouer EDWARD, both of number, force, shew, Countrie, and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choise of all his horse-men (scilicet, Med then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme.

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sure: and then especially had they both leisure, and fit oportunitie, when vnder the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquished the *Cimbri*, and *Tentones*, by whom the Countrey of *Gaul* had bene piteously wasted. Surely, the words of *Tullie* were true; that with other Nations, the *Romans* fought for Dominion; with the *Gauls*, for preferation of their owne latitude.

Therefore they attempted not the conquest of *Gaul*, vntill they were Lords of all other Countreies, to them knowne. We on the other side, held only the one halfe of our owne Iland; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (vntillse perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferiour) euery way equall to our selues; a Nation, anciently & strongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard, 10
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It is vsuall, with men, that haue pleased themselves, in admiring the matters which they finde in ancient Histories; to hold it a great iniurie done to their judgment, if any take vpon him, by way of comparisn, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well perswaded, that as the diuident vertue of this our Iland, hath giuen more noble proofe of it selfe; than vnder so worthe a Leader, that *Roman* Armie could doe, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cesar* a Monarch; so hereafter, by Gods blessing, who hath conuerted our greatest hindrance, into our greatest helpe, the enemy that shall dare to trie our forces, will finde cause to with, that auoiding vs, hee had rather encountred as great a puissance, as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that laying a side comparisns, we returne to the rehearsal of deeds done: wherein we shall finde, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrhus* had left *Italy*, to striue with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the first *Punic* warre.

§. II.

The estate of *Carthage*, before it entred into warre with *Rome*.



He Citie of *Carthage* had stood about sixe hundred yeares, when first it beganne to contend with *Rome*, for the maistrie of *Sicily*. It forewent *Rome* one hundred and fiftie yeares in antiquitie of foundation: but in the honor of great atchieuements, it excelled farre beyond this aduantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion in *Africa* it selfe, from the west part of *Cyrene*, to the iureights of *Hercules*, about one thousand and fise hundred miles in length, wherein stood three hundred Cities. It had subjected all *Spaine*, euen to the *Pyrenean* Mountaines, together with all the Ilands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, to the west of *Sicily*; and of *Sicily* the better part. It flourished about seuen hundred and thirtie yeare, before the destruction thereof by *Scipio*: who besides other spoiles, and all that the Souldiers referred, carried thence foure hundred and seuentie thousand weight of siluer, which make of our monie (if four pounds differ not) fourteene hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious Citie, ranne the same fortune, which many other great ones haue done. both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest peeces of the world, fore-shewes the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeares after such time as it was cast downe, the Senate of *Rome* caused it to be rebuilt: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Iunonia*: it was againe and againe abandoned and repossessed, taken and retaken; by *Genfericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belisarius* vnder *Iustinian*, by the *Persians*, by the *Aegyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong: and, while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compassed it about, sauing that it was tied to the maine by a neck of land; which passage had two miles and more of breath (*Aspin* saith three mile, and one furlong); by which we may be induced, to beleue the common report, that the Citie it selfe, was about twentie mile in compasse;

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compasse, if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to haue bene twice as great.

It had three walls, without the wall of the Citie; and betwene each of those, three or foure streets, with vaults vnder ground, of thirtie foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food. Over these they had stables for foure thousand horse, and Granaries for all their prouender. They had also lodging in these streets, betwene these out-walls for foure thousand horse-men and twentie thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline vsed now by those of *China*) neuer pelted the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byrsa*; to which *Servius* giues two and twentie furlongs in compasse, that make

10 two mile and a halfe. This was the same peece of ground, which *Lido* obtained of the *Libyans*, when shee got leave to buy only so much land of them, as shee could copasle with an Oxehide. On the west side it had also the salt Sea, but in the nature of a standing poodle; for a certaine arme of Land, fastened to the ground, on which the Citie stood, stretched it selfe towards the west continent, and left but scantie foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing Sea was built a most sumptuous *Asencall*, hauing their ships and gallies riding vnder it.

The forme of their Common-weale resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had tiularie Kings, and the Aristocraticall power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well obserueth) the people in later times vsurped too great authoritie in their Councils.

20 This confusion in gouernement, together with the truth that they reported in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcable causes of their ruine, were their auarice and their crueltie. * Their auarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinarie tributes) the one halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not vpon gentle and mercifull persons, but vpon those who could best tyrannize ouer the people, to augment their treasures. Their crueltie appeared in putting them to death without mercie, that had offended through ignorance. The one of these rendered them odious to their vassalls, whom it made ready vpon all occasions, to revolt from them; the other did breake the spirits of their Generalls, by presenting in the heat of their

30 actions abroad, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to passe, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces, after some great losse received, haue desperately cast themselves, with all that remained vnder their charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessarie, either to repaire their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them haue dared, to manage their owne best projects, after that good forme, wherein they first conceived them, for feare least the manner of their proceeding should be misinterpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* rule, to crucifie, not only the vnhappie Captaine, but euen him, whose bad counsaile had prospered cuent. The faults, where with, in general, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I finde to be these; lust, crueltie, auarice, craft, vnfaithfullnesse,

40 and perurie. Whether the *Romans* themselves were free from the same crimes, let the trial be referred vnto their actions. The first league betwene *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: hauing bene made, the yeare following the expulsion of *Tarquins*. In that league, the *Carthaginians* had the superiouritie, as imposing vpon the *Romans*, the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as haue trade, in some part of *Affric*, nor suffer any ship of theirs, to passe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the faire *Promontorie*, vnlesse it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no Haue in *Italie* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (how soeuer it hath pleased

* *Liuis* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreatie) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans*, to haue trade in any part of *Affrica*, or in the Iland of *Sardinia*.

By these two treaties it may appeare, that the *Carthaginians* had an intent, not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the state of *Affric*; but to countenance & vphold them, in their troubling all *Italie*,

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whereby

a In the first of the

b The Tiber, at this

day, doe also take the

one halfe of the poor

mans coine, that la-
bo as the earth yea,

they take to both

of the bodies, and of

the soules of the *Chris-*

tians their Vassals, by

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their child children,

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ligion. The *Tribe* take

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were wont to eate vp

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bandian *Isle* *Yuo-*

man of *England*, are

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World: And reason

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haue the ladies of

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And it is the freest

& not tholous, these

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How fice the *Engl-*

yeomen haue bene,

in times, not long

since past, *Fustile*

hath shewed in his

praise of our Coun-

tries lawes that I may

say, that they are

more free now than

euert; and our Nob-

ilitie & Gentrie more

seruile. For since the

excessive brauie,

and vaine expense of

our *Grander*, hath

taught them to raise

their Rents, since by

inclosures, and dis-

memoring of *Wan-*

nours, the Court

tion, and the Court

Leet, the Iurispri-

dictes of the Gentrie

of *England*, haue bene

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nants, having raised

vnco their Lords their

rack Rent, owe them

now no service at all,

and (perchance) a

little less. *844-844*

Liuis Dec. 1. 7.

Joseph. Graec.
lib. 1. 1.

whereby they themselves might have the better meanes to occupie all *Sicill*, whilst that Iland should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon wee finde good cause, of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twentie & five pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Sannites* were ouerthrowne. But the little state of *Rome*, preuailed faster in *Italie*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicill*. For that mightie Armie, of three hundred thousand men, which *Lannibal* conducted out of *Africk* into *Sicill*, wanne only two Cities therein; many great fleets were deuoured by tempests; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* preuailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their owne valour, or by assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repaire their owne losses, and take reuenge vpon these Inuadours. But neuer were the people of *Carthage* in better hope, of getting all *Sicill*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Iland in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible, for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the *Carthaginians* were busie, in making their aduantage, of this good oportunitie; *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines*, and their fellowes, came into *Italie*, where hee made sharpe warre vpon the *Romans*. These newes were vnplesant to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtle Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition, which had brought this Prince, out of *Greece* into *Italie*, would as easily transport him ouer into *Sicill*, as soone as he could finish his *Roman* warre. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassadour to *Rome*, who declared in their name, that they were sorie to heare, what misadventure had befallen the *Romans*, their good friends, in this warre with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an Armie into *Italie*; if their helpe were thought needfull, against the *Epiriots*.

It was, indeede, the maine desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his worke in *Italie*, that they might, at good leisure, pursue their businesse in *Sicill*: which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high minded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends, least it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme vnable to stand by their owne strength. Yet the message was taken louingly, as it ought; and the former league betweene *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed, with covenants added, concerning the present businesse; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be, with reservation of libertie, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, vsing all meanes to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one vpon every new occasion changeth his owne purposes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a slep into *Sicill*: where, though in fine he was neither getter nor sauer, yet hee cleane defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them at his departure thence, as farre from any end, as when they first beganne.

So many disasters, in an enterprize, that from the first vndertaking, had bene so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well haue induced the *Carthaginians* to beleue, that an higher prouidence resisted their intentment. But their desire, of winning that fruitfull Iland, was so inueterate; that with vnwearyed patience, they still continued in hope, of so much the greater an harvest, by how much their cost and paines therein buried had bene the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courtes; and by force or practise, recovered in few years, all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, that so they might the better enable themselves to deale with so

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had scrued vnder *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messina* as friends, and finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, tooke aduantage of the power that they had to doe

doe wrong; and with peridious crueltie, slew those that had trusted them; which done they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wives, of those, whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that mere desperation, of finding any that would approve their barbarous treacherie, added rage vnto their stoutnesse. Having therefore none other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the stronger*, they overranne the Countrey round about them.

- In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messena* against the Cities of *Stail* Confederate; to wit, against the *Syracusans*, and others, but they rather wan vpon them, yea, and vpon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusans* wanne salt vpon them, and finally, confining them within the walls of *Messena*, they also with a powerfull Armie besieged the Citie. It happened ill, that about the same time, a contention beganne, betwene the *Syracusan* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and *Gouernours* of the Common-wealth; which proceeded so farre that the Armie elected two *Gouernours*, among themselves; to wit, *Artemiderus*, and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrarie to the policie of that State, to approve any election made by the Souldiers, yet for the great clemencie hee vfed at his first entrance, was by general consent, established and made *Gouernour*. This Office, he rather vfed as a Scale, thereby to clime to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

- In briefe, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat without it, that gaue impediment, to his obtaining, and safe keeping, of the place he sought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troupes of Souldiers without, often and easily moved to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, hee tooke to wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authoritie among the *Syracusans*. For the second, leading out the Armie to besiege *Messena*, he quartered all those Companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the Citie, and leading the rest of his horse and foot vnto the other side, as if he would haue assaulted it in two severall parts, he marched away vnder the covert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in peeces by the assieged: So returning home, and leauing an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trained and obedient, he hasted againe towards *Messena*, and was by the *Mamertines* (growne proud by their former victorie over the Mutiners) incountred in the plaines of *Nylaum*, where hee obtained a most signall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captiue into *Syracuse*, himselfe by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themselves vterly infeebled, some of them resolu'd to giue themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to craue assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom, the severall factions, dispatched Embassadors for the same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soone readie, to lay hold vpon the good offer: so that a Captaine of theirs got into the Castle of *Messena*, whereof they that had sent for him gaue him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of dores, and the Towne referred for other Masters.

- These newes did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captaine, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Armie to besiege *Messena*, as a Towne that rebelled, hauing once bene theirs. *Hieron*, the new-made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people, incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom hee entred into a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines* out of *Stail*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were

closed vp within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Nauie at Sea, and with an Armie on the one side of the T owne, whilest *Hieron* with his *Syracusians*, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger, came *Appius Claudius*, the *Roman* Confull, with an Armie to the streights of *Sicily*: which passing by night with notable audacitie, hee put himselfe into the T owne, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying vnto them, that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore hee was come to giue them protection, euen by force of warre, if reason would not preuaile.

This message was vterly neglected; And so beganne the warre betwene *Rome* 10 and *Carthage*; wherein, it will then be time to shew, on which part was the iustice of the quarrell, when some actions of the *Romans*, lately foregoing this, haue beene first considered.

þ. III.

The beginning of the first Punic warre. That it was vnjustly vnderaken by the Romans.

WHEN *Pyrhus* beganne his warres in *Italie*, the Citie of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirots*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize vpon it in that busie time, sought aide from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, consisting of foure thousand Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* Garrison, considering at good leisure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Messana*, (a Citie in *Sicily*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise diuided than by a narrow Sea, which seuereth it from *Italie*) and rather weighing the greatnesse of the bootie, than the 30 odiousnesse of the vilanie, by which it was gotten; resolved finally, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked courie. Confederating therefore themselves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; diuiding the spoile, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate & people of *Rome*, of this outrage, they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more seuer profusion of iustice, than they did, during all the time of their growing greatnesse) resolved, after a while, to take reuenge vpon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italie*, by *Pyrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for 40 the foulness of their fact, hopelesse of pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present furie, were brought bound to *Rome*, where after the vsuall torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Countrey, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders; and the people of *Rhegium* were againe restored to their former liberties and estates.

This execution of iustice being newly performed, and the fame thereof sounding honourably through all quarters of *Italie*: messengers came to *Rome*, from *Messana*, desiring helpe against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusians*, that were in a readinesse to inflict the like punishment vpon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. 50 An impudēt request it was, which they made: who hauing both giuen example of that vilanie, to the *Roman* Souldiers and holpen them with ioynt forces to make it good; intreat the Iudges to giue them that assistance, which they were wont to receiue from their fellow theecues.

The

6. The *Romans* could not suddenly resolute, whether the way of honour, or of profit, were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrarie the course of succouring the *Mamertines* was, to their former counsellors, and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the sword, their owne Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best parts of *Africa*, of the *Mediterran* Ilands, of a great part of *Spain*, and some part of *Sicily* itselfe; whilst also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein seated (a Citie in beautie and riches, 10 little, at that time, inferior to *Carthage*, and farre superiour to *Rome* it selfe) might become theirs; the safety of their owne estate spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliver vp *Messana*, with those other holds, that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*; then would nothing stand betwene *Carthage*, and the Lordship of all *Sicily*: for *Syracuse* it selfe could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Masters of the Sea, did fallen vpon that passage from the maine Land. It was further considered; that the oportunitie of *Messana* was such, as would not only debarre, all succours out of the continent, from arrivall in *Sicily*; but would serve as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italie*, at their owne pleasure.

20 These considerations, of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers, that threatened from a farre: did so prevaile, above all regard of honestie, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacie with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consul, presently dispatcht away for *Messana*: into which he entred, and vnder-tooke the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arrivall; and lesse moved, with his requiring them, to desist from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; the whole Iland was readie to relieue them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this *Appian* himselfe well understood: and against all this, he thought the little metall of his *Roman* Souldier, a sufficient remedy. 30 Therefore, he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Towne; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieue another in distresse. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto hee had wilfully cast his owne: mutinous followers, not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected sallie, to surprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith hee presented him. 40 The *Syracusan* wanted not courage to fight; but surely, hee wanted good aduice: else would he not have hazarded all his power against an enemy, of whom he had made no triall; when it had bene ealie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorne the beginning of his raigne. But he was well beareen, and driven to saue himselfe within his Trenches: by which losse, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdome in good stead, all the daies of his life. It was a foolish desire of revenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so buile, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* bene taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it selfe must have sought helpe from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* 50 had (in respect of those two mightie Cities) but a small stock, which it behoued him to gouerne well: such another losse would have made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake vp his Camp, and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to bee gainers by the bargain. The next day,

day, *Claudius* perceiuing the *Syrtian* Armie gone, did with great courage, and with much alacrity of his souldiers, giue charge vpon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enimie forooke both field and campe, leauing all the Countre open to the *Romans*; who hauing spoiled all round, without reitance, intended to lay siege vnto the great Citie of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howlouer they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes, of attayning to greater matters, than at first they had expected. Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour, in the Citie of *Carthage*, that had wel enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost, than what had beene prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspition of warre from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this warre; not how profitablie they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honestie (for questionlesse the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulnessse, whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeld themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the messengers of those folke, wherof one part had alreadie admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendrie, in the publike name of all their Companie.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendrie of themselves and their possessions, were become subject vnto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assault the *Mamertines*, against their moit ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might haue aided the *Campanes*, against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it bee supposed, that some point seruing to cleare this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesse it is, that no companie, of Pirates, Thieues, Out-lawes, Murderers, or such other malefactors, can by any good successe of their vilanie, obtaine the priuilege of ciuill societies, to make leagu or truce, yea, or to require faire warre: but are by all meanes, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of some *Ciuitians*; that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith, with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can giue protection to such as these, as long as any other is vsing the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessarie to their crimes. Wherefore, we may esteeme this action of the *Romans*, so farre from being justifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Thieues, into their protection, they iustly deserved to be warred vpon themselves, by the people of *Sicily*; yea, although *Messana* had beene taken, and the *Mamertines* all slaine, ere any newes of this Confederacie had beene brought vnto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so farre persuaded herein; that he did put to sword all the *Branchiade* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; because they were defended from a Companie of *Molefians*, who to gratifie King *Alexes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Countre, which these of their posteritie enjoyed. Neuerthelessse, in course of humane iustice, long and peaceable possession giues *ius acquisitum*, a kinde of right by prescription, vnto that which was at first obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the defendants, from the crime of their Ancestors, whose villainies they do not exercise. But that the same generation of Thieues, which by a detestable fact hath purchased a rich Towne, should be acknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For euen the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gaue him first possession: but length of time is requisite, to establish him, vnlesse by some

by the up at non ex crimine
fides ostendit. obseruanda. 314 b. 325
non factis manum ut in de hereditate 214 b.

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some alliance with the ancient inheritors, hee can better the violence of his claime; as did our King *Henrie* the first, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironside*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of justice, in this quarrell, than had the *Goths*, *Hunnes*, *Vandalls*, and other Nations, of the warres that they made vpon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her selfe, in the time of her vilitation; was burnt to ground.

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§. II. III.

Of the Island of Sicill.

¶. I.

The qualitie of the Island: and the first inhabitants thereof.

THe defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messana*, being now no longer, since the first victories of *Appian Clandius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicill* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage*, are about to contend: it will be agreeable vnto the order, which in the like cases we have obserued, to make a briefe collection, of things, concerning that noble Island, which hath bene the stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present Warre.

That *Sicill* was sometimes a *Peninsula*, or *Demie-Iste*, adjoynd to *Italie*, as a part of *Bruttium* in *Calabria*, neare vnto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempest severed from the same: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this diuision happened, there is no memoriall remayning, in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Plinie*, and *Dionysius*, affirme, that it was caused by an earthquake; *Silius*, and *Cassiodorus*, doe thinke it to haue bene done by the rage and violence of the tide, and furies of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was *Euboea* severed from *Boeotia*; *Atalante* and *Macris*, from *Euboea*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornewall*; and *Britaine* it selfe (as may seeme by *Pershegans* arguments) from the opposite continent of *Gaule*. But for *Sicill*, they which lend their eares to fables, doe attribute the cause of it to *Neptune* (as *Eusebiius* witnesseth) who with his three forked Mace, in fauour of *Iocastus*, the sonne of *Aetolus*, diuided it from the maine land, and so made it an Island, which before was but a *Demie-Iste*; that by that meanes, hee might the more safely inhabite, and possesse the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moued by the authoritie of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of fundering it from *Italie*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountaines first opened the *Sicilian* Streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibraltar*.

They which value the Islands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greatest, as *Eusebiius* and *Strabo*, who affirme this, not only to excell the rest for bignesse, but also for goodnesse of soile. As concerning the forme of this Island, *Pamponius Mela*, saith, it is like that Capitall letter of the *Greeks*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle, which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Island was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old writers with one consent affirme. The *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of sowing and sowing of Corne: to *Proserpina*, not so much, for that shee was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as because (which *Plutarch*

Plin. l. 2. c. 91.
Sili. 5.Orion. l. 4. c. 14.
Diod. l. 6.
Gual. de Fa. 4. c.

Con's

Plutarch

tarch and *Diodorus* doe report for truth) that *Plato*, as soone as shee, vncouering her selfe, first shewed her selfe to becene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertilitie and riches of this Countrie, there is a famous testimonie written by *Cicero*, in his second Oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granarie*, and *Storehouse* of the Common-wealth, and the *Nurse* of the vulgar sort. The same *Cicero* doth adde in that place; that it was not only the store-house of the people of *Rome*: but also that it was accounted for a well furnished treasure. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath vsually clothed, maintained, and furnished, our greatest Armies, with leather, apparell, and corne. *Strabo* reporteth almost the same thing of it. Whatsoeuer *Sicilie* doth yeeld (saith *Solinus*) 10 whether by the Sunne, and temperature of the aire, or by the industrie and labour of man, it is accounted next vnto those things that are of best estimation: were it not, that such things, as the earth first putteth forth, are extremely ouer-growne with saffron. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the fields, neare vnto *Leontium*, and in diuers other places of this Iland, wheat doth grow of it selfe, without any labour, or looking to, of the husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it fixe Colonies, and sixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scatteringly in many good Authours.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peace as warre; there be many other things, which haue made it very renowned, as the 20 birth of *Ceres*; the rauishing of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Ætna*, *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, with other antiquities, and rarities; besides those learned men, the noble *Mathematician Archimedes*, the famous *Geometrician Euclides*, the painfull Historian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles* the deepe Philosopher.

That *Sicill* was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants *Leſtrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and vnciuill; all histories and fables doe joyntly with one consent auerre. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these sauage people dwelt only in one part of the Iland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spain*, possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bred in the Isle (although some doe so thinke,) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* doe constantly aouche.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who 30 inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driven by the *Pelasgi* from their owne seates, and finding no place vpon the continent, which they were able to maister and inhabit, passed ouer into this Iland, three hundred yeares before the fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gaue the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iland; and making warre vpon the *Sicani*, draue them from the East and Northerne part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie *Zante*, afterward called *Messena*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Syracuse* it selfe, bea- 40 ring from thence the *Ætoliens*, who long before had set vpa Towne in that place. As for the name of *Syracuse*, it was not knowne, till such times as *Archias* of *Cormith* (long after) wonne that part of the Iland from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at their first arriuall dispossesse the *Ætoliens* thereof, but some hundred yeares after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named, with *Naxos*, *Hybla*, *Trinacria*, and diuers others.

After these *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italie*, called *Morgetes*, who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. These late downe in that part of *Sicill*, where they afterward raised the Cities of *Morgentum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were diuided, and by a ciuill warre greatly infeebled. Among these ancient 50 histories, we finde the last voiage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Creet*. *Thucydides*, an Historian of vnquestionable sinceritie, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many Ilands: and some such businesse, perhaps, drew him into *Sicill*. But the common report is that he came thither in pursuit of *Dadalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dadalus* fleeing the reuenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicill* to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, and

and during his abode there, he built a place of great strength, neare vnto *At-gara*, for *Cocalus*, to lay vp his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the reit, he cast a Ramme in gold, that was set vp in the Temple of *Ermyus*, which he did with so great arte, as those that beheld it, thought it rather to be liuing, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dadalus*, prepares to invade the Territorie of *Cocalus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocalus* doubting his owne strength, promitch to deliuer *Dadalus*. This he performs not, but in the meane while, kills *Minos* by treason, and perswades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his followers, to inhabit a part of *Sicily*; the better (as it seemes) to strengthen himselfe against the *Siculi*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gaue their consent, and builded for themselves the Citie of *Minos*, after the name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewise built the Towne of *Engyum*, now called *Gange*; and these were the first Cities, built by the *Greeks* in *Sicily*, about two ages before the warre of *Troy*; for the grand children of *Atenas* serued with the *Greeks* at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the *Cretans* vnderstood, that their King had by treason becom made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to invade *Cocalus*; and landing neare vnto *Cannicus*, they beliged the same five yeares, but in vaine. In the end (being forced to returne, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the coast of *Italie*; and hauing no meanes to repaire their ships, nor the honor they had lost, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, betwene the two famous Ports of *Brundisium*, and *Tarentum*. Of these *Cretans* came those Nations, afterward called *Iapyges*, and *Messapij*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Aegellus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certaine troupes into *Sicily*, and seated themselves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Aegellia* and *Elyma*.

It is said, that *Aeneas* visited these places in his passage into *Italie*; and that some of the *Troians*, his followers, were left behinde him, in these Townes of *Sicily*; whereof there want not good Authours, that make *Aeneas* himselfe the founder.

About the same time, the *Phenicians* seized vpon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, and *Lilybaeum*, and vpon certaine small Isles adjoyning to the maine land: which they fortified, to secure the trades, that they had with the *Sicilians*; like as the *Portugals* haue done in the East India, at *Goa*, *Ormuz*, *Mosambiq*, and other places. But the *Phenicians* staid not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly Citie of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

These we finde, were the Nations, that inhabited the Isle of *Sicily*, before the warre of *Troy*, and ere the *Greeks* in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance seeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, he findes one and the same beginning of Nations, after the flood; and that the first planters of all parts of the World, were said to be mightie and Giantlike men; and that, as *Phenicia*, *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Oreller*, *Antaus*, *Typhos*, and the like; as *Denmarke* had *Starchaterus*; remembered by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Seythia*, *Britannie*, and other Regions, had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Isle of *Sicily* had her *Levrigones*, and *Cyclopes*. This discourse I could also reject for tained and fabulous; did not *Aristotles* make vs know, that the *Zamzammimi*, *Enimim*, *Asakims*, and *Og of Basan*, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and Desarts of *Moub*, *Ammon*, and *Mount Seir*, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertullian*, *St. Angustine*, *Nicophorus*, *Procopius*, *Isidorus*, *Plinie*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solimus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authours, haue confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Vesputius*, in his second Navigation into *America*, hath reported, that himselfe hath seene the like men in those parts. Again, whereas the selfe-same is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their simplicitie of life, their meane fare, their feeding on a-

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Saxo G. in pro-
fatioj.Tertull. de Re-
sare.

Aug. de Ciuit.

Dial. i. c. 11.

Quench Gm.

Nepos. l. 1. c. 37.

Procop. l. 1. c. 11.

Vesput. l. 1. c. 11.

Vesput. l. 1. c. 11.

CORIUS

comes and roats, their poore cottages, the couering of their bodies, with the skins of beaſts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages ouer great Riuer, and armes of the Sea, vpon rafts of trees tied together, and afterward, their making boats, first, of twigs and leather, then of wood; first, with Oares, and then with saile; that they esteemed as Gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandrie, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all liued in the same newesse of time, which we call *Oldtime*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were removed farre off from the *Hebrewes*, who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs, than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophic Naturall; as the Moral did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from cruelty and oppression.

But it is certaine, that the Age of Time hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie. For we haue now greater Giants, for vice and iniustice, than the World had in those daies, for bodily strength; for cottages and houles of clay and timber, we haue raised Palaces of stone; we carue them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; in somuch as men are rather knowne by their houles, than their houles by them; we are fallen from two diethes, to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkennesse; from the couering of our bodies with the skinnies of beaſts, not only to silke and gold, but to the very skinnies of men. But to conclude this digression, Time will also take reuenge of the excecſſe, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorq; auexit, longissima subruit; Long time brought forth, longer time increasedit, and a time, longer than the rest, shall ouerthrow it.*

†. II.

The plantation of the Greeks in Sicill.

WHEN the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicill*: it happened, that one *Theodes*, a *Greece*, being driuen vpon that coast by an Easterly winde; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had bene thought fabulous, being deliuered only by Poets; gaue information to the *Athenians* of this his discouerie, and proposed vnto them the benefit of this easie conquest, offering to become their guide. But *Theodes* was as litle regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *English*. Wherefore hee tooke the same course, that *Columbus* afterwards did. Hee ouer-laboured not himselfe in perswading the noble *Athenians* (who thought themselves to bee well enough already) to their owne profit; but went to the *Chaldeians*, that were needie and indolent, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By these was built the Citie of *Naxos*, and a Colonie planted of *Eubearians*.

But the rest of the *Greeks* were wiser than our western Princes of *Europe*: for they had no Pope, that should forbid them, to occupie the void places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubearians*, and landed in *Sicill*, neare vnto that Citie, called afterward * *Syracuse*: of which, that part only was then compassed with a

* *Syracuse*, as *Cicero* relates, was the greatest, and most goodly Citie of all that the *Greekes* possesse.

For, the situation is both strong, and of an excellent prospect, from euery entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port was (for the most part) enuironed with beautifull building: and that part which was without the Citie, was on both sides bankt vp, and sustained with byassfull walls of Marble. The Citie it selfe was one of the greatest of the World: for it had in compass (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, 38. furlongs; which made of our miles about 18. It was compounded of foure Cities, (*Strabo* saith of five) to wit, *Enjala*, *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*: of which greattelle, the ruines and foundations of the walls doe yet witness.

even whilest the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno*, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracie.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their libertie, and enjoyed it long, till *Thero* vsurped the gouernement of the Common-weale: at which time also *Panatus* made himselfe Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander*, of *Gela*: but *Cleander*, hauing ruled seuen yeares, was slaine by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hippocrates* succeeded in his roome, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle* or *Messena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with diuers other of the ancient Inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made warre with the *Syracusians*, and, in the end, got from them, by composition, the Citie of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned seuen yeares, he was slaine in a battaile against the *Siculi*, before *Ithylla*.

At this time did the *Syracusians* change their forme of Gouernement, from Popular to Aristocratically, a preparation towards a Principallitie, whereinto it was soone after changed. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (descended from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans* had long before, among other of the *Greekes*, defeated them selues in *Sicily*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former warre, with notable successe, became Lord of *Gela*. Hee, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed vnto him by *Hippocrates* over his children, and being in possession of *Gela*, tooke the occasion and aduantage of a contention in *Syracuse*, betweene the Magistrats and the People. For comming with a strong Armie to the succour of the Gouernours, driuen out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeede) the most famous, that euer gouerned the *Syracusians*. This change hapned in the second yeare of the threecore and twelfth *Olympiad*; wherein the better to establish himselfe, he tooke to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also vsurped the state of *Agirigentum*.

Now this *Gelon*, the sonne of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasylbulus*: to the first of which hee gaue vp the Citie of *Gela*, when hee had obtayned the Principallitie of *Syracuse*. For, after that time, all his thoughts trauielled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuse*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracusians* who built it; and brought the Citizens to *Syracuse*. The *Megarians* that had moued a warre against him, he ouer-came; the richer sort he brought to *Syracuse*; and the people he sold for slaues. In like manner dealt he with other places vpon like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agirigentines*, hauing dispossessed *Terillus*, of his Citie *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawne into the quarrell by *Anaxilui*, Lord of *Messena*; Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* also was solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after diuers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were ouerthrowne by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fiftie thousand of them left their bodies in *Sicily*.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Armie past the *Hellepont*. Hee, for their reliefe hauing armed thirtie thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused neuertheless to send them into *Greece*, because they refused him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or by Land. So he vsed to their Embassadors only this saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accomping the Armie, by him prepared, to be the flower of the *Greece* Nations.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great losse receiued, fearing the inuasion of their owne Countrey, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadors, to desire peace; who graunts it them on these conditions; That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their children to *Saturne*; That they should pay him two thousand talents of silver; and present him with two armed ships, in signe of amitie. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for warre, they sent vnto *Demarata*; *Gelon*'s wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred

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hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended; and *Sicily* in peace; *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the Gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly belov'd and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his Successour his brother *Hiere*. *Philitius* and *Plinie* report, That, when his bodie was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and suffered himselfe to be burnt with him.

- 321 X To *Gelon*, *Hiere* his brother succeeded; a man rude, cruell, covetous, and so suspicious of his brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasylbulus*, as hee fought by all meanes to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; by the conversation which hee had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the studie of good Arts. Divers quarrells he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agigentum*, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicily*, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aide the *Grecians*, against him. Hee also overthrew in battaile, *Thrasylbulus* the sonne of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agigentines*, to their former libertie. But in the end hee lost the love of the *Syracusanians*; and after he had reigned eleven yeares, he left the Kingdome to his brother *Thrasylbulus*, who became a most unjust and bloudie Tyrant. *Thrasylbulus* enjoyed his Principalltie no longer than ten moneths. For, notwithstanding the force of mercinarie Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in *Acadina*, he restored the gouv'nement, and was banished the Iland. From thence he sailed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

- And now had the *Syracusanians* recovered againe their former libertie, as all the rest of the Cities did, after which they had never sought, had the Successours of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principalltie of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought to answer the acquisition. Where a liberal, valiant, and advised Prince, hath obtayned any new Signiorie, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himselfe from being a private man, to the dignitie of a Prince; it becometh the Successour to maintaine it by the same way and arte, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (though not without blowes, ere shee could cleanse her selfe of the creatures and lovers of *Gelon*) was now againe become Mistress of her selfe, and held her selfe free, well neare threescore yeares, to the time of *Dionysius*; though there were in the meane while greatly endangered, by a Citizen of her owne, called *Tyndario*.

- Now, to prevent the greatnesse of any one among them, for the future, they devised a kinde of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking patterne from the *Athenian Ostracisme*. They called this their new devised judgement of exile, *Petalismus*, wherein every one wrote vpon an Oliveleafe (as at *Athens* they wrote vpon shells) the name of him, whom hee would have expelled the Citie. Hee that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five yeares. Hereby, in a short time, it came to passe, that those of judgement, and best able to governe the Common-weale, were by the worst able either supplrit, or thrust out of the Citie. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more securitie, wherein to maintaine themselves. And good reason they had so to doe; seeing there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore againe the wiser sort to the Gouv'nement; from which, the Nobilitie having praftised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*,

that inhabited the inner part of the Iland (who had already taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Græcian* Cities, and ouerthrowne the Armie of the *Agregenines*) the *Syracuzians* sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcan*. This their Captaine made nothing so much haste to finde *Ducetius*, against whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Armie he led, as soone as *Ducetius* presented him battaile. So, for want of conduct, the greatt number of the *Syracuzians* perished.

But making better choïce among those, whom they had banished, they leuie other troupes: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being beaten, submitteeth himselfe, and is constrained to leaue the Iland for a time. Yet it was not long ere hee returned againe, and built the Citie *Collatina* on the Sea-side.

Ducetius being dead, all the *Græcke* Cities did in a fort acknowledge *Syracuse*: *Trinacia* excepted; which also by force of armes, in the foure score and fift *Olympiad*, they brought to reason.

But they doe not long enjoy this their Superintendence. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppress'd by them, secke aide from the *Athenians*, about the sixt yeare of the *Peloponnesian* Warre. In this suite they preuailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to succour them, vnder the leading of *Laches*, and *Charades*. To this fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captaines, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracuzians*, and their Partisans; wanne and loit diuers places; tooke *Messana*; and, in the seventh yeare of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, lost it againe. They also, at the same time, attempted *Himera*, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which invaded each others Territorie with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands, and yet could see none issue of the warre; the *Leontines*, without the aduise of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracuzians*, and were admitted into their societie, with equall freedome. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to haue greatned themselves in *Sicily*, by the diuision and ciuill warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and faine to bee gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custome of popular Estates) by taking reuenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they banished *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and laied an heauie fine vpon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable Warre, that euer was made by the *Greekes* in *Sicily*: which was that of the *Athenians*, against the *Selinuntines*, and *Syracuzians*, in fauour of the Cities of *Egesta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppress'd the *Egestians*; and they of *Syracuse*, the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the warre. For, the *Athenians* vnderooke the protection of their old friends: And, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aide from *Lacedæmon* was sent to the *Syracuzians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainly, hauing none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to helpe a people of their owne Tribe, that craued their succour, being in distresse. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to bee none other, than the conquest of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not beleue their owne eyes, which presented vnto them a Fleet, and Armie, farre greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this Expedition, the Citie of *Athens* had ingaged all her power; as regarding, not only the greatnesse of the enterprise, but the necessitie of finishing it in a short space of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath already bene shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken termes of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open warre. Wherefore it was thought necessarie, either to spare no cost in this great expedition, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindered by wars

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at home, if their proceedings were slack abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* bene ouer-passionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstaine from so chargeable a businesse, and to releeue their forces for a more needfull vsic. But yong counsailes prevailed, against the authoritie of ancient men, that were more regardfull of saletie than of honour.

Of this businesse, mention hath bene already made, in that which wee haue written of the *Peloponnesian* warre. But what was there deliuered in generall termes, as not concerning the affaires of *Greece*, other wise than by consequence; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to haue felt a great conuersion.

Though *Alcibiades* had preuailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

These had commission and direction, as well to succour the *Segestians*, and to re-establish the *Leontines*, call out of their places by the *Syracussians*; as also, by force of armes, to subiect the *Syracussians*, and all their adherents, in *Sicil*, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were sent off, with an hundred and thirtie Gallies, and siue thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirtie ships of burden, which 10 transported their vittuals, engines, and other munitions for the warre: and these were *Athenians*, *Mantineans*, *Rhodians*, and *Candians*: there were, besides these, sixe thousand *Megarians* light armed, with thirtie horse-men. Thwyd. l. 6. c. 9.

With these troupes and fleets they arriue at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuse to giue them entrie; but sell them vittuals for their monie. From thence they sent to the *Egestians*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing, for their sakes, they had entred therinto. But they found by their answers, that these *Egestians* were poore, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadors with false shewes of gold, hauing in all but thirtie talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient friends, and 30 allied vnto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their walls. Hereupon *Nicias* aduised to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perswade them, to an agreement with the *Egestians*; as likewise to see what disbursements the *Egestians* could make; and so to returne againe into *Greece*, and not to wast *Athen* in a needlesse warre. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would sollicite the Cities of *Sicil* to confederacie, against the *Syracussians* and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them vnto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, hee perswades them to assaile *Syracuse* it selfe, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of diuers Cities) they surprize *Catana*: and there they take new counsaile, how to proceede. Thence they imployed *Nicias* to those of *Egesta*, who 40 received from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred & twentie talents more there were of the spoiles they had gotten in the lland. Thus, the Sommer being spent in idle consultations, and vaine attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assaile *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* hauing bene accused at home, in his absence, was sent for back by the *Athenians*, to make his answer: and the Armie was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtaine a landing place, very neare vnto *Syracuse*, by this deuise.

They imploy to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise vnto the *Syracussians*, that hee would deliuer into their hands all the *Athenians*, within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracussians* draw thitherward with their 50 best forces. But in the meane while, the *Athenians*, setting saile from *Catana*, arriue at *Syracuse*, where they land at faire ease, and fortifie themselves against the Towne. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracussians* had the losse; but the *Athenians*, wanting horse, could not pursue their victorie to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Armie at *Catana*, for the winter-season.

From thence they made an attempt vpon *Messana*, hoping to haue taken it by an intelligence, but in vaine. For *Alcibiades* had discouered such as were Traitors within the Citie to the *Messenians*. This he now did, in despite of his owne Citizens the *Athenians*; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to haue put him to death, or to haue banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he took his way towards the *Lacedaemonians*, and to them hee gaue mischievous counsaile against his Countrey. While this Winter yet lasted, the *Syracusians* send Embassadors to *Lacedamon*, and *Corinth*, for aide: as likewise the *Athenian* Captaines in *Sicily*, send to *Athens*, for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth yeare of the *Peloponnesian* warre) the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, saile from the Port of *Casana*, to *Megara*, forsaken of the Inhabitants; from whence foraging the Countrey, they obtaine some small victories ouer the stragling *Syracusians*: and at their returne to *Casana*, they receiue a supply of two hundred men at armes, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Iland, from the *Segestans*; and other their adherents: they were also strengthened with a companie of Archers, and with three hundred talents in monie.

Hereupon they take courage, and incampe neare *Syracuse*, vpon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracusians*, that sallied to impeach their intrenchments. They also receiued from their Confederates foure hundred horse-men, with two hundred other horse, to mount their men at armes. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt vp, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* receiue diuers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slaine.

In the meane while, *Gylippus*, and *Erython*, with the *Lacedaemonian*, and *Corinthian* forces arriue, and take land at *Himera*. The Citizens of *Himera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, ioyne with them; so that with these and his owne troups, *Gylippus* aduentured to march ouer-land towards *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* send a part of their forces to meet him, and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arriual neare vnto the Citie, vpon a place of aduantage. At the first encounter, they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the *Syracusan* horse-men could not come to fight in those streights: but soone after, *Gylippus* charging them againe, brake them, and constrained *Nicias* to fortifie himselfe within his Campe. Whereupon *Nicias* made the state of his affaires knowne, by his letters, to the *Athenians*; shewing, that, without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would bee lost, together with the small Armie remaining. These letters receiued, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generalls, *Eurymedon*, and *Demosthenes*, to ioyne with *Nicias*: the one they dispatch presently with some supply; the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, *Gylippus* at *Syracuse*, fights with the *Athenians*, both by Sea and Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good successe: but in conclusion, he tooke from them their Fort, neare vnto *Syracuse*, at the Promontorie, called *Phymmyrium*; wherein the *Athenians* lost their treasure, and a great part of all their prouisions. Notwithstanding which losse, and that the *Athenians* themselves, in Greece, were (in effect) besieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedaemonians*; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the warre in *Sicily*, and dispatched away *Demosthenes* with new succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards *Sicily*, encountered with *Polysarchus* the *Carinthian*, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for *Sicily*, the one to succour *Nicias*; the other, *Gylippus*. The losse betweene them was in effect equal; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arriued to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariflon* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuse*, and in a Sea-fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demosthe-*

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ner arrived with three-score and thirteene Gallies, charged with foot-men; and (blaming the slouth of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syraculians*, the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste, than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten, and repulged with great losse. Hereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*, determine to rise vp from before *Syracuse*, and returne to the succour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* disingured to the contrarie, pretending that hee had good intelligence within *Syracuse*, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; vpon the arrivall of a new supply into the Towne, the *Athenians* had all consented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had
 10 not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill successe, caused them to deferre their departure. But this superstition cost them deare. For the *Syraculians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Corinthians*, with three-score and seuentene saile of Gallies, entered the great Port of *Syracuse*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, and whereon they had fortified themselves. The *Athenians*, in the same Port, encountered them with fourescore and sixe Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*; in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, and *Eurymedon* slaine. Now, though it were so, that the *Syraculians* received the more losse by Land (for the fight was generally) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by Sea, in which kinde they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast downe. For it was well said of *Cyclus*
 20 pus, to the *Syraculians*; When any people doe finde themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they perswade themselves that they exceede all others, they not only loose their reputation, but their courage. The *Athenians*, besides the Gallies sunck and wrackt, had seuentene taken, and posselt by the enemies: and with great labour and losse they defended the rest from being fired, having drawne them within a *Palisado*, in one corner of the Port, vnadvisedly: for it is as contrarie to a Sea-warre, to thrust ships into a streight roome and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plaine field against horse; the one subsisting, by being at large; the other, by close imbattailing.

The *Syraculians*, having now weaked the *Athenian* fleet, resolute to imprison
 30 them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile ouer, and there they came to Anchor; filling the Out-let with all manner of Vessels, which they man most strongly, because the *Athenians*, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies breake through the *Syracusan* fleet; which lay but single, because they were forst to range themselves ouer all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not only mored themselves strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and laied behinde them againe certaine ships, which serued in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were sunke, or the chaine, which joyned them to their fellows, broken; the *Athenians* might yet finde
 40 themselves, a second time, intangled and arrested. To disorder also those *Athenian* Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a passage, the *Syraculians* had left within these Gallies and Ships, chained together, a certaine number of loose ones, to stop their course and furie. For where the way of any vessel, vling oare or sailes, is broken, and their speede fore-flowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the resistance oppoling.

On the other side, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly lost, except with an invincible resolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great
 50 bridge of boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they resolute to hazard, with all their shipping (to the number of one hundred and ten, of all forts) and with all the strength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit some few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being stoppt by the ships without, and assailed by other loose Gallies of the *Syraculians*, which were purposely left at large in the Sea, they

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they were either taken or sunke. Three great disadvantages the *Athenians* had : the first, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a streight, they had no roome to turne themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled ; the second, that having over-pelted their Gallies with Souldiers, who vsed offensive armes of darts and slings, they had not place vpon the decks to stretch their armes ; the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might free themselves by running away. To be short, the fight was no lesse terrible than the confusion ; the laughter great on all sides ; and the noise, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as suruiued, were beaten back to the Land, with losse of threecore of their Gallies, broken, sunke, or abandoned. The *Syracusians* did also loose twentie of theirs, with *Python*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The rest of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themselves into the bottome of the Port, saved themselves by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the *Athenian* Commanders goe to counsell. *Demofthenes* perswades them, to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained ; and while the *Syracusians* were triumphing, and made secure by their present victorie, to set vpon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to *Athens*. This was no ill counsaile. For, as we haue heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greatest number of all that haue bene victorious) that haue neglected the speedie prosecution of a beaten enemy ; so might we produce many examples of those, who, hauing slept securely in the bosome of good successe, haue bene suddenly awaked, by the re-alled Companies of a broken Armie, and haue ther by lost againe all the honour, and aduantage, formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the aduice of *Demofthenes* : Others say, that the Sea men were against it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all resolute to march ouer land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more fauourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedemonian* and *Corinthian* Captaines, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracusians* to put themselves presently into the field, and to stop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retreat. But many were wearie, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at *Cades*, lost vs both the *Indian* fleet, and the Spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracusian*, finding it a lost labour, to perswade his Countymen to any hastie prosecution, deuised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time ; not doubting, but that after a day or two, hee should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men out of *Syracuse* by night, willing them to finde *Nicias*, and (after they had assured him, that they were of the *Athenian* faction) to giue him aduice not to march away ouer-hastily from the place, wherein he was fortified ; alleging that the *Syracusians* had lodged their Armie, which could not long stay there, vpon the passages and places of aduantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily beleued, and put off his iourne to the third day. For men, newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wise ; and to them, euery thistle in the field, appeares by night, a man at armes.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remoue ; being pierced and pursued with the lamentable our-cries of those that were sick and hurt : whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies swords. The rest march away, to the number of fortie thousand ; and make their first passage by force, ouer the Riuer of *Anapus*, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies. But being euery day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracusian* horse-men, beaten in from foraging, and prouision of foode, they grow weake and heartlesse. The *Syracusians* also possesse the Mountain *Lepus*, by which they were to passe towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall back againe towards the Sea-coast, and to take what

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what way they could : being vnable to proceede in their iourne intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as hauing none other meanes to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmishing. To keepe all in order, *Nicias* vnder-tooke the leading of the Vantgard; and *Demofthenes* conducted the Rere. At the Riuer *Erimeu*, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole nights march, leaving *Demofthenes* to make the retreat: who being incompelled, and ouerprest with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could haue hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worse than he suspected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in prison. The

Armie of *Demofthenes* being dissolved, they pursue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being vtterly broken, vpon the passage of the Riuer *Asinarus*, rendered himselfe to *Gylippus*, vpon honest conditions. *Gylippus* sought to preferue him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought these two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble enemy to the *Lacedaemonians*, and who, at the ouerthrow, which they receiued at *P. Lus* by the *Athenians*, had saved the liues of the vanquished; *Demofthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedaemon* the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the *Syracusan* Armie, dissuaded the rest, by all the arte he had, from vying any barbarous violence, after so noble a victorie. But the cruell, and the cowardly sort, (co-wardise and crueltie, being inseparable passions) preuailed, and caused these braue Captaines to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to bee sterred in loshorne prisons; and the rest, sold for slaues. This was the success: of the *Sicilian* warre: which tooke end at the riuer *Asinarus*, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the fourescore and cleuenth Olympiad.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicily*, the *Egelesians* (for whose defence, against the *Selinuntines*, this late warre had beene taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracusians*, sought helpe from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themselves, and their Citie, as their Vassalls. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicily*, yet considering the prosperitie of the *Syracusians*, and their late victories ouer the *Athenians*, they staied a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse, or accept, the offer made vnto them: for the *Selinuntines* were straightly allied to the *Syracusians*, as may appeare by what is past. In the end, the Senators of *Carthage* resolve vpon the enterprise; and (by a trick of their *Punick* wile) to separate the *Syracusians* from the *Selinuntines*, they send Embassadours to *Syracuse*: praying that Citie, as in the behalfe of the *Egelesians*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of *Syracuse* should thinke meet to allow them. The *Syracusians* approued the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no such appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the *Syracusians*, with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the *Athenian* war, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a busines, that themselves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would haue it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace craue aide of *Syracuse*; and the *Syracusians* as ill grant it vnto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the *Carthaginians* would haue put into their hands. Hereupon, an Armie of three hundred thousand men is set out from *Carthage*, vnder the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you haue heard before) was overthrowne with the great *Carthaginian* Armie at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedie of this impliment, that he might take reuenge, as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them hauing beene slaine by the *Himerians*; the other by those of *Selinus*. Both these Cities, *Hannibal*, in this warre, wonne by force of armes, sacked them, and turne them; and hauing taken three thousand of the *Himerians* prisoners, he caused them to be led vnto the place, where *Amilcar* was slaine and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at *Syracuse*, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*,

Hermocrates, who had lately beene Generall of the *Syracusan* forces, against the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had so farre preuailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his inuere vertue, at such time, as he was aiding the *Lacedemonians*, in their warre against *Athen*; wherein hee did great seruice. All the honeste sort within *Syracuse* were sorie for the iniurie done vnto him, and sought to haue him repealed. *Hermocrates* himselfe, returning into *Sicily*, gathered an Armie of fixe thousand; with which he beganne to repaire *Selinus*; and by many noble actions laboured to winne the loue of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore, he was aduised to seize vpon a Gate of *Syracuse*, with some strength of men; whereby his friends, within the Towne, might haue the better meanes to rise against the aduerse partie. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to armes, and set vpon him; in which conflict hee was slaine. But his sonne-in-law, *Dionysius*, shall make them with *Hermocrates* aliuie againe.

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of *DIONYSIUS* the Tyrant: and others, following him, in *Syracuse*.

The *Syracusians* had enjoyed their libertie about threescore yeares, from the death of *Therastubulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionysius* was raised vp by God, to take reuenge, as well of their crueltie towards strangers, as of their ingratitude, towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they must now bee taught to amend.

Dionysius obtayned the Principalltie of *Syracuse*, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves Masters of other Cities, and of *Syracuse* it selfe. For, being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies against the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaued himselfe so well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warre. Then beganne he to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himselfe Lord of *Athen*; obtayning a band of fixe hundred men, to defend his person: vnder pretence, that his priuate enemies, being traiterously affected to the State of *Syracuse*, had laied plots how to murder him, because of his good seruices. He doubled the pay of the Souldiers, alleaging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to assure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had beene banished, which were the best men of *Syracuse*; and these were afterwards at his deuotion, as obliged vnto him by so great a benefit. His first fauour, among the *Syracusians*, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to raigne ouer their betters: wherefore, gladly did hee helpe them to breake downe, as setters imprisoning their libertie, the barres that held it vnder safe custodie. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat hee aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see: and some that were needie, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the Citie to smart. He began early to hunt after the tyrannie; being but fixe and twentie yeares of age when he obtayned it: belike, it was his desire to raigne long. His first worke, of making himselfe absolute Lord in *Syracuse*, was, the possession of the *Citadell*; wherein was much good provision, and vnder it the Gallies were moored. This hee obtained by allowance of the people; and hauing obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or feare: The Armie; the chiefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needie sort within *Syracuse*, that could not thriue

zhriue by honest courtes; and some neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for his establiishing the faction, raigning at that present; were wholly affected to his assistance. Hauing therefore gotten the *Citadell* into his hands, he needed no more, saue to assure what hee had already. Hee strengthened himselfe by diuers marriages; taking first to wite the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Loerian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionysius*, his Successor; the other, *Ariflamache*, the daughter of *Hipparchus*, and sister to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuse*, which bare vnto him many children, that serued to fortifie him with new alliances.

- 10 Yet it was not long, ere some of the *Syracusians* (enuying his prosperitie) incited the multitude, and rooke armes against him, even in the noueltie of his Rule. But their enterprise was more passionately, than wisely governed. He had shamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at armes, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the *Carthaginians* waste all, that he might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his tyrannie. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to *Syracuse*, where they found friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, rancked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the griefe thereof shee poisoned her selfe. But he followed their heeles apace; and siring a Gate of the Citie by night, entred soone enough to take reuenge, by making a speedie riddance of them. For he spared none of his knownc, no, not of his suspected enemies. After that, he grew so doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no, not so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, vnstript and searched. He was the greatest Robber of the people, that euer raigned in any State; and withall, the most vnrespectfully cruell.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the *Island*, from the rest; like as the *Spaniards* did the *Citadell* of *Antwerp*: therein he lodged his treasures, and his Guards.

- He then beganne to make warre vpon the free Cities of *Sicil*: but while hee lay before *Licbessa*, an in-land Towne, the *Syracusians* rebelled against him; so, as with great difficultie hee recouered his *Citadell*: from whence, hauing allured the old Souldiers of the *Campanians*, who forced their passage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, hee againe recouered the maiestie ouer the *Syracusians*. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their Haruest, he disarmed all the Townes-men remayning: and new strengthened the Fort of the Island, with a double wall. He inclosed that part also, called *Epipales*; which, with threecore thousand labourers, hee finished in three weekes; being two leagues in compass. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and fortie thousand Targets, with as many swords, and head-peeces, with foureteen thousand corslets, and all other futable armes. Which done, he sent word to the *Carthaginians*, (greatly enfeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Greeke* Townes, which they held in *Sicil*, he would make warre vpon them: and, not staying for answere, hee tooke the spoile of all the *Phenician* ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the second, did of our *Englishs*, before the warre in our late Queenes time. He then goes to the field with fourecore thousand foot and three thousand horse, and sends his brother *Leptines* to sea, with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred ships of burden. Most of the Townes which held for *Carthage* yielded vnto him; saving *Panormus*, *Segesta* or *Egesta*, *Amyra*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of these, he first wonne *Motya* by assault, and put all therein to the sword; but before *Egesta* hee lost a great part of his Armie, by a sallie of the Citizens. In the meane while *Himilco* arrives; but, ere he tooke land, hee lost in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fiftie ships of warre, and five thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwithstanding, hee recouered againe *Motya* vpon his first descent. From thence marching towards *Alef*

sona,

sen, he tooke *Lepara*, and (soone after) *Messena*, and rased it to the ground. Now beganne *Dionysius* greatly to doubt his citate. Hee therefore fortified all the places hee could, in the Territorie of the *Leontines*, by which hee supposed that *Himileo* would passe toward *Syracuse*, and he himselfe tooke the field againe, with foure and thirtie thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that *Himileo* had diuided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halfe ouer land, and sending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he sent *Leptines*, his brother, to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was vtterly bearen by the *Carthaginians*; twentie thousand of his men were slaine, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authours tell vs; That one Citie should beee able to furnish five hundred saile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did *Syracuse* arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twentie thousand should be slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the *Turkes*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the most notable, we heare of no such number lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, that ener hapned in our age, nor before vs. When *Charles* the fifth went to besiege *Algier*, hee had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie saile of ships, and threecore and five Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, he sought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the rest of *Italie*. But in old times it was the manner to carrie into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needfull, of all that could beare armes, giuing them little wages, or other allowance: in our daies it is not so; neither, indeede, is it often requisite. Vpon this ouerthrow, *Dionysius* postes away to *Syracuse*, to strengthen it: *Himileo* followes him, and besiegeth the Towne by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, hauing receiued aide from the *Lacedaemonians*, vnder the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himselfe to Sea, to make prouision for his Citizens: who, in his absence, take twentie of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and sinke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne successe prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill; hauing also at the present weapons in their hands; they consult how to recouer their libertie. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedaemonian* resisted them. It also fell out, to his exceeding aduantage, that the plague was so increased, and so violent, among the *Carthaginians*; as it is said, that aboute an hundred thousand of them died thereof. Hee therefore, with the power that he could gather together, sets vpon them both by Sea and Land; and hauing slaine great numbers of them, forceth *Himileo* to desire peace. This peace *Lionysius* sold him for a great summe of monie, on condition, that he should steale away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was pursued, and lost many of his *Carthaginians* behinde him. The rest of the *Africans* fell vnder the swords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while brauely defended themselves, were (after their submission) entertained, and serued the Conquerour.

Many such examples of perfidious dealing haue I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliuer vnto memorie the like practises, when they meete with their matches: That which hapned vnto *Monsieur de Piles*, was very futable to this treacherie, wherewith *Dionysius* pursued *Himileo*. I was present, when *De Piles* related the iniurie done vnto him. He had rendered *St. John d'Angelle*, to the French King *Charles* the ninth, who besieged him therein. Hee rendered it, vpon promise made by the faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safetie, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himselfe, of the Duke of *Anen* his brother, Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of diuers Dukes and Marshalls of *France*, he was set vpon and broken in his march; spoiled of all that he had; and forced to saue his life by flight, leauing the most of his Souldiers dead vpon the place: the Kings hand and faith, warranting him to march away with ensignes disspaid, and with all his goods and prouisions, no whit auailing him. It needes not therefore seeme strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus breake his faith, since

Kings,

Kings, professing Christianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

Diomysius, after this great victorie, tooke care to re-edifie *Messena*. *Mago*, who staid in *Sicily*, to hold vp the *Carthaginians* therein, is againe beaten by *Diomysius*; who is also beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new supply of fourescore thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to *Mago*; but they take egges for their monie, and make peace with *Diomysius*, leauing the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to shift for themselves: whom *Diomysius*, after a long siege, ouer-came, and gaue their Citie to his mercinarie Souldiers.

- 10 He then past into *Italie*, obtained diuers victories there, brought the *Rhegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourscore thousand crownes, to furnish him with threecore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their future obseruance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpose to performe vnto them the peace that they had so dearly bought; but that hauing taken from them their Gallies, he might besiege them, and ruine them vtterly, with the more ease. Now to the end he might not, without some colour, falsifie the faith that he had giuen to them; he pretended to want victuall for his Armie, at such time as he see med readie to depart out of *Italie*, and sent to them to furnish him therewith; promising to returne them the like quantitie, at his comming home to

20 *Syracuse*.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, hee would then make their refusal the cause of his quarrell: if they yielded to aide him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of fooode, to endure a siege any long time against him. For to ruine them hee had fully determined, at what price soeuer. And great reason he had to take reuenge of them, if he had done it fairely, and without breach of faith. For when, in the beginning of his raigne, he desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobilitie vpon him, for a wife: they answered, That they had not any one fit for him, saue the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill decdes, than villainous words.

- 30 *Alexander* the Great forgauē many sharpe swords, but neuer any sharpe tongues; no; though they told him but truely of his errors. And certainly, it belongs to those that haue warrant from God, to reprehend Princes; and to none else, especially in publique.

It is said, that *Henrie* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his ouer-bold and biting taunts, that hee vied against him before *Amiens*, than for his conspiracie with the *Spaniard*, or *Sauoyan*: for he had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawne their swords against him. The contemptuous words that *St. Iohn Perret* vsed of our late Queene *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfeit letter of the Romish Priest, produced against him. So fared it with some other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the same, and a worse fortune, soone after.

- 40 To bee short, hee made them know new bread from old. Hee assaulted their Towne on all sides, which hee continued to doe eleuen months, till hee wonne it by force. He vsed his victorie without mercie; specially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other warres hee made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking, and rasing of this Citie; and those with variable successe. For as in one encounter hee flue *Mago*, with ten thousand *Africans*: so the sonne of *Mago* beate him, and flue his brother *Leptines*, with fouretene thousand of his Souldiers. After which hee bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the aduice of Proserpitie and Aduersitie, as all Kings and

States doe.

When he had reigned eight and thirtie yeares, he died: some say, in his bedde, peaceably; which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruell man hee was, and a faithlesse; a great Poet, but a foolish one. Hee entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyrannie, hee gaue order to haue him slaine, or sold for a slaue. For hee could endure no man, that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parallites therefore shiled his crueltie, *The hate of euill men;* and his lawlesse slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his iniurie.* True it is, that flatterers are a kinde of vermine, which poison all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better, than the worthiest and valiantest men doe: And I wonder not at it; for it is a world: and as our *Sauour Christ* hath told vs, *10 The World will loue her owne.*

To this *Dionysius*, his sonne of the same name succeeded; and inherited both his Kingdome, and his Vices. To winne the loue of the People, hee pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt vp, and condemned. Withall, he remitted vnto his Citizens diuers payments, by his Father imposed vpon them. Which done, and thereby hoping, that he had fastened vnto himselfe the peoples affections; hee cast off the Sheeps skinne, and put on that of the Wolfe. For, being jealous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, hee caused them all to bee slaine; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath beene said) *20* had two Wiues; *Doris* of *Loeris*; and *Arismachea* a *Syracusan*, the sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded vnto him: and by *Arismachea*, he had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the elder, called *Sophrosyne*, he gaue in marriage to his eldest Sonne, and her halfe-brother, *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Areta*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theocles*: after whose death, *Dion* tooke her to Wife, being his Nece.

This *Dion*, a iust, and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that hee was wholly giuen ouer to sensuality, preuailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had beene, as he drew him into *Sicill*, to instruct *30* the yong King. And hauing perswaded the King to enertayne him, he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* beganne to change condition; to change Tyrannie, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principallitie, that he had, rather by the loue of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrisons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For *Philistus* the Historian, and other his Parallites, that hated *Dion* seueritie, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour; and caused him soone after to bee banished out of *Sicill*, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrells betwene him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great feare, or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fiftie Gal- *40* lies at his owne charge, during the warre against them: his enemies found means, by sinister interpretation, to conuert his good will into matter of treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations, giuen of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to soften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the studie of Philosophie; whilst *Dion*, in the meane time, hauing furnished fiftie Gallies, vnder colour of the Kings seruice, had it in his owne power, either to deliuer to the *Syracusians* their former libertie, or to make himselfe Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which he made, to serue the King with so great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For *50* they that had serued the King for none other end, than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already bene raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer, that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to con-

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seize it right. But these couetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that *Dion* had, were bold to stile his *Loue* and *Liberaltie*, *Pride* and *Presumption*; and heartned the yong King, in his oppressing, and eating vp his owne people, of whose spoiles they themselves shared no small portion. I haue heard it, That when *Charles* the first had the repulse at *Algier* in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the brauest men that euer *Spaine* brought forth, offered vnto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his owne charge. But hee had neuer good day after it. For they that enuid his victories, and his conquest of *Mexico* in the west *Indies*, perswaded the Emperour, that *Cortese* sought to value himselfe about him; and to haue it said, That what the Emperour could not, *Cortese* had effected, and was therefore more worthie of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first, to send him the reuenues of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his mouables, at his owne pleasure: not without giving hope, to recall him in short time. Had hee continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that *Dion* would haue bene well pleased to liue well, as he did, at *Athens*. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods; and thereby vrged him to take another course; euent to seeke the restitution of his Countrie to libertie. The vertues of *Dion*, especially his great liberalitie, had purchased much loue in *Greece*. This loue made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant: but it stood him in good stead, when hee sought to raise men, with whose helpe he might returne into *Sicil*. Yet he got not about eight hundred (for hee carried the matter closely) to follow him in this aduerture. But many of them were men of qualitie, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuse*, as many as should be needfull, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*; marched to *Syracuse*; sentred the Citie without resistance; armed the multitude; and wonne all, saue the Citadell.

Dionysius was then absent in *Italie*; but hee quickly had aduertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned hastily to *Syracuse*; whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and some forceable attempts to recouer the Towne, he was faine to depart, leaving yet the Castle to the custodie of *Apollocrates*, his eldest sonne. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philisus*, comming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recouerie of his Countries libertie, had the same reward, that all worthie men haue had from popular Estates. He was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. Hee retireth himselfe to the *Leontines*, who receiue him with great joy. Soone after his departure from *Syracuse*, new troupes enter the Castle: they sallie out, assaile, spoile, and burne a great part of the Citie. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request; yet, ere he could arriue, *Dionysius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Townsmen, thinking themselves secure, shut the Gates against *Dion*. But the next night, they of the Castle sallie againe, with greater furie than euer; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremitie *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the loue of his Countrie surmounting all the injuries that he had receiued. He sets vpon the Garrison of the Castle, with the one part of his Armie; and queneth the fire, euery-where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had well-nere burnt to ashes, and depopulated *Syracuse*, he recouered the Castle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollocrates*, after *Dionysius* his Father, into *Italie*. But their malice, of whom he had best deserved, and whom he had loued most, gaue an vntimely end to his dayes. For he was, soone after this his victorie, murdered by *Calippus*; who, after he had, with ill successe, a while gouerned *Syracuse*, was slaine with the same Dagger, with which hee had murdered *Dion*.

Ten yeares after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in *Italie*, recouers his estate, and returnes to *Syracuse*, driving *Nysanus* thence, whom he found

found Governour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing, more than euer, his crueltie, flee to *Ictes*, a *Syracusan* borne, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Ictes* enters into confederacie with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not only to preuaile against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracusians* towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The *Syracusians*, being deservingly afflicted on all sides, send to the *Corinthians* for succour. *Ictes* also sends thither, and dissuades the *Corinthians*, as well as hee can, from intermeddling in the businesse. He tells them, by his Messengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth*, to land any Armie in *Stieil*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treason of *Ictes*, more enraged than dissuaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteene Gallies, to deliuer *Syracuse* from tyrannie. In the meane while, *Ictes* had entred *Syracuse*, and, with the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, driuen *Dionysius* into the Castle, wherein hee besieged him.

Ictes, being himselfe a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than, how to deliuer his Countrie. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arriued at *Rhegium*, he sent to perswade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in *Stieil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were also in the same Port of *Rhegium*; whose Captaines aduised *Timoleon*, to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there, than he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perswaded. *Timoleon*, finding himselfe ouer-mastered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliuer vnto him those arguments, for his returne, which they had vsed to him in priuate; that hee might, by publique testimonie, discharge himselfe to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perswading themselves, that a victorie, obtayned by a few faire wordes, was without losse, and farre more easie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeilded to *Timoleon*'s desire. But while the Orations were deliuering, *Timoleon*, fauoured by the *Rhegians*, stole out of the presse; and hauing set saile, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recouered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governour. From thence he marched towards *Adranum*, where surprising *Ictes*'s Armie, hee slue a part thereof, and put the rest to runne: It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The *Adranians* joyned with him; and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of *Syracuse* into his hands: as thinking it better to yeeld vp himselfe, and the places which he could not defend, vnto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Ictes*, whom hee disdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom hee hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fiftie daies, after his arriual, had recouered the Castle of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Corinth*, to liue there a priuate man, was still inuaded by the Armies, and molested by the praefices, of *Ictes*. For he besieged the *Corinthians*, within the Castle of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send vnto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are slaid in *Italie* by foule weather. *Ictes* is strengthened with three score thousand *Africans*, brought vnto him by *Mago* (all which hee lodgeth within *Syracuse*) and with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keepe the Port. This was the first time, that euer the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the walls of that Citie. With this great Armie, *Ictes* assauleth the Castle. *Timoleon* sends them victuals, and succour, in small boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Ictes* doe therefore resolute to besiege *Catana*; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captaine of the *Corinthians*, sallied out of the Castle, and tooke that part of *Syracuse*, called *Aeradina*, which he fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand *Corinthians* arriue: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marcheth towards *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoneth *Ictes*,

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Ietes, being frightened out of *Sicil* (which he might easily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him returne to *Carthage*; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much more affright him, that for care of farther punishment, he hanged himselfe. *Timoleon* enters the Citie, and beats downe the *Caltie* (which he called the nest of Tyrants) to the ground. But he found the Citie, when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feede on the grasse, growing in the market-place. Therefore, he writes to *Corinth*, for people to re-inhabite it. Ten thousand are sent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italie*; others, from other parts of the Iland.

- 10 But a new storme ariseth. *Asdrubal*, and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilybæum*, with threecore and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their provisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Armie upon the passage of a River.

A tempest of raine, haile, and lightning, with boisterous windes, beating vpon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are vterly broken, ten thousand slaine; five thousand taken; with all their carriages and provisions: among which there were found a thousand corslets, gilt and graven. After this, he gaue an ouerthrow to *Ietes*; and, following his victorie, tooke him, with his sonne *Eupolemus*, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners, whom he caused all to be slaine: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great crueltie) he suffered *Ietes* his wiues and daughters to be put to death. But this was the reuenge of God vpon *Ietes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arete*, *Dions* wife, and a yong child of his, with *Aristomache*, *Dions* sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He againe preuailed against *Mamerus*, Tyrant of *Catana*, and wonne *Catana* itselfe. *Amalerus* fled to *Hippon*, Tyrant of *Messena*: but *Timoleon*, pursuing him, wonne the towne; deliuering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamerus*, and all other, the Tyrants in *Sicil*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*; on condition, That they should not passe the River of *Lycus*. After this, he liued in great honour among the *Syraculians*, till his death; and was solemnly buried by them, in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funeralls, being for euer ordayned to bee kept holy among them.

After such time, as *Timoleon* had deliuered *Syracuse*, from the tyrannie of *Diomyssus*, and brought peace to the whole Iland; the Inhabitants enjoyed their libertie in peace, about twentie yeares. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safetie; and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But, it was impossible, that a Nation, which neither knew how to gouerne, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men wortheie to be Kings, to gouerne them; should any long time subsist.

- 40 Twentie yeares, after the death of *Timoleon*, there started vp an *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Capitaine; and so from degree to degree, rising to bee a *Pretor*; hee finally, became Lord and Soueraigne of the *Syraculians*. Many fortunes he ranne, and vnder-went as many dangers, ere hee obtained the Principallitie. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both bearen and banished. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable seruice, as well for those by whom he was imploied, as also for the *Syraculians*, and against them. For in their warres against those of *Enna*, and the *Companes*, he did them memorable seruice: and on the contrarie, as memorable seruice for the *Murgantines* against the *Syraculians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made Generall of their forces, he sackt *Leontium*; and besiegeth *Syracuse* so strictly, that the Citizens were driuen to craue aide, euen from their ancient and naturall enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians*, to relieue *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that he got him to make peace betwene himselfe and

the *Syracusians*; binding himselfe by promise and oath, to remaine a friend and servant to the state of *Carthage*, for ever after. *Amilcar* entertayned the businesse, and compounded the quarrells betweene *Agathocles*, and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen *Prator*; he entertaines five thousand *Africans*, and diuers old Souldiers of the *Murgartines*, vnder colour of a purpose to besiege *Sirbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poore and discontented *Syracusians* (the Citie being also diuided into many factions) he assailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; diuides the spoile of the rich among the poore; and giues libertie to his Souldiers, to robbe, to rauenish, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controulment: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carcasses, besides those that had broken their necks ouer the walls; their furie had no further subject to worke on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knaue) perswaded them, that, for the violent sicknesse, by which the common-wealth was vtterly consumed, he found no better, than the violent remedies, which he had administred; and that he affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an *Oligarchie*, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent *Democratie*, by which it had beene gouerned, from the first institution, with so great glorie and prosperitie. This he did, to haue the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For as he knew, that he had left none liuing, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted, in the murder and spoile of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawlesse Lord, who had beene partaker with them, in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe, saluting, and adoring him, by that name, as if it had beene giuen to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a peece of his patterne; but, the one was of bafe; the other, of Kingly parents; the one tooke libertie from a Common-wealth; the other sought only to succcede in a Monarchie; the one continued his crueltie to the end; the other, after he had obtayned the Crowne, sought, by making of good lawes, to recover the loue of his people.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by *Iustine*; more largely and particularly by *Dionorus Siculus*: the summe whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuse*, and that had lent him five thousand men, to helpe in the massacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did vnto the Confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyrannie, and to let him vex and waste the whole Iland; because it was thereby like to come to passe, that hee should reduce all *Sicily* into such termes, as would make it become an easie prey to *Carthage*. But, when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, sent their Embassadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punicke* faith (so much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than mere fallhood) shewed it selfe very honourable, in taking order for their redresse. Embassadors were sent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in minde of his covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africa*, and a new Capitaine appointed to succcede in his charge, with such forces, as might compell *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise he would not hearken to it. All this tended, to saue their Confederates, from suffering such injuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it severely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutiny: the suffrages being giuen, but not calculated; and so referred, vntill he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had some notice of it. In managing his businesse with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrey. For he had made such a composition with the *Syracusan*, as

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gaue him not only meane to weaken others, but to strengthen himselfe, both in power and authoritie, euen against the Carthaginians. Such is commonly the custome of those, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practise; thinking to deale subtilly, and finely, they spinne their threads so small, that they are broken with the very winde. Amilcar saw, that his Carthaginians had a purpose to deale substantially; and that therefore it would bee hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into so much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which some of his foregoers had taught him; and, for feare of such a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what sort he thought best. This desperacion of Amilcar serued to informe Agathocles of the Carthaginians intent. He saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolued to get the start of them in action. He dissembled no longer; but, instead of spoile and robbetrie, made open warre vpon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of Sicill his owne, ere the Carthaginian forces arriued: which thinking to haue encountered an ill-established Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and giue them sharpe entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Nauie was so Tempest-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leaue their businesse vndone, and returne into Africk.

The Carthaginians prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furnished, was broken by foule weather, and the best part of it cast away, euen whilst it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But Amilcar, the sonne of Gisco, gathering together the remainders of this ship-wrack, was bold to passe ouer into Sicill, and landed not farre from Gela; where Agathocles was soone readie to examine the cause of their coming. Many skirmishes passed betwene them, in which (commonly) the Syracusan had the better. But his good successe begat presumption; whereby he lost a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduantage chance is enough to ouerthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not vp-held by great circumspection. The warre was soone transferred to the walls of Syracuse, within which Agathocles was closed vp, and driuen to make his last defence by their helpe, who may be iudged to haue loued him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of Syracuse, after that great massacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new tyrannie, were (for the most part) such, as had bene either mercinarie Souldiers, in franchised slaues, or base and needie people; helpers in establishing the present Gouvernement, and Executioners of the murders, and spoile, committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well obserued, and (wichall) so fearfull, that they durst not stirre. But it was not enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their Citie; Famine was likely to grow vpon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessitie, Agathocles aduentured vpon a strange course, which the euent commended, as wise. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in those vessels that rode in the Hauen; and committing the gouernement of the Citie to his brother Antander, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had be thought him selfe of a meane, both to raise the siege, and to repaire all other losses. A Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauen, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the besieged from issuing forth.

Now, at such time as Agathocles was readie to depart, aduertisement came, that many ships of burden, laden with corne, and other prouisions, were drawing neare vnto Syracuse. To intercept these, the Carthaginians hoise saile, and launch forth into the deepe. They were not farre gone, when they might behold Agathocles, issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to giue conuoy vnto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheele about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their coming, nor fled back into the

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Citie, but made all speede towards *Africk*; and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as day would giue them light. In the meane season, the victallers were gotten into *Syracuse*; which was the more plentifully relieued by their coming, for that *Agathodes* had vnburdened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* Admirall perceiued; first, that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had missed of them both; and secondly, that *Agathodes* returned not againe, but was gone to seeke his fortune elsewhere; he thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well vpon them, that they should not haue leifure to doe mischief in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* Nauie (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) followed *Agathodes* directly towards *Africk*, and ouer-tooke him after sixe dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard; and wearied themselves, in seeking their owne misfortune. For he fought with them, and beat them; and, hauing funke, or taken many, draue the reit to fite which way they could, laden with strange tidings of his voiage.

When *Agathodes* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he discouer vnto them his project; letting them vnderstand, that there was no better way to diuert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuse*, but from all the Ile of *Sicil*, than by bringing the warre to their owne dores. For here (said he) they haue many that hate them, and that will readily take armes against them, as soone as they perceiue that there is an Armie on foot, which dares to looke vpon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified; their people vntrained, and vnexperienced in dangers; the mercinarie forces, that they leuie in these parts, will rather follow vs than them, if we offer greater wages than they can giue: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them haue some share with vs in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many braue words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reseruing one or two, to vse as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, save only in victorie. In this heat of resolution, they winne by force two Cities; which after they had thoroughly sacked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of terrour to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians*, hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilear* is broken, and his whole Armie destroyed in *Sicil*. This impression so dismaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had escaped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they feare, and know not what. They suspect *Amilear*'s faith, who had suffered *Agathodes* to land in *Africk*: they suspect their principall Citizens at home of a meaning to betray *Carthage*, vnto the enemy; they raise a great Armie, and know not vnto whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, *Hanno*, and *Bomilear*; great enemies, and therefore the more vnlike to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generalls of the Armie leuied; which farre exceeded the forces of *Agathodes*. But it seldome happens, that dissension betwene Commanders produceth any fortunate euent. Necessitie draue *Agathodes* to fight; and the courage of his men, resolved to deale with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easie the victorie against the one halfe of them. For *Bomilear* would not stirre: but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in peeces.

The reputation of this victorie, brought ouer a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* Societie, to take part with *Agathodes*: who pursuing his victorie, winnes many Townes, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good successe. The *Carthaginians* also send into *Sicil*, willing *Amilear*, their Generall, to succour the state of *Africk*, which was in danger to be lost, whilest he was traouailing in the conquest of *Sicil*. *Amilear* sends them fiftethousand men: all his forces he thought it not needfull to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathodes* back into *Sicil*, than to be drawne home

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home by one, that could scarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But these good hopes had a bad issue. He spent some time in winning a few Townes, that adhered vnto the *Syracuzians*: and having brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a sudden hope of taking *Syracuse* by surpris. It was a pretie (though tragically) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilear* had a dreame, which told him that he should suppe the next day within *Syracuse*. His huncie begot this dreame, and he belueied it. He made more haste, than good speede, toward the Citie: and coming vpon it on the sudden, had good hope to carrie it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambush to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likely, that he had no great cheare to his supper: for they struck off his head, and sent it into *Africk* (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

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- This good successe of things at home, did put such courage into the *Sicilian* Armie, that *Agathocles* was bold to weare a Crowne, and stile himselfe King of *Africk*. He had allured *Ophellus*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promises to deliuer the Countrie into his hands: for that (as he said) it was sufficient vnto himselfe to haue diuerted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicily*, wherein (after this warre ended) he might raigne quietly. *Ophellus* came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traitorous *Sicilian*, taking an aduantage, did murder this his assistant; and afterwards, by good wordes, and great promises, drew all the *Cyrenian* Armie to follow him in his warres. Thus his villanie found good successe; and he so preuailed in *Africk*, that he got leisure to make a step into *Sicily*. Many Townes in *Sicily* had imbraced a desire of recouering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had so long bene exposed, (as a reward of victorie) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countrie. These had preuailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause; when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to obedience. Out of *Sicily* he returned into *Africk*, where his affaires stood in very bad termes. *Archagathus*, his sonne, had lost a bataille; and (which was worse) had ill meanes to helpe himselfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great bootie and spoile. It had now bene time for him, to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*; which to obtaine, they would (questionlesse) haue giuen to him, both monie enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in *Sicily*. For their Citie had bene distressed, not only by this his warre, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himselfe Tyrant over them. But ambition is blinde. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed vpon the conquest of *Carthage*; it leile: out of which dreame he was awaked, by the losse of a battaile, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange euents following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had abstained, ever since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the said Idoll, in way of thankfulness for their victorie. The fire, with which these vnhappie men were consumed, caught hold vpon the lodgings nearest vnto the Altar; and spreading it selfe farther through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult, as is vnsull in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt vnto the Pavilions of *Agathocles*. Herevpon both the Armies fled away; each of them beleueing, that the noise in the aduerser Campe, was a signe of the enemies coming to inuade it.
- 50 But the *Carthaginians* had a safe retreat: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, hee met with his owne *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to bee enemies, (as indeede the one halfe of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the last battaile) hee beganne to assaile them, and was so stoutly resisted, that hee lost, in this blinde fight,

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about foure thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the neare hope of taking the Citie of *Carthage*, vnto some distrust of his owne safetie, he knew no more how to moderate his present weak fears, than lately he had knowne how to gouerne his Ambition. Therefore he tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to steale closely aboard his ships, with his younger sonne (the elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flee into *Sicily*; thinking it the best course, to shift for himselfe, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Armie. His elder sonne, *Archagathus*, perceiued his drift, arrested him, and put him vnder custodie: but by meanes of a sudden tumult, hee was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leauing both his sonnes behinde him. His flight being noised through the Armie, all was in vpror; and extremitie of rage caused not only the common Souldier, but euen such as had beene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two sonnes, and kill them. That this flight of *Archagathus* was extremely false; I neede not vse wordes to proue: That his feare was truly, as all feare is laid to be, a passion, depriuing him of the succours which reason offered, the sequels doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse companie, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neuerthelesse a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteene talents. Likewise, *Agathodes* himselfe, hauing lost his Armie, did neuerthelesse, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace with *Carthage* vpon equall termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being deliuered from forraine enemies, discouered his bloudie nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants, and his fears, vrge him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoiles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. He deuised new engines of torment; wherein struing to exceede the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of brasle, that should serue to scorch mens bodies, and withall giue him leaue to behold them in their miserie. So deuillish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slaue to his brutish affections. In these mischiefes he was so outrageous, that he neither spared Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in *Africa*. But this was not the way to preferue his estate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chased out of their Countrey, tooke armes against him, and draue him into such feare, that he was faine to seeke the Ioue at *Carthage*, which, by ruling well, he might haue had in *Sicily*. He freely deliuered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all those Townes of the *Phoenicians* in *Sicily*, belonging vnto them, which were in his possession. They requited him, honourably, with great store of corne, and with foure hundred talents of gold and siluer. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he preuailed against the Rebels, and settled his estate. Hauing no further businesse left in *Sicily*, he made a voyage into *Italy*. There he subdued the *Bruttians*, rather by terrour of his name, than by any force, for they yielded at his first comming. This done, he went to the Isle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great summe, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoile the Temples of their Gods. Herein (me thinks) he did well enough. For how could he belieue those to be Gods, that had continually giuen deaf eares to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleuen ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet, were cast away by foule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which he himselfe escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grievous sicknesse fell vpon him, that rotted his whole bodie, spreading it selfe through all his veines and sinewes. Whilest he lay in this case, all desiring his end, saue only *Theogenia* (a wife that he had taken out of *Egypt*) and her small children: his Nephew, the sonne of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger sonne of his owne, beganne to contend about the Kingdome.

Kingdome. Neither did they seeke to end the controuersie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laied wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he slue his Vncle, and got his Grandfathers Kingdome without asking any leaue. These tidings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with leare and sorrow. He saw himselfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his vngracious Nephew, from whom hee knew that no fauour was to be expected, either by himselfe, or by those, whom only hee now held deare, which were, *Theogenia*, and her children. Therefore hee aduised her and them to flie before they were surpris'd: for that otherwise they could by no means auoid, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gaue them all his treasures and goods, wherewith hee euen compelled them (weeping to leaue him desolate in so wretched a case) to imbarke themselves hastily, and make speede into *Egypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himselfe into the fire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but hee ended his life as basely, as obscurely, and in as much want, as he first beganne it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mimertines* his Souldiers traitorously occupied *Messana*, and infested a great part of the Iland. Then also did the *Carthaginians* beginne to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicily*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that hee quickly perished.

For the *Sicilians* were driuen to send for *Pyrrhus* to helpe them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was soone wearie of the Countrey (as hath beene shewed before) and therefore left it; prophesying that it would become a goodly champaigne field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiority. In which bulinesse, how these two great Cities did speede, the order of our storie will declare.

¶ V.

- 30 A recontinuation of the Roman warre in Sicily. How *Hieron*, King of *Syracuse*, forsooke the *Carthaginians*; and made his peace with *Rome*.



When *Appius Claudius*, following the aduantage of his victorie gotten at *Messana*, brought the warre vnto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great Citie; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seeke peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himselfe by what means he could, when they were not in case to give him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once hee had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to sit still, without feare of molestation, whilst *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the mastery. In this good moode, the new Roman Consuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Otacilius*, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made vse of their present aduantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Armie into *Sicily*; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring ouer *Hiero* to their side. If the *Syracusen* held them busied (which I finde not, other wise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of monie imposed vpon him, and by their performing none other peece of seruice) all the whole time of their abode in the Iland; then was his departure from the friendship of *Carthage*, no lesse to his honour, than it wasto his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his owne Kingdome to runne into manifest perill of subuersion, for their sakes, that should haue receiued all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straying them.

themselves to giue him reliefe. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proofe of the strength of *Syracuse*, in the daies of *Agathodes*: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare out a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack, in sending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their owne worke might be the easier against them both. Yet indeede, the case of the besieged Citie was not the same, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had bene, when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason, to trie the vttermost hazard of warre against the *Carthaginians*, who sought no other thing than to bring it into slaucric: not so against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient, if they could withdraw it from the partie of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be gouerned by *Agathodes*, or by *Hiero*. The former of these cared not what the citizens endured, so long as he might preferre his owne tyrannie: the latter, as a iust and good Prince, had no greater desire than to winne the loue of his people, by seeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publike, laboured to vphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to passe, that he enjoyed a long and happie raigne; liuing deare to his owne Subjects, beloued of the *Romans*, and not greedily molested by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the consideration, That they had left him to himselfe, ere he left their societie, made vnwilling to seeke his ruine; or their more earnest businesse with the *Romans*, made vnable to compasse it.

§. VI.

How the Romans besiege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet. Their first lesse, and first victory by Sea. Of Sea-fight in generall.



* *Agrigentum* was a goodly Citie, built by the *Gelsi*, vnder conduct of *Arilus* and *Pyllus*.

HERO, having sided himselfe with the *Romans*, aided them with victualls, and other necessities: so that they, presuming vpon his assistance, recall some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* finde it high time to besetle them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the troups they had in *Spaine*, to come to their aide; who being arrived, they made the Citie of *Agrigentum*, the seat of the warre, against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

The compasse was ten miles about the walls; and it had sometimes in it eight hundred thousand Inhabitants. This Citie, by reason of the fertilitye of the soyle, and the neighbourhood of *Ceribee*, grew in a short space, from small beginnings, to great glorie and riches. The plenty and luxurie thereof was so great, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, That the *Agrigentines* built *Palaces* of such sumptuousness, as if they meant to liue for euer; and made such feasts, as if they meant to die the next day. But their greatness, pompe and magnificence, was in their goodly Temples, and Theaters, Water-conduits, and Fish-ponds: the ruines whereof at this day are sufficient argument, that *Rome* itselfe could neuer boast of the like. In the Porch of the Temple of *Iupiter Olympus*, (by which we may iudge of the Temple itselfe) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the *Giants*, fighting with the Gods, all cut out in p-hished marble of diuers colours; a worke the most magnificent and rare, that euer hath bene seene: on the other side, the warre of *Troy*, and the encounters wh. it happened at that siege; with the personages of the *Hieros* that were doers in that warre; all of the like beautifull stone, and of equal stature to the bodies of men in those ancient times. In comparison of which, the latter workes of that kind, are but pettie things, and meere trifles. It would requie a volume, to expresse the magnificence of the Temples of *Hercules*, *Isidaphus*, *Caton*, *Ianus* *Lacinia*, *Castus*, *Proserpina*, *Cerberus*, and *Pallus*; wherein the Master-pieces of those exquisite Painters, and Caruers, *Phidias*, *Zucchi*, *Myron*, and *Polycletus*, were to be seene. But in proceesse of time it ranne the same fortune that all other great Citiees haue done, and was ruined by diuers calamities of warre; whereof this warre present brought vnto it not the least.

The *Roman* Consuls, hauing made peace with *Hiero*, returne into *Italie*; and, in their places, *Lucius Posthumus*, and *Quintus Manilius*, arrive. They goe on towards *Agrigentum*; and finding no enemy in the field, they besiege it, though it were stufed with fiftie thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of haraust being come, a part of the *Roman* armie range the Countrey to gather corne, and those at the siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sallie furiously, and indanger the *Roman* Armie, but are in the end repelled into the towne with great losse: but by the smart felt on both sides, the Assailants redoubled their guards, & the besieged kept within their couert. Yet the *Romans*, the better to assure themselves, cut a deepe trench, betwene

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tweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe: and another on the out-side thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force any quarter suddenly, by a fallie, nor those of the Countrey without, breake vpon them vnwares: which double defence kept the besieged also from the receiuing any reliefe of victuals, and munitions, whilst the *Syracusan* supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to *Carthage*: after they had bene in this sort pent vp five moneths. The *Carthaginians* imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, vnder the command of *Hanno*; who arrives with it at *Hierades*, to the West of *Agrirentum*. *Hanno* puts himselfe into the field, and surpriseth *Erbesus*, a Citie wherein the *Romans* had bestowed all their prouision. By meanes hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agrirentum*; and the *Roman* campe no lesse strightly assieged by *Hanno*, than the Citie was by the *Romans*: inasmuch, as if *Hieron* had not supplied them, they had bene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distresse was not enough to make them rise; *Hanno* determined to giue them battaile. To which end departing from *Hierades*, he makes appproch vnto the *Roman* campe. The *Romans* resolute to sustaine him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* horse-men to charge their Vantguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to returne, as broken, till they came to the body of the Armie, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground.

20 The *Numidians* performe it accordingly; and while the *Romans* pursued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* giues vpon them, and hauing slaughtered many, beats the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay strongly incamped, waiting vntill some oportunitie should inuite them. But *Annibal*, that was besieged in *Agrirentum*, as well by signes as messengers, made *Hanno* know, how ill the extremitie which he indured, was able to brooke such dilatorie courses. *Hanno* therupon, a second time, prouoked the Consuls to fight. But, his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vantguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he lost the day: and with such as escaped, he recouered *Hierades*. *Annibal* 30 perceiving this, and remaying hopelesse of succour, resolute to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this daies victorie, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he rust out of the Towne, withall the remainder of his armie, and past by the *Roman* campe without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vaine: sure they were, that he could not carrie the Citie with him, which with little a-doe the *Romans* entred, and pittifully spoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this victorie, purpose henceforth rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolute in the beginning of this Warre, only to succour the *Mamertines*, and to keepe the *Carthaginians* from their owne coasts: but now they determine, to make themselves Lords of all *Sicily*; and from thence, 40 being fauoured with the winde of good successe, to saile ouer into *Africke*. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and of priuate men, to cower the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither haue nor neede, taking from vs the true vse and fruition of what we haue already. This curse vpon mortall men, was neuer taken from them since the beginning of the World to this day.

To prosecute this Warre, *Lucius Valerius*, and *Titus Ostacilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into *Sicily*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Masters of the field, many inland Townes gaue themselves vnto them. On the contrarie, the *Carthaginians* 50 keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritime places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to secure their owne coasts, often inuaded by the *African* fleets as also to equall themselves in euery kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune fauoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in shipwrights-craft, a storme of winde thrust

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not more for the sake of the world
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one of the *Carthaginian Gallies*, of five banks, to the shore.

Now had the *Romans* a patterne, and by it they beganne to set vp an hundred *Quingacesmes*, which were Gallies, rowed by five on euery banke, and twentie, of three on a banke: and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed vpon the Sea-sands many seats, in order of the banks in Gallies, whercon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beat the sand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new *Consuls* (for they changed euery yeare) was made Admirall: who being more in loue with this new kinde of warfare, than well aduised, past ouer to *Messina* with seuentene Gallies, leaving the rest to follow him. There he staid not, but would needes row alongst the coast to *Lipara*, hoping to doe some peece of seruice. *Hannibal*, a *Carthaginian*, was at the same time Governour in *Panormus*; who being aduertised of this new Sea-mans arrival, sent forth one *Boodes*, a Senatour of *Carthage*, with twentie Gallies, to entertaine him. *Boodes*, falling vpon the *Consul* vnawares, tooke both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good newes, together with the *Roman* Gallies and their *Consul*; he grew no lesse foolish hardie than *Cornelius* had bene. For he, fancying to himselfe to surpris the rest of the *Roman* fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points provided; fought them out with a fleet of fiftie sail: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and, leaving the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard escape with the rest: for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the *Romans* vnder *Cornelius* had lost but seuentene, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fiftie.

The *Romans*, being aduertised of *Cornelius* his ouerthrow, make haste to redeeme him, but gae the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Dnilius*. *Dnilius*, considering that the *Roman* vessells were heauie and slow, the *African* Gallies having the speede of them, deuised a certaine engine in the prow of his Gallies, where by they might fasten or grapple themselves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) board and board, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done, the weightier ships had gotten the aduantage, and the *Africans* lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse serue them, nor their Marriners craft; the Vessells, wherein both Nations fought, being open: so that all was to be carried by the aduantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heauier Gallies were likely to crush and crack the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they, by reason of their breadth, more steadie; and those that best kept their feet, could also best vse their hands. The example may be giuen betweene one of the long boates of his Majesties great ships, and a *London-barge*.

Certainely, he that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must be skilfull in making choice of Vessells to fight in: he must beleuee, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great during; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, betweene fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Gunnes of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clasp ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre: for by such an ignorant brauerie was *Peter Strozzi* lost at the *Azores*, when he fought against the *Marquise of Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admirall of *England*, been lost in the yeare 1588, if he had not bene better aduised, than a great many malignant fooles were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Armie aboard them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he intangled himselfe with those great and powerfull Vessells, he had greatly endangered this Kingdome of *England*. For twentie men vpon the de-

fences,

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fences, are equal to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrari-
wife, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twentie of ours, to defend themselves with-
all. But our Admirall knew his aduantage, and held it: which had he not done, he
had not bene worthe to haue held his head. Here to speake in generall of Sea-
fight (for particulars are fitter for priuate hands, than for the Presse) I say, That
a fleet of twentie ships, all good sailers, and good ships, haue the aduantage, on the
open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sayling. For if the fleet of an
hundred saile keepe themselves neare together, in a grosse squadron; the twentie
ships, charging them vpon any angle, shall force them to giue ground, and to fall
back vpon their next fellows: of which so many as intangle, are made vnseruice-
able, or lost. Force them they may easily, because the twentie ships, which giue
themselves scope, after they haue giuen one broad side of Artillerie, by clapping
into the winde, and staying, they may giue them the other: and so the twentie ships
batter them in peeces with a perpetuall vollie; whereas those, that fight in a troupe,
haue no roome to turne, and can alwaies vsf but one and the same beaten side. If
the fleet of an hundred saile giue themselves any distance, then shall the lesser fleet
preuaile, either against those that are a-reare and hindmost, or against those, that
by aduantage of ouer-sailing their fellows keepe the winde; and if vpon a Lee-
shore, the ships next the winde be constrained to fall back into their owne squadron,
then it is all to nothing, that the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render it
selfe. That such aduantage may be taken vpon a fleet of vnequall speede, it hath
bene well enough conceiued in old time; as by that Oration of *Hermocrates*, in
Thucydides, which he made to the *Syracusans*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it
may easily be obserued.

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Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *HENRIE*,
Prince of Wales; a subject, to my knowledge, neuer handled by any man, ancient
or moderne: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his losse; by
the losse of that braue Prince; of which, like an Eclypse of the Sunne, wee shall
finde the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equall wordes and sorrowes; I will
therefore leaue him in the hands of God that hath him. *Cura leues loquuntur, in-*
gentes stupent.

Thucyd. l. 6.

deser

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of the same 71. 98.

But it is now time to returne to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by loosing their
aduantage of swift boats, and boording the *Romans*, haue lost fiftie saile of their
Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies, by commanding the Seas, haue
gotten libertie to saile about the West part of *Sicily*; where they raised the siege
laied vnto *Segesta*, by the *Carthaginians*, and wonne the Towne of *Mazella*, with
some other places.

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§. VII.

Divers enterfeits of warre, betwene the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, with va-
riable successe. The *Romans* prepare to invade *Africk*: and obtaine
a great victorie at *Sea*.



He victorie of *Dulius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Na-
uall triumph, that was euer scene in that City; so gaue it vnto the
Romans a great encouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea;
whereby they hoped, not only to get *Sicily*, but all the other Iles be-
tweene *Italy* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither soone after
they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrarie side, *Amilcar* the *Cartha-*
ginian, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe
to recompence the late misfortune: and being aduertised, that some quarrell

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was growne betweene the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incampe a-part, hee sent forth *Hanno* to set vpon them; who taking them vnawares, buried foure thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land warre in *Sicily*, *Hannibal*, who had lately bene beaten by Sea, but escaped vnto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former error, obtained the trust of a new fleet, wherewith hee arrived at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Iland, the *Romans* had enterprised for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans*, crossing the Seas from *Sicily*, arrived in the Port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set vpon him vnawares, and tooke the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himselfe hardly escaping their danger. But it little auailed him to haue escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second vnfortunate voiage, that they handed him vp for his diligence: for (as it hath been said of old) *Non est bis in bella peccare; In warre it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long creaky thing of importance was done by the Consuls, still *Panormus* was besieged: where, when the *Romans* had fought in vaine to draw the *Carthaginians* into the field; being vnable to force that great Citie, because of the strong Garrison therein belloyed: they departed thence, and tooke certaine inland Townes, as *Mytilistrum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, betweene *Panormus* and *Messina*. The yeare following, *C. Atilius* the Consul, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, discovered a Companie of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coast: and, not staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haste hee made, and lost all, save the Gallie which transported him: where-in himselfe escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Atilius* his fleet was gotten vp: who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the victorie remaining doubtfull, both chal-

lenge it. Now to trie at once, which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirtie Gallies; the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fiftie, ** *Tiremes*, *Quadrimes*, and *Quingetemes*.

The *Romans* resolve to transport the warre into *Africk*; the *Carthaginians*, to arrest them on the coast of *Sicily*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that euer fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his estimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and fortie thousand men; and in those of *Carthage*, an hundred and fiftie thousand: reckoning one hundred and twentie Souldiers, and three hundred Rowers, to euery Gallie, one with the other. The *Roman* fleet was diuided into foure parts, of which the three first made the forme of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first Squadrons making the Flanks,

and

* If we may
gue credit to
Antiquities,
which *Faxellor*,
a diligent writ-
ter, hath left vs
in his History of *Sicily*; *Panormus*, now called *Pelermo*, is one of the first Cities
that hath bene built in all *Sicily*. For whereas *Thucydides* seems to make it a
Colony of the *Phoenicians*; *Romanus*, in libell de *Panormo*, lib. 6. affirms, that it
was first, and long before the time which *Thucydides* does downe, founded by the
Chaldeans, and *Dionysius*. To prove which, he tells vs of two inscriptions vpon
marble, in the *Hiberna* Character, found at *Panormus* in the time of *Julianus* the sec-
ond, King of *Sicily*; that were then beheld of all the Citizens, and other strangers;
which, being translated into *Latine*, say as followeth. *Vicente Isaac filius Abrahæ*,
et regente in *Idumæa*, atq; in *Vallis Damascenæ*, Isaac filius Isaac; regem *Hebreorum*
manus, quibus aduocati sunt multi *Damasceni*, atq; *Idumæi*, presens in hoc triangularem
Insulam, sedet perennis locustarum in his amens. *Isaac filius Isaac*, regem *Panormi* manum
manus. In the other marble table are found these words. *Non est alius Deus præter*
unum Deum; et non est alius Potens, præter eundem Deum. *et c.* *Isaac filius Isaac*,
et *Sapha*, filius *Elaph* filius *Elau*, fratris *Isaac* filius *Isaac*, filius *Abraham*; et *Turri*
quidam filius *Boethi*, sed *Turri* hoc præter nomen est *Pharab*. And this inscrip-
tion (saith *Faxellor*) was found intire in the Castle of *Syracuse*, in the yeare one thousand
five hundred, thirtie and foure. Now whether these inscriptions were truly as
ancient, as these men beleue they were, I leave euery man to his owne faith. But
that the Citie was of aged times, it appears by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth; when
the *Greekes* part first into *Sicily*, that then the *Ionians* inhabited *Panormus*: which
certaintie is that they did in the first *Punic* warre; to wit, the *Carthaginians*, who
were *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilius*, and *C. Cornelius*, commanding
this Army) tooke it. And when *Marcellus* besieged *Syracuse*, it sent him in aid
three thou and Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than subiect to the
Romans. For *Cicero* against *Verres*, names it among the free Cities of *Sicily*. After
Syracuse destroyed, it became the first Citie and Ro-gall seat, as well of the *Gauls*
and *Saracens* in that Iland, as of the Emperours of *Constantinople*, of the *Normans*,
French, and *Aragonians*: which honour it holds to this day, and is much frequen-
ted, for the excellent wine which grows about it.

** The *Quadrimes*
Gallies, where
in eue y One
hath five men
to draw it; the
Quadrimes
had foure to an
Oare; and the
Tiremes three.
Some haue
thought, that
the *Quingetemes*
had five
rankes of Oares
one ouer another;
and the other
Gallies (rarely) fewer.
But had this been
so, they must then
haue had
five decks,
each ouer
other: which hath
beene seen in
ships of a thousand
Tonnes; neither
could the third,
fourth,
and
fifth
rankes,
haue
reached
vnto
the
water
with
their
Oares,

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and the third Squadron, the Base: the point thereof (wherein were the two Con-
suls as Admiralls) looking toward the enemy; and the middle space lying empty.
Their Vessels of carriage were towed by the third Squadron. After all came vp the
fourth, in forme of a *Crescent*; very well manned, but exceeding thinne: so that the
horne of it inclosed all the third Squadron, together with the corners of the first
and second. The order of the *Carthaginian* fleet I cannot conceiue by the relation;
but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I coniecture, that the front of their
fleet was thinne, and stretched in a great length, much like to that which the *Phoeni-
cians* call *Combat en haij*; a long front of horse, and thinne: which forme, since the *Pel-
li*
10 preuailed ouer the Lance, they haue changed. Behind this first out-stretched ff. fr.
their Battalions were more solide. For *Amilcar*, Admirall of the *Carthaginians*, had
thus ordered them, of purpose, (his Gallies hauing the speede of the *Romans*) that,
when the first fleet of the *Romans* halted to breake through the first Gallies, they
should all turne taile, and the *Romans* pursuing them (as after a victorie) disorder
themselves, and, for easynesse of taking the Runne-awaies, leaue their other three
squadrons taire behind them. For so must it needs fall out, seeing that the third
squadron towed their horse-boats, and victuallers; and the fourth had the Reare-
ward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans*
had charged, and broken, the thinne front of the *Carthaginian* first fleet, which ran
20 away, they forthwith gaue after them with all speede possible, not so much as look-
ing behinde them for the second Squadron. Herby the *Romans* were drawne
neare vnto the bodie of the *Carthaginian* fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the
first) receiued great losse, till their second squadron came vp, which forced *Amilcar*
to betake him to his Oares. *Hanno* also, who commanded the right wing of the
Carthaginian fleet, inuaded the *Roman* Reareward, and preuailed against them. But
Amilcar being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell back to their succour, and put the
Carthaginians to their heeles; as not able to sustaine both squadrons. The Reare
being releued, the Consuls came to the aide of their third Battalion, which towed
their victuallers, which was also in great danger of being bearen by the *Africans*:
30 but the Consuls, joyning their squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part
also to running. This victorie fell to the *Romans*, partly by the hardnesse of their
Souldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could neuer after
joyne himselfe to any of his other squadrons, that remained as yet in faire like-
hoode of preuailling, so long as they fought vpon even termes, and but Squadron to
squadron. But *Amilcar*, forsaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the
Roman fleet vningaged, and readie to giue succour to any of the other parts that
were opprest. So as in conclusion, the *Romans* got the honour of the day: for they
lost but foure and twentie of theirs; whereas the *Africans* lost thirtie that were sunk,
and threecore and three that were taken.

40 Now, it *Amilcar* who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had also diuided his
fleet into foure squadrons, (besides those that he ranged in the front, to draw on the
enemies, and to ingage them) and that, while hee himselfe fought with one squa-
dron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies fleet had bene at the same time
entertained, he had preuailed: But the second squadron, being free, came to the
rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was opprest: and *Amilcar*, being opprest and
scattered, the Consuls had good leisure to relieue both their third and fourth squa-
dron, and got the victorie.

Charles the sixt, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the second his sonne, where
he aduiseeth him concerning Warre against the *Turkes*, tells him, that in all battailes
50 betweene them and the *Christians*, he should neuer faile to charge the *Tanisars* in the
beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the
Tanisars, who are a waile reserved inire, in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom
the *Turke* repositeth his greatest confidence; come vp in a grosse body, when all the
troups, on both sides, are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carrie the
victorie

victorie before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and resolution, did the *Romans* also prevaile against other Nations. For they kept their *Triary* in store (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-shot and last blow. A great and a victorious advantage it hath euer beene found, to keepe some one or two good troupes to looke on, when all else are disbanded and engaged.

§. VIII.

The Romans prevaile in Africk. Atilius the Consull propoundeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is utterly beaten, and made prisoner.

10

NOW the *Romans*, according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-vitalled their fleet, set saile for *Africa*, and arrived at the Promontorie of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage*, and some fortie leagues from *Heraclein Sicily*, where *Amilcar* himselfe as yet laide. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the Promontorie, till they came to *Chipea*, a Towne, about fiftie *English* mile from it. There they disembarked, and prepared to besiege *Chipea*; which, to ease them of labour, was yeelded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on *Africa* side; without which all invasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their owne *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* fleet and armie had directed themselves thither; but being advertised, that they had taken *Chipea*, they made provisions of all sorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the meane while waste all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, that one of the Consulls should remaine with the Armie, and that the other should returne, with the fleet, into *Italie*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consull is sent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twentie thousand *African* captives, with all the *Roman* fleet and armie; except fortie ships, sixteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily wanne some Townes and Places, that were vnwalled, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came vnto *Adu*. Yet I hold it worthe of relation, that neare vnto the River of *Bagrada*, he encountered with a Serpent of one hundred and twentie foot long, which he slue, not without losse of many Souldiers, being driven to vie against it such engines of warre, as served properly for the assaulting of Townes. At *Adu* he met with the *Carthaginian* Armie, whereof the Captaines were *Hanno* and *Bostar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought ouer out of *Sicily* five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to succour his Countrey. These (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him out of *Africa*, by warre protraction of time, than to vndergoe the hazard of a maine fight. They were carefull to hold themselves free, from necessity of comming to blowes: yet had they a great desire, to save the Towne of *Adu* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the siege of *Adu*, they incampe neare vnto him, and strongly (as they thinke) on the top of an hill: but thereby they loose the seruices, both of their Elephants, and of their horse-men. This disadvantage of their *Regulus* discouers, and makes vlt of it. He assailes them in their strength, which they defend a-while; but in fine the *Romans* prevaile, and force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceede to * *Tunis*, a Citie within sixteen miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

* This Citie was taken from the *Turkes* by *Charles* the fifth, in the year 1536, and was one of the three Keyes, which he gave in charge to *Philip* the second his sonne to keepe safe; to wit, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*; *Flushing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*; and *Calis*, the Key of *Spain*.

But two of these *Philip* is lost, that hee neuer found them againe; the third, our *English* were bold, in the time of the renowned *Queene Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hands: where we find not to pick any lock, but brake open the dores, and hauing rifled all, throw it into the fire.

CHAP. I. §. 8. of the Historie of the World.

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By the losse of this battaile at *Adis*, and more especially by the losse of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismayed. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult vpon their misfortunes; inuade, and spoile their Territories, and force those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Attilius* findes his owne aduantage, and assures himselfe that the Citie could not long hold out: yet he feared least it might defend it selfe, vntill his time of Office, that was neare expired, should be quite runne out, whereby the new Consulls were like to reape the honor of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it selfe, perswades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded vnto them so vnworthie and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with feare, became now so courageous and disdainfull, that they resolu'd, either to defend their libertie, or to die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arriued at the same time a great troupe of *Greekes*, whom they had formerly sent to entertaine. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, and of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* receiued neare vnto *Adis*, gaue it out publicly, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ranne, till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is sent for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made Generall of the *African* forces, he puts himselfe into the field. The Armie which he led, consisted of no more than twelue thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Libertie, Liues, Goods, Wiues, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were misse-numbered; the one consisting of an hundred and fortie thousand, and the other of an hundred and fiftie thousand: were it not commonly found, that they which vse the service of mercinarie Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their owne doores.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troupes vpon faire and leuell ground, fitteth both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battaile. The *Romans* wondred, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were that it should be soone abated. Their chiefe care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants: Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *sarlorne hope*; that these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, drive back the beasts vpon the enemies, or at least breake their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely vpon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had beene accustomed to doe. By which meanes, as they were the lesse subject vnto the impression of the Elephants; so were they the more exposed vnto the violence of horse, wherein the enemy did farre exceede them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one ranke, before his Armie, which followed them at a reasonable distance: his horse-men, and some light-armed foot, of the *Carthaginian Auxiliaries*, were in the wings. The first onset was given by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* were so vnable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battaile was helpfull. For when the beasts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first ranks; the Squadrons neuertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, hauing at the first encounter, by reason of their aduantage in number, driven those of *Attilius* out of the field, beganne to charge the *Roman* battalions in flanke, and put them in great distresse; who being forced to turne face euery way, could neither passe forward, nor yet retire; but had much a doe to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the meane while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the furie of the Elephants, and left them at their backs, fell vpon the *Carthaginian* Armie, that met them in very good

good array. It was no euen match. The one was a disorderd Companie, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to haue dealt with the enimie vpon equall termes. Here was therefore a great slaughter with little fight; the *Romans* hastily recoiling to the body of their Armie, which being surrounded with the enimie, and spent with traualle, fell all to rout, vpon the defeat of these troupes, that open the way to a generall ouerthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtayned a full victorie; destroying the whole *Roman* Armie, saue two thousand, and taking five hundred prisoners, together with *Asilius* the Consull. Of their owne they lost no more than eight hundred mercenaries, which were slaine, when the fight began, by two thousand of the *Romans*, that wheling about, to auoide the Elephants, bare downe all before them, and made way euen to the *Carthaginian* trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slaine. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no lesse her vassalls, than were the *Carthaginians*: how insolent fouer they had bene in their propolition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperitie, which shee neuer gaue nor sold to any mortall man. With what joy these newes were well-commended, when they came to *Carthage*, we may easily coniecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to passe in the World, there are many examples to proue, no lesse than this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that sentence of *EVARPHRODES*, *Mens vna sapiens, plurimum vincit manus*; *Many mens hands equall not one wise minde*.

After this great seruice done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus* returned into Greece; whether for that he was more enuid than honoured, or for what other cause, it is vnknowne.

Regulus.
The death of *Asilius Regulus* the Consull, was very memorabile. He was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ranfome of prisoners on both sides: giuing his faith to returne, if the businesse were not effected. When hee came to *Rome*, and plainly saw that his Countrie should looke by the bargain: so far was he from vrging the Senate vnto compassion of his owne miserie, that he earnestly perswaded to haue the prisoners in *Africa* left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: where for his paines taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* seeme to haue judged him an obdurate and malicious enimie; that neither in his prosperitie would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamitie would haue the naturall care, to persecute himselfe and others, by yeelding to such an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not grounded vpon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small aduantage. Whatfouer the *Carthaginians* thought of him; sure it is, that his faithfull obseruance of his word giuen, cannot be too much commended. But that graue speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of prisoners, appeares, in all reason, to haue proceeded from a vaine glorious forwardnesse, rather than from any necessitie of state. For the exchange was made soone after his death; wherein the *Romans* had the worse bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himselfe was worth. As for the authoritie of all Historians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to consider that they liued vnder the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extreme torments, could not be more grievous to him, than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither doe I thinke that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselves herin; otherwise than by recrimination: saying, That the *Romans* deserved to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinarie practise to vse others in the like sort. Crueltye doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customearie. It was the *Roman* fashion, to whip a most to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they tooke, yea although they were such, as had alwaies made faire warres with them. Wherefore

fore it seemes not meet, in reason, that they should crie out against the like tyrannicall insolence in others, as if it were lawfull only in themselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Attilius* his intolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, wherinto the *Carthaginians* feare was changed by mere desperation; calls to remembrance the like insolencie of others in prosperitie, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath beene denied. In such cases I neuer hold it impertinent, to adde vnto one, more testimonies; approving the true rules, from which our passions carrie vs away.

- 10 In the year 1378. the *Genovais* wonne so fast vpon the *Venetians*, as they not only draue their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of *Venice* it selfe. This bred such an amazement in the Citizens of *Venice*, that they offered vnto the *Genovais* (their state referred) whatsoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blowne vp with many former victories, would hearken to no compulsion; saue the yielding of their Citie and State to his discretion. Hereupon, the *Venetians*, being filled with disdain, thrust out to Sea with all their remayning power, and assailed *Doria* with such desperate furie, that they breake his fleet; kill *Doria* himselfe; take nineteene of his Gallies, fourescore boats of *Padoa*, and foure thousand prisoners; recover *Chiozza*, and all the places taken
- 20 from them; and following their victorie, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genovais*, basely to begge peace, to their extreme dishonour and disadvantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might haue commanded, to their greatest honour and aduantage. The like hapned to the Earle of *Flaners*, in the year 1380. when hauing taken a notable, and withall an ouer-cruell reuenge vpon the *Gantois*, he refused mercie to the rest; who in all humilitie, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their Citie, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had vnadvisedly refused, and was resolved to extinguish them vtterly; they issue out of their Citie with fiftethousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earle, breake his Armie, enter *Bruges* (pell-mell)
- 30 with his vanquished followers; and enforce him to hide himselfe vnder an heape of straw, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficultie he escaped, and lauded himselfe. Such are the fruits of insolencie.

§. IX.

How the affaires of Carthage prospered after the victorie against *Attilius*: How the Romans hauing lost their fleet by tempest, resolved to forsake the Seas: The great aduantages of a good fleet in warre, betwene Nations diuided by the Sea.

- 40 —
- B**Y the reputation of this late victorie, all places that had beene lost in *Affrick*, returne to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Clypea* stands out; before which the *Carthaginians* sit downe, and assaile it, but in vaine: For the *Romans*, hearing of the losse of *Attilius* with their forces in *Affrick*, and withall, that *Clypea* was besieged, make readie a grosse Armie, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and fiftie Gallies, commanded by *M. Emilius*, and *Ser. Fuluius*, their Consuls. At the Promontorie of *Mercurie*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, set out of purpose, vpon the bruit of
- 50 their comming, encounter them: but greatly to their cost. For the *Romans* tooke by force an hundred and foureene of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they staid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had beene besieged: and this done, they made amaine toward *Sicill*, in hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this hasty voyage they despise the aduice of the

Pilots,

Pilots, who pray them to finde harbour in time, for that the season threatened some violent stormes; which euer hapned betweene the rising of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-starre*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* Fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coast of *Sicily* had no good Ports, wherein to faue themselves vpon such an accident: yet this

victorious Nation was perswaded, that the winde and seas feared them no lesse, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themselves. So refusing to stay within some Port, as they were aduised, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victorie against the *Carthaginian* fleet; to take a few worthlesse Townes vpon the coast. The merclesse windes in the meane while ouertake them, and neare vnto *Camerina*, ouertume and thrust headlong on the rocks, all but foure score of three hundred and fortie ships: so as their former

great victorie was deuoured by the Seas, before the same thereof recovered *Rome*.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike Vessells, hoping once againe to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land- forces since the ouerthrow of *Attilius*. They send *Afrubal* into *Sicily* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and fortie Elephants, imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armie and fleet he arriues at *Lilybaeum*; where hee beginnes to vex the *Partians* of *Rome*. But aduersitie doth not discourage the *Romans*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twentie ships; with which, and the remainder of their late shipwrack, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chiefe Citie of the *Africans* in *Sicily*, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leauing a Garrison therein, returne to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to bee doing in *Africke*: to which purpose they imployed *C. Serulius*, and *C. Semprenius*, their Consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoile they made vpon the coasts of *Africa*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their returne, they were first set vpon the sands, and like to haue perished, neare vnto the lesse *Syrtis*, where they were faine to heaue all ouer-board, that so they might get off: then, having with much a doe doubled the Cape of *Lilybaeum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italie*, they lost an hundred and fiftie of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement neuer Nation had; the God of the warres fauoured them no more, than the God of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricheth them with vpon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them vpon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, foure hundred and sixe ships and gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perswaded them to giue over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-armie into *Sicily*, vnder *L. Caelius*, and *C. Furius*, their Consuls. These they transported in some three-score ordinarie passage-boats, by the straights of *Messana*, that are not about a mile and an halfe broad from land to land. In like sort, the ouerthrow which *Attilius* received in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholerick against the *Carthaginians*, than before; so that for two yeares after they kept the high and woodie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champion Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicily*, without a Naue, much lesse to maintain the warre in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messana* to *Egyptus*, to *Lilybaeum*, and to other places in the extreme West parts of *Sicily*, making sometimes a march of about an hundred and fortie English mile by land, which

* There is no Part of the World, which had not some certayne times of outrageous

weather besides their accidentall stormes. We haue vpon our coast a Michelmas flaw, that seldom or neuer failes. In the west *Indies*, in the moneths of *August* and *September*, those most terrible winds, which the *Spaniards* call the *Westerre*, or Northwinds, are very fearefull: and therefore they that Nauigate in those parts, take harbour till those moneths take end. Charles the first being as ill aduised, in passing the Seas towards *Algiers*, in the Winter quarters, contrary to the counsaile of *A. Doria*, as he was in like vnsafelike times to continue his fleet before *Mete* in *Lorraine*, lost an hundred and fortie ships by tempest, and twene Gallies, with all in effect in them of men, victualles, horses, and munition: a losse no lesse great, than his retreat, both from before this one and the other, was extreme dishonourable.

which could not be performed with an Armie, and the provisions that follow it, in lesse than fourteene daies; the Carthaginians would passe it with their Gallies, in eight and fortie houres.

- * An old example we haue, of that great advantage of transporting Armies by water, betwene *Canutus*, and *Edmond Ironside*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Nauiie and Armie, and could not preuaile against *London*, suddenly imbarqued; and sailing to the West, landed in *Dorset-shire*, so drawing *Edmond* and his Armie thither. There finding ill entertainment, he againe shipt his men, and entred the *Seuerne*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcester-shire*, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he sailed back againe to *London*: by means whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arriue. And this was not the least helpe, which the *Netherlands* haue had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their libertie, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Armie from place to place, vnwearied, and entire, with all the Munition and Artillerie belonging vnto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies haue bene able to do it. Of this, an instance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, now liuing, one of the greatest Capitaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages haue brought forth, in the yeare 1590. carried his Armie by Sea, with fortie Canons, to *Breda*: making countenance either to besiege *Bosildur*, or *Gertreiden-Berg*; which the enemy (in preuention) filled with Souldiers, and victuals. But as soone as the winde serued, he suddenly set saile, and arriuing in the mouth of the *Menze*, turned vp the *Rhine*, and thence to *Tissel*, and fate downe before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march ouer land round about *Holland*, about fourescore mile, and ouer many great Riuers, with their Cannon and cartiage, *Zutphen* was taken. Againe, when the *Spanish* Armie had ouercome this wearisome march, and were now farre from home, the Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to saile vp the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night; and sailing downe the streame, he was set downe before *Hulst* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him.
- 30 So this Towne he also tooke, before the *Spanish* armie could returne. Lastly, the *Spanish* armie was no sooner arriued in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, hauing fortified *Hulst*, set saile againe, and presented himselfe before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a Citie of notable importance, and maltred it.

- And to say the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countrey, not hauing the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it selfe against a powerfull enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second, had fully resolved to hinder Sir *John Norris* in the yeare 1589. from presenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugale*, before the gates of *Lysborne*; and that he would haue kept off the *English*, by power of his land-forces, as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mightie *Armada*, by the fleet of *Queene Elizabeth* in the yeare foregoing. Surely, it had not bene hard for him, to prepare an Armie, that should be able to resist our eleuen thousand. But where should this his Armie haue bene bestowed? If about *Lysborne*, then would it haue bene easie vnto the *English*, to take, rancke, and burne the Towne of *Groine*, and to waite the Countrey round about it. For the great and threatening preparations, of the Earle of *Altemira*, the Marquesse of *Serabie*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the halfe leaue of eight thousand, vnder the Earle of *Andrada*, serue to more effect, than the increase of honour to *St. John Norris*, and his Associates:
- 40 considering, that the *English* charged these, at *Puente de Burgos*, and passing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them; tooke their campe; tooke their Generalls standard with the Kings Armes, and pursued them ouerall the Countrey, which they fired. If a roiall Armie, and not (as this was) a Companie of priuate aduenturers, had thus begunne

beganne the warre in *Galicia*; I thinke it would haue made the *Spaniards* to quit the
 guard of *Portugale*, and make haile to the defence of their *St. Iago*, whose Temple
 was not farre from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as know-
 ing, that Sir *Iohn Norris* his maine intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Armie,
 into his Kingdome, whither comming strong, he expected to be readily and joy-
 fully welcomed: could they haue hindered his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land
 at *Peniche*, and march ouer the Countrie to *Lysborne*, like daies iourne? Did not he
 (when all *Don Antonio* his promises failed) passe along by the Riuer of *Lysborne*
 to *Cascaliz*, and there, hauing wonne the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and
 depart? But these, though no more than an handful, yet were they *Englishmen*. Let
 vs consider of the matter it selfe; what an other Nation might doe, euen against
England, in landing an Armie, by aduantage of a fleet, if we had none. This ques-
 tion, Whether an invading Armie may be resisted at their landing vpon the coast of
England, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it; is already handled by a learned
 Gentleman of our Nation, in his obseruations vpon *Casars* Commentaries, that
 maintaines the affirmatiue. This he holds only vpon supposition; in absence of our
 shipping: and comparatively; as, that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all
 the coast of *England*, than to suffer an enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with
 him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keepe our enemy from
 treading vpon our ground: wherein, if we faile, then must we seeke to make him
 with, that he had staied at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our
 iudgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belong not vnto this
 discourse. But making the question generall, and positiue, Whether *England*, with-
 out helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemy from landing; I hold that it is vnable
 so to doe: and therefore I thinke it most dangerous to make the aduventure. For the
 encouragement of a first victorie to an enemy, and the discouragement of being
 beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most perillous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshall *Montuc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly com-
 plaime, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to haue kept the frontier of *Guenne*,
 they of the Protestant religion, after the battaile of *Moncunster*, enured that Coun-
 trie, and gathered great strength and reliefe thence; for if the King (saith he) would
 haue giuen me but reasonable meanes, *en se bien garde de Monsieur l'Admiral, de faire
 boire ses Cheuaux en la Garonne*; I would haue kept the Admiral from watering his horses
 in the Riuer of *Garonne*. Monsieur de *Langey*, on the contrarie side, prefers the
 not fighting vpon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay;
 which course the Constable of *France* held, against the Emperour *Charles*, when he
 invaded *Prouence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diuerse consideration
 to be had, betwene such a Countrie as *France* is, strengthened with many fortified
 places; and this of ours, where our Ramparts are but of the bodies of men. And
 it was of inuasions vpon firme land, that these great Capitaines spake: whose entran-
 ces cannot be vnertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported our
 Sea, and to beland againe in an enemies Countrie, and the place left to the choice
 of the Inuader. Hereunto I say, That such an Armie cannot be resisted on the
 coast of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of *France*, or
 any other Countrie: except euery Creeke, Port, or sandie Bay. had a powerfull
 Armie, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted;
 That *Kent* is able to furnish twelue thousand foot; and that those twelue
 thousand be laied in the three best landing places within that Countie, to wit,
 three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and fixe thousand at *Fenl-
 sion*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these
 troupes (vnlesse some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen
 the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that not-
 withstanding this prouision, if the enemy, setting saile from the Ile of *Wight*, in the

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first watch of the night, and towing their long boats at their sterns, shall arrive by
dawn of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Armie on shore there; it will be hard for
those three thousand that are at *Margat* (twentie and foure long miles from thence)
to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they
at *Foulkston* be able to doe it, who are nearer by more than halfe the way? Seeing
that the enemy, at his first arrivall, will either make his entrance by force, with
three or foure hundred shot of great Artillerie, and quickly put the first three thou-
sand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to runne; or else que them so much to doe,
that they shall be glad to send for helpe to *Foulkston*; and perhaps to *Margat*: wher-
by those places will be left bare. Now let vs suppose, that all the twelve thousand
Kentish Souldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be ready to disbarque his
Armie, so that he shall finde it vn safe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to
withstand him; yet must we beleue, that he will play the best of his owne game;
and (having libertie to goe which way he list) vnder couert of the night, let saile to-
wards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the
Downes, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? X
Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to doe it. Yea the like may bee said of
Weymouth, *Portbeck*, *Peale*, and of all landing places on the South coast. For there is
no man ignorant, that ships, without putting themselues out of breath, will easily
out-runne the Souldiers that coast them. *Les Armees ne volent point en passer, Ar-
mies neither flee, nor runne point*, saith a Marshall of France. And I know it to be true,
that a fleet of ships may be seene at Sunne-set, and after it, at the *Lizard*; yet by the
next morning they may recover *Portland*, whereas an Armie of foot shall not bee
able to march it in sixe daies. Again, when those troupes, lodged on the Sea-shores,
shall be forced to runne from place to place, in vaine, after a fleet of ships; they will
at length sit downe in the mid-way, and leaue all aduventure. But say they were o-
therwise; That the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where
there shall be an Armie of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but
that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders
and Captaines, shall be drawne together (as they were at *Tilburie* in the year 1583)
to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of London: they
that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie
like vnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of Parma should have
landed in England.

The Ile of *Tercera* hath taught vs by experience, what to thinke in such a case.
There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthened
by art: it being every where hard of access; having no good harbour wherein to
shelter a Naue of friends; and vpon every cove or watering place a Fort erected,
to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylua*, and *Monsieur
de Chates*, that held it to the vse of *Don Antonio*, with sixe or sixte thousand men,
thought to haue kept the *Marquessie of Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground there-
in; the *Marquessie* having thewed himselfe in the Rode of *Angra*, did set saile, ere
any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, farre distant from thence,
where hee wanne a Fort, and landed, ere *Monsieur de Chates*, running thither in
vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Strofe*, slaine the yeare
before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred French prisoners mur-
dered in cold blood, had instructed *de Chates* and his followers, what they might
expect at that *Marquessie* his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they will slow in
carrying reliefe to *Port des Moles*. Whether our English would bee perswaded to
make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and back againe, it may bee
doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*;
whereof the French-men had not measured the one halfe, when they found them-
selues preuented by the more nimble ships of *Spain*.

This may suffice to proue, that a strong Armie, in a good fleet, which neither
foot, nor horse, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in England.

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1582.

France, or elsewhere, vntlesse it be hindered, encountered, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equall, or answerable strength.

dele The difficult landing of our *English*, at *Fayal*, in the yeare 1597. is alleged against this: which example moues me no way to thinke, that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I landed those *English* in *Fayal*, my selfe, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited, with omission of my name; I may, by a ciuill interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to defraude me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprise was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeede some which were in that voyage, who aduised me not to vndertake it: and I hearkned vnto them, somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilst they desired me, to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficultie: I gaue them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could haue landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would haue rowed to another place; yea even there where I landed, if I would haue taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to belong vnto the honor of our Prince & Nation, that a few Ilanders should not thinke to any advantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by *Q. Elizabeth*: and further, I was vnwilling, that some *Low-Country* Captaines, and others, not of mine owne Squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceipt (though it would haue been short, when I had landed in some other place) *That for want of their helpe I was driuen to turne taile.* Therefore I tooke with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine owne Squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, *Sir William Brooke*, *Sir William Haruey*, *Sir Arthur Gorges*, *Sir John Skot*, *Sir Thomas Ridgeway*, *Sir Henrie Thinne*, *Sir Charles Morgan*, *Sir Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, *Captaine Laurence Kemis*, *Captaine William Morgan*, and others, such as well vnderstood themselves and the enemy: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprise I vndertooke. As for the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Clusses, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we overcame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made siue or sixe Companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Musketers lay on the rest for vs, and wonne the place of them without any great losse. This I could haue done with lesse danger, so that it should not haue serued for example of a rule, that failed even in this example: but the reasons before alleged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen aboue named, though more private, than to be here laid downe) made me rather follow the way of brauerie, and take the shorter course; hauing it still in mine owne power to fall off, when I should thinke it meet. It is easily said, that the Enemy was more than a Coward; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small peece of seruice, by seeking to proue him better: whom had I thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwise haue dealt with. But for so much as concerns the Proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember, that the same enemy troubled vs more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore; that he fought how to stop vs in place of his advantage; that many of our men were slaine or hurt by him, among whom *Sir Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to be past, when we had wonne good footing, would needes so follow vs to the Towne, were driuen by him, to forsake the pace of a man of warre, and betake themselves to an halfe trot.

For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall neuer come to trial; his Majesties many moueable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no lesse disdain, than any Nation vnder heauen can doe, to be beaten vpon

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upon their owne ground, or elsewhere, by a forraigne enemy; yet to entertaine those that shall assaile vs, with their owne beeste in their bellies, and before they eate of our *Kentish* Capons, I take to be the wisest way. To doe which, his Majestic, after God, will imploy his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore.

§. X.

- 10 How the Romans attempt againe to get the mastery of the Seas. The victorie of *Cæcilius* the Roman Consull at *Panormus*. The siege of *Lilybeum*. How a *Rhodian* Gallie entred *Lilybeum* at pleasure, in despite of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficultie to stop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grievous losses received, under *Claydivus* and *Imvius* their Consulls, abandon the Seas againe.



- 20 Men, without a strong Naue, the Romans found it altogether impossible, either to keepe what they had already gotten in *Sicily*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa*, or elsewhere, they resolved once againe, notwithstanding their late misadventures, to strengthen their fleet and ships of warre. So caulding fittie new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gaue them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Consulls, *C. Atilius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other side, *Asdrubal* perceiuing that the Romans, partly by reason of the shipwrack which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the overthrow which they received by *Xanthippus* in *Africa*, were lesse daring than they had bene in the beginning of the warre; and withall, that one of the Consulls was returned into *Italy*, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that *Cæcilius*, with only the other halfe, remained at *Panormus*: he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybeum* towards it, hoping to prouoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Consull was better aduised. For when *Asdrubal* had made his approches somewhat neare the Towne, *Cæcilius* cauld a deepe trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the Citie: betweene which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattaile a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gaue order that they should aduance themselves, and passe ouer the new trench, till such time as the *African* Elephants were thrust vpon them. From those beausts he commanded them to retire, by slow degrees, till they had drawne on the Elephants to the brinke of the new trench, which they could by no means passe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so gawied and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench itselfe, that being enraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiously vpon their owne foot-men, and vterly disordered them. *Cæcilius*, espying this aduantage, sallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troups, that stood embattailed, he vterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.
- 40 The report of this victorie being brought to *Rome*, the whole state, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred saile, which they sent into *Sicily*, to giue end to that warre, that had now lasted fourteene yeares. With this fleet and armie the Romans resolved to attempt *Lilybeum*, the only place of importance which
- 50 the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*; and all (indeed) saue *Drepanum*, that was neare adioyning. They set downe before it, and possessed themselves of all the places of aduantage neare vnto it, especially of such as command the haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground fix towres of defence; & by forceable engines weaken so many other parts of the citie, as the defendants begin to despair.

Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the Place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giueth to the *Romans* all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other petty Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is revealed by an *Aethian*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saved *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* vseth the help of *Alexon*, to allure the hired Souldiers; and imploieti *Hannibal* to appease the troupes of the *Gauls*, which did wauer, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being vnable to performe what they had vnderaken, are faine to lue in the *Roman* campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good whereby to deserue their bread. In the meane while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to their reliefe, hauing *Hannibal*, the sonne of *Amilcar*, for their Conductor: who, in despite of all resistance, entred the Port and Citie, to the incredible joy of the besieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolute set vpon the *Romans* in their Trenches, and either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the utmost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the *Romans* being more in number, and hauing the aduantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to vnderstand the state of things at *Lilybaeum*; but know not how to send into the Towne. A certaine *Rhodian* vnderakes the seruice; and hauing receiued his dispatch, sailes with one Gallie to *Egusa*, a little Iland neare *Lilybaeum*. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and hauing a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channell, and encouraged the water gate, ere any of those, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the couert of the darke night, nor dreading to be boarded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his returne, he set saile, and shipping his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quick of steeage, and him selfe expert in all parts of the channell) recovered the Hauens mouth, and the Sea, in despite of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being compassed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Hauen, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to vnderake him. This enterprife, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in those dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a-farre-off, the adventure which this *Rhodian* made, was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and iudicious man of warre will not feare to passe by the best appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of winde: no, though fortie peeces of great Artillerie open their mouths against him, and threaten to teare him in peeces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when *Denmarke* and *Sweden* were at Warre; our *East-Land* fleet, bound for *Leifland*, was forbidden by the King of *Denmarke* to trade with the subjects of his enemies, and he threatened to sink their ships if they came through the strights of *Ellenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (hauing a ship of her *Majesties*, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the adventure; and, sustaining some Volleys of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the provision he could, to stop them, or sink them, at their returne. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not only passe out with little losse, but did beat downe, with artillerie, a great part of the Port of *Ellenour*; which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound

the fort of *Ellenour*

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wound received. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of Parma, besieging Antwerp, and finding no possibilitie to master it, otherwise than by famine, laid his Cannon on the banke of the River, so well to purpose, and so euen with the face of the water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blowne vp by any winde of glorie, but comming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheefe, euen the poore men, attending their profit when all things were extreme deare in Antwerp, passed in boats of ten or twelue Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despite of it, when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of floud fauoured them; as also with a contrarie

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winde, and an ebbing water, they turned back againe: so as he was forced, in the end, to build his *Stockado* ouerthwart the River, to his meruallous trouble and charge.

The Fort St. Philip terrified not vs in the yeare 1596. when we entred the Port of Calze; neither did the Fort at Punta, when we were entred, beat vs from our anchoring by it; though it plaied vpon vs with foure Demi-cannons within point blank, from sixe in the morning till twelue at noone. The siege of Ostend, and of many other places, may be giuen for prooffe, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of *Angrain Terera*, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the ships are driuen to turne vpon a bow line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in such places, is it of great vse, and fearefull: otherwise not.

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But to returne to our aduenturous *Rhodian*: He arriues in safetie at Carthage, and makes them know the estate of *Lilyeum*. Others also, after this, take vpon them to doe the like, and performe it with the same successe. The *Romans* therefore labour to choke the channell; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great stones, and sinke them therein. The force of the Tides clears it againe in part: but they grounded so many of those great-bellied boats in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heape, like a ragged Iland, in the passage. Hereby it came to passe, that a *Carthaginian* Gallie, taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ranne herselfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the braue *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as he had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gallie, a little before taken, gaue him chase, and gathered vpon him; he findes what she is, both by her forme, and by her swiftnesse: and being notable to runne from her, resolved to fight with her: But shee is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

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Lilyeum, after this, is greatly distressed; the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this despaire there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the *Romans* wooden Towers, by which they ouer-topt the walls of *Lilyeum*, were ouer-turned. A Greeke Souldier vndertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blowne vnto by the bellows of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistlesse, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, despaire and wearinesse hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: so that they resolve, by a long siege, to sterne the Defendants.

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Vpon relation of what had past, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from Rome, vnder *M. Claudius*, the Consull. He arriues at *Messana*, and marcheth ouer land to *Lilyeum*: where hauing re-inforced the Armie, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surpris of *Drepanum*, a Citie on the other side of the Bay of *Lilyeum*. This seruice the Captaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consull imbarques his troups, and arriues on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Governour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new supply arriued at *Lilyeum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but hauing recovered his spirits, he per-

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swades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, than to be inclosed. Herewithall hee promise th great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserue them; offering to leade them himselfe, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Hauing sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Consull, deuied of his expectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* findes and follows his aduantage; and forceth the Consull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himselfe, hauing the land on his back: hoping thereby to keepe himselfe from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-roume, so streightened, as he could not turne himselfe any way from his enemies, nor range himselfe in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with thirtie Gallies, besides his owne, and so fled away: all the rest of his fleet, to the number of ninetie and foure ships, were taken or sunke by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this seruice is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great losse, arme threescore Gallies, with which they send away *L. Iunius*, their Consull, to take charge of their businesse in *Sicily*. *Iunius* arrives at *Messana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybeum*. One hundred and twentie Gallies he had; and besides these, he had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessarie provisions for the Armie. With this great fleet he arrives at *Syracuse*, where he staies a while; partly to take in corne; partly, to wait for some, that were too slow of saile, to keepe company with him along from *Messana*. In the meane time, he dispatcheth away towards *Lilybeum*, his *Quessors* or *Treasurers*; to whom he commits the one halfe of his victuallers, with some Gallies for their conuoy.

Adherbal was not carelesse, after his late victorie: but studied how to vse it to the best aduantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his owne Gallies he deliuered thirtie to *Carthalo*, who had threescore and ten more vnder his owne charge; and sent him to trie, what good might be done against the *Roman* fleet, in the Haven of *Lilybeum*. According to this direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that Hauen, where he findes the *Romans*, more attentive to the keeping in of the besieged *Carthaginians*; than to the defence of their owne against another fleet. So he chargeth them, boords and takes some, and fires the rest. The *Roman* Campe takes alarme, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himileo*, Gouvernour of the Towne, is not behinde hand; who sallies out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* in great distresse, giues *Carthalo* good leisure to goe through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ranne all along the South coast of *Sicily*, deuising how to worke mischief to the enemy: wherein Fortune presented him with a faire occasion, which he wisely managed. He was aduertised by his Scouts, that they had discovered, neare at hand; a great fleet; consisting of all manner of Vessells. These were the victuallers, which the Consull *Iunius*, more hastily than prudently, had sent before him towards *Lilybeum*. *Carthalo* was glad to heare of their comming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accompanying therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet, likely to make strong opposition, he hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no minde to fight: but were glad to seeke shelter in an open Road, full of rocks, vnder covert of a poore Towne, belonging to their partie; that could helpe to saue them only from the present danger, by lending them engines and other aide, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that assailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, hauing taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride vnder those rocks, but would be forced, by

- by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to saue their men, how they could, by taking land, with the losse of all their shipping. Whilst he was buied in this care; the Confull *Iunius* drew neare, and was discouered. Against him *Carthago* makes out, and lines him altogether vnprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Confull had neither meanes to flee, nor abilitie to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creeke, thinking no danger so great, as that of the enemy. The *Carthaginian*, seeing this, betakes himselfe to a Station betwene the two *Roman* fleets; where he watcheth, to see which of them would first stirre, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put it selfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of *Sicily*, betwene the *Promontorie of Pachinus* and *Lilybaeum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde stormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempest, and their signs, finding belike some swelling billow (for so we doc in the West of *England*; before a southerly storme) halted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*; thereby to couer themselves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight, than how to Nauigate, and neuer found any soule weather in the entrailles of their beasts, their Spooflayers being all land-prophets, were suddenly overtaken with a boisterous South winde, and all their Gallies forced against the rocks, and vterly wrackt.
- 20 This calamitie so discouraged the *Romans*, that they resolu'd againe to forsake the Seas, and trust only to the seruice of their Legions vpon firme ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make warre in an Land; against those that have a mightie fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered, through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We seldome or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the *Spaniards* haue done, in their *Indian Discoveries*. Yet persisting in their enterprises, with an invincible constancie, they haue annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Prouinces, as burie the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, ouerthrowes, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme pouerrie, and want of all things needfull, haue bene the enemies, wherewith every one of their most noble Discouersers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many yeares haue passed ouer some of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea more then one or two, haue spent their labour, their wealth, and their liues, in search of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth: All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift vndertakers, haue not bene disheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries and Paradises, which they enioy; and well they deserue to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The Citie of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recovered by AMILCAR; who stoutly holds warre with them five yeares. The Romans having emptied their common treasure, build a new fleet, at the charges of private men. The great victorie at Sea of LVCATIVVS the Consul, whereby the Carthaginians are forced to craue peace. The conditions of the peace betwene Rome and Carthage.



He Romans were carefull, to supply with all industrie, by land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the siege of *Eryx*, and seeke to make sure to themselves all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring reliefe. The Consul *Iunius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which hee had receiued, bethought him what enterprise to undertake. In the end he resolved to attempt the Mountayne and Citie of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the fairest and richest of all the Ilands; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. *Eryx* was commodiously seated betwene *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restrain the Carthaginians from making 20 roades into the Countrie. Wherefore *Iunius* fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, (both which places were very defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the tenth yeare of this warre, the Carthaginians sent forth *Amilear*, surnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleet and armie, who sailing to the coasts of *Italie*, did thoroughly repay the spoiles which the Romans made in *Africa*. For he first of all wasted and destroyed the Territories of the *Loerines*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred he into *Sicily*; and finding there no walled Citie in the Carthaginians power, that served fitly to infest the Romans, he occupied a peece of ground of great aduantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to 30 confront as well the Romans; that were in *Panormus*, as those that kept about *Eryx*, putting himselfe betwene both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilear* had seized vpon, was not only very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him opportunitie, to scoure all the coast of *Italie* with his fleet, wasting all along as farre as to *Cuma*. In the Isle of *Sicily* he held the Romans to hard worke: lying neare vnto *Panormus*, where in three yeares abode he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemy could neuer be drawne to hazard the maine chance. Having wearied himselfe and the Romans long enough about *Panormus*, he vndertooke a strange peece of worke at *Eryx*. The Roman Garrisons, placed there by *Iunius*, on 40 the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine, were very strongly lodged. Neuertheless *Amilear* found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which he conceived his men into the Citie of *Eryx*, that was about the middelt of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the Romans which kept the top of the Mountaine, were straightly held (as it were) besieged. And no lesse was *Amilear* himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such ascame to relieue them. There he found them pastime about two yeares more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay over his head, as they on the contrarie did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the Romans and of the Carthaginians, was bent vnto the prosecuting of this businesse at *Eryx*. Wherein it seemes true (as *Hannibal*, in *Libie*, spake vnto *Scipio*) that the affairs of *Carthage* neuer stood in better termes, since the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the Ro-

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mans had vterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly vpon confidence of their land-forces, which they held resistlesse; *Amilcar*, with a small Armie, had so well acquitted himselfe, to the honour of his Countie, that by the triall of five yeares warre, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equall, if not superiour, to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had beene deuised and done, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby, if the maiestie of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficultie was found. The common treasure was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite vnto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden vpon priuate purses. Diuers of the principall Citizens vndertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one *Quinquereme*; which example wrought so well, that they, whose abilitie would not serue to doe the like, joynd with some others, and laying their monie together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another: with condition to be repaid, when the warre was finished. By this voluntarie contribution, they made and furnished two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their patterne, that excellent swift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the *Phoenician*, in the Port of *Lilybaeum*, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Lucilius Catulus*; who past with the same into *Sicily*, the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*: indeuouring by all meanes to haue forced the Citie. But being aduertised that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindfull of the late losses which his Predecessours had receiued; he was careful to put himselfe in order, against their arriuall.

Hanno was Admirall of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the arte of seeming reuerend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was vpheld by a factious contradiction, of things vndertaken by men more worthie than himselfe. This qualitie procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is auerse from new enterprises, and therewithall an opinion of great foresight, confirmed by euerie losse receiued. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressours of their subiect Provinces; whereby he procured vnto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall such hatred, as turned it all to their great losse. He had ere this bene employed against the *Numidians*, and wild *Africans*, that were more like to Routers, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of those fugitiue Nations, he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great dishonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsaile, when, hauing shewed himselfe an vnworthie Capitaine, he tooke himselfe to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Historics, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to perserue the League betweene *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well hee was deserued of his owne Countie, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall hee was to the *Romans*, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miserable necessitie of accepting, vpon hard conditions, that peace which he thenceforth commended.

Hanno had very well furnished his Nauie, with all needfull prouisions for the Souldiers at *Eryx*: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but he had neither bene carefull in trayning his Marriners, to the practise of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout fellows. Hee thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the vnexpert *Romans* giue way: forgetting, that rather the resistlesse force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing hee had either conceiued

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 conceived a right, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to saile to *Eryx*, and there to discharge his ships of their lading: and hauing thus lightened himselfe, he meant to take aboard some part of the Land-armie, together with *Amilcar* himselfe, by whose helpe he doubted not, but that he should be able to make the chemierpent of his new aduenture to Sea. This was a good course, if it could haue bene performed. But *Catulus* used all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this designe: not because he was informed of the enemies purpose, but for that he knew it to be the best for them, and for that feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* flect was delcrid; yet he rather chose to fight with the enemy, that had the winde of him, than to suffer this conuoy to passe along to *Eryx*, vpon vnlikely hope of better opportunitie in the future. All that *Hanno* should haue done, *Catulus* had performed. Hee had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; hee had lightened his Gallies of all vnecessary burthen; and hee had taken aboard the choice men of the *Roman* Land-souldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the first encounter, were vterly broken and defeated; hauing loste of their Gallies stemmed and sunke, and seuentie taken, wherein were few lesse than ten thousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile of *Hierone*su.

321 The state of *Carthage*, vterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolve. Meanes to repaire their fleet in any time there were none left; their best men of warre by Sea were consumed; and *Amilcar*, vpon whose valour and judgement the honour and safetie of the Common-weale rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in *Sicill*, where he could not be reliev'd. In this extremitie, they make a dispatch vnto *Amilcar* himselfe, and authorize him to take what course should seeme best vnto his excellent wisdom; leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsaile.

Amilcar, whom no aduersitie, accompanied with the least hope or possibilitie of recoverie, had euer vanquished, looking ouer every promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) resolved to make trial, whether his necessitie might be compounded vpon any reasonable termes. He therefore sent to *Lucitatus* the Consull an Overture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present pueritie of the *Roman* State, waited beyond expectation in the former warre, that he willingly bearkned vnto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with prouision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the *Carthaginians* should clearly abandon the Ile of *Sicill*. Secondly, that they should neuer vndertake vpon *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at libertie, and send back into *Italie*, all the *Romans*, whom they hold prisoners, without ranfome. Lastly, that they should pay vnto the *Romans* two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirtene hundred and twentie thousand crownes: the same to be deliuered within twentie yeares next following.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not thoroughly approued: but ten Commissioners were sent into *Sicill*, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former summe; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also, they tooke order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicill* it selfe, but should also withdraw their Companies out of all the other Ilands betwene it and *Italie*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such

with-held the tempest from the *Romans*; for a time, and turned it most tearfully vpon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.

For after that the first *Punicke Warre* was ended; *Amilcar*, leauing *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence most conveniently the Armie might bee transported into *Africa*: the care of which businesse he committed vnto *Gisco*, to whom, as to a man of approved sufficiencie, he deliuered ouer his charge. *Gisco* had an especial consideration of the great summes, wherein *Carthage* was indebted vnto these Mercenaries; and, withall, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them ouer (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that so the first might haue their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arrived. Herein hee dealt prouidently. For it had not bene hard to per-
15 wade any small number, lodged within so great a Citie as *Carthage*, vnto some such reasonable compolition, as the present extremitie of the common Treasurie did require: so that the first might haue bene friendly discharged, and a good president left vnto the second and third, whilest their disfunction had made them vnable to recouer their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publike state, by remitting a great part of their owne due: and hoped by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detain'd the first and second companies; telling them, that they
20 would make an euen reckoning with all together. Thus euery day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the Citie, nor accustom'd vnto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remoue them all to some other place where they might be lesse troublesome. This must be done by some colourable wordes of perswasion: for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuised, that they should all attend the comming of their fellows, at *Sicca*: receiuing euery one a peece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while. This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers beginne to dislodge; leauing
30 behinde them their wiues, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* haue no fancie to their returning into the Towne; and therefore compell them to trusse vp their fardells, that they might haue none occasion left, to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellows arrivall, and their owne pay. Businesse they had none to doe, and therefore might easily be drawne to mutinie: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talke was, how rich they should be, when all their monie came in; how much would fall to euery single share; and for how long time the Citie was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne *Arithmeticians*; and he wasthought a man of worth, that could
40 finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, euen beyond their due. No part of their long seruice was forgotten; but the comfortable wordes and promises of their Captaynes, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, as fo many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some vnordinarie largesse.

Thus the time passeth away; vntill the whole Armie being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So thinke they all; and assemble themselves to heare
50 what good newes this messenger had brought: with a full resolution to helpe his memorie, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made vnto them; all which were to be considered in their Donatiue. *Hanno* begins a verie short Oration; wherein he beuailes the povertie of *Carthage*; tellsthem, how great a summe of mony is to be paid vnto the *Romans*; reckons vp the excef-
60 37 6 5 6 4 1 6 2 3 7 1 4 9 2 5 0 1 9 6 4 5 6 7 7 7 4 5 charges,
75 6 7 7 0 2 2 4 1 6 6 4 5 3 2 6 7 9 0 2 0 6 7 4 8 1 6 3 4 3 4 0 8 4 1 6 7 7
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charges, wherat the common-wealth had bene in the late warre, and finally desires them to hold them selues contented with part of their pay, and out of the lone which they bare vnto the citie, to remit the rest. Few of them vnderstood his discourse: for the *Carthaginian* Armie was composed of sundry Nations, as *Greekes, Africans, Gauls, Ligurians, Spaniards*, and others, all of different languages. Yet they stared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such, as conceited the whole tenour of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort hee brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad men, so that nothing would serue to appease them. *Hanno* would faine haue asswaged their furie, but he knew not how: for hee lesse vnderstood their dissonant lowde noises, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of many countries, that haue no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred vp to mutinie, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that *Hanno* can doe, is to vse the helpe of Interpreters, and messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some, for want of skill; others, of set purpose; and such as deliuer his errandes in the worst kinse, are best beleueed. Finally, they thinke them selues much abused, by the *Carthaginians*, and resolute to demand their owne, in peremptorie termes, at a nearer distance. In this moode they leaue *Sicca*, and march as farre as *Tunis*, that is within a litle of *Carthage*, and there they

20 incampe.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to finde their owne error. It is a good rule,

*Curandum in primis, ne magna iniuria sus
Fortibus & miseris:*

Haue speciall care, that valiant pouertie
Be not opprest with too great iniurie.

But this proude citie, hauing neglected the rule, hath also bene carelesse in providing to secure her selfe against the inconuenience that might followe. Shee had suffered the whole multitude, wherunto shee was like to giue cause of discontent, to ioine it selfe into one bodie, when the seuerall troupes might easily haue bene disperfed: shee hath turned out of her gates the wiues, children, and goods of these poore men, which had theer retained in shewe of kindnesse, shee might haue vsed them, as Hostages, for her owne safetie; and by employing a miserable pennie father, in her negotiation with men of warre, shee hath weakened the reputation of her brauest Captaines, that might best haue serued to free her from the threatening danger. Yet likely enough it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to be vsed as an instrument in defrauding his owne souldiours of their wages: especially considering, that as he best could beare witness of their merits, so was hee not ignorant, that meanes to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had bene willing thereunto. Here to may be added a probable coniecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter eacmie to *Amilcar*, had the boldnesse to impose the blame of this owne wretched counsaile, vpon the liberrall promises made by the Captaines *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to haue the managing of their own plot, and to deale the cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to doe as foolishly, as they had at first begunne. They furnish a market at *Tunis*, for the souldiours whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send euer and anone some of their Senatours into the Campe, who promise to satisfie all demands, as farre forth as it should be possible. And thus, by shifting from one extreme to another, they make the souldiours vnderstand, into what feare the city was driuen; which cannot but adde much insolencie to the passions already stirred vp.

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This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the

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Armie,

Armie, which thereupon growes wise, and finding the season fit, labours to make a great haruell. Monie must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many haue lost their horses, in publique seruice of the state. The state shall pay for them. They had liued some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiuing their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had liued, they wanted not meat, therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in prouision; or their Capitaine direct them where to fetch it? But this would not serue. They said that they had bene sometimes driuen to buy; and that (since they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their prouision, during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that whcar had borne, whilest the warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners; who might easly haue bene satisfied with farre lesse charges, and farre more honour, by receiuing their due at the first. But now they make none end of crauing. For whilest the *Carthaginians* are perplexed, about this come-monie, the Souldiers haue deuised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater summe of monie, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could bee found of these controuersies, which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Skil*, should be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condescended, and made choice of *Geseo*: partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himselfe at all times a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, especially when they were to be transported into *Africa*: partly out of dislike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*; for that hee had not visited them in all this busie time. So *Geseo* comes among them, and, to please them the better, comes not without monie: which might giue better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. Hee calles vnto him first of all, the Captaines, and then, the seuerall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had passed; aduising them temperately concerning the present; and exhorting them to continue their loue vnto the State, which had long entertained them, and would alwaies be mindfull of their good seruices. After this he beganne to put hand to his purse: offering to giue them their whole paie in hand; and then after to consider of other reckonings, at a more convenient time. This had bene well accepted, and might haue serued to bring all to a quiet passe, if two seditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Campe one *Spendius*, a sturdy fellowe, and audacious, but a slave; that in the late warre had fled from a Roman whome hee serued, and therefore stood in feare, lest hee should be deliuered backe to his Master, at whose hands hee could expect no lesse, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by railing such troubles, as might serue to withdraw men from care of priuate matters, and make his owne restitution impossible, were his Master neuer so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himselfe one *Matbo*; an hate-headed man, that had bene so forward in stirring vp the tumult, as hee could not chooseth but feare, lest his owne death should bee made an example, to deterre others from the like seditious behaviour. This *Matbo* deals with his countrimen, the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in farre worse condition, than either the *Gauls*, the *Greekes*, the *Spaniards*, or any forreigne mercenaries. For (saith he) these our companions haue no more to doe, than to receive their wages, and so get them gone: but wee, that are to stay behinde in *Africa*, shall bee called to another manner of accompt, when wee are left alone; so that wee shall haue cause to wish, that wee had returned home beggars, rather than laden with the monie, which (little though it be) shall breake our backs. Yet are not ignorant, how tyrannically these our haughtie Masters of *CARTHAGE* doe reigne ouer vs. They thinke it reasonable, that our liues and goods should bee at their disposition; which they haue at other times bene accustomed to take away from vs, even without apparent cause, as it were to declare

Spendius

†

declare their Souerainty: what will they now doe, seeing that we haue demeaned our selves as free men, and beene bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our owne, as others haue done? Ye all doe knowe, that it were a very shame for vs, if hauing bene as forward in curie danger of warre, as any other men, we should now stand quaking like slanes, and not dare to open our mouthes, when others take libertie to require their due. This notwithstanding we may assure your selves, that we are like to be taught better manners, as soone as our fellows are gone: in regard of whom they are contented to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let vs therefore be wise, and consider, that they haue and feare vs. Their hatred will shew it selfe, when their feare is once past: vnlesse wee now take
 10 our time, and whilst we are the stronger, enioyne them to gratitie, that their hatred shall not be able to doe vs wrong. All their strength consisteth in manie, where withall they haue hired others against vs, and vs against others. At the present they haue neither monie nor friends. The best Armie that euer serued them, whereof wee are no small part, lies at their gates, ready to helpe vs if we be men. A better opportunitie cannot be expected: for were our swords once drawne, all AFRICK would rise on our side. As for the CARTHAGINIANs, whether can they send for helpe? The case it selfe is plaine: but we must quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the diligence of GESCO, by incensing these GAYLES and SPANIARDES, and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behoueth vs to please our good masters, by ioyning with them against our fellows, yea by offering to forgie vs to
 20 them all our wages, if so (peraduenture) they may bee wanne to forgie vs, or not ouercruelly to punish our faults already committed. It is worthily a stretched slane, that neither hath care to winne his Masters loue, nor courage to attempt his owne libertie.

By such perswasions *Matbo* winnes the *African* souldiers to his owne purpose. They are not now so greedy of monie, as of quarrell; which hee that seeks will not misse to finde. When *Gesco* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for horses and victualles, to some other more convenient time; they brake into great outrage, and say that they will haue all, euen all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about *Matbo* and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting, to adde more fuel to the fire already blazing. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are the onlie men to whom the souldiours will hearken: if any other stand vpto make a speech, a shew of stoness, flying about his cares, puts him to silence, that hee shall neuer afterwards speake word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath bene saide already by these good spoken men; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can bee heard, saue only
 30 *throw, throw.*

Now the Rebellion begins to take forme. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are chosen Captaines; who, followed by a desperate crew of Ruffians, will suffer no man to make his owne peace, but pursue their owne ends, vnder faire pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gesco* is not wanting to the good of his
 40 cuntry, but adventures himselfe vpon their furie. One while hee deales with the Captaines, and other principall men; taking them by the hand, and giuing gentle wordes: another while he workes with the severall Nations; putting them all in hope of their owne hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so fallen, as the *Africans*: indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorilie, to giue them their owne, and not to feed them with wordes. The truth is, that they are not so couetous as they seeme: but will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more then *Gesco* knowes: he fees not that *Matbo* hath any more than bare words, to bestow vpon them. Wherefore, as
 50 rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he telles them, That they may doe well, if they stand in want of monie, to seeke it of their Captaine, *Matbo*. This is enough. Shall hee both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands vpon the treasure that he had brought yea vpon him also, and al that we with him

as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellowes beginne to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they call into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can finde; that so the Armie may be freed from danger of good admonition, which they call Treason. After this follows open warre. *Matbo* sollicites all *Africk*; and his Embassadors are euerie where well entertained. Neither is it needefull to vse perswasion: the verie fame of this rebellion sufficeth to drawe the whole cuntry into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* bee plagued for those oppressions, with which they haue plagued others. It is true that *Aduerlitie* hath neuer bene vtold of her errors: and as she is euere assured to heare her owne, so commonly with her owne shee vndergoes those of other men. The *Africans*, finding the *Carthaginians* hang vnder the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were mercieslesse; that they tooke from them the one halfe of their come, that they doubled their tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted vpon their vassals the greatest punishments for the least offences. These cruelties the *Carthaginians* themselves haue forgotten: but the people, that haue suffered so much, retaine all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not onely such as can beare armes, are ready to doe seruice in this great Commotion; but the verie women bring forth their iewels, and other ornaments, offering all to sale for maintenance of so iust a quarrell. By this great forwardnesse, and liberall contribution, *Matbo* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aide of threescore and tenne thousand *Africans*: and are moreouer furnished with monie, not onely to satisfie the present appetite of their men, but sufficient to continue the warre begunne, though it should bee of long endurance.

§. II.

Diuers observations vpon this warre with the mercenaries.

†. I.

522
401 *Of Tyrannie, and how tyrants are driven to vse helpe
of mercenaries.*

Here let vs rest awhile, as in a conuenient breathing place: whence wee may take prospect of the subiect, ouer which wee trauaile. Behold a tyrannicall Citie, persecuted by her owne mercenaries with a deadly warre. It is a common thing, as being almost necessarie, that a tyrannie should bee upheld by mercenarie forces: it is common that mercenaries should be false: and it is common, that all warre, made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and crueltie. Yet wee seldome heare, that the ruine of a Tyrannie is procured or sought, by those that were hired to maintain the power of it: and seldome or neuer doe we reade of any warre, that hath bene prosecuted with such inexorable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which wee properly call Tyrannie, is a violent forme of government, not respecting the good of the subiect, but onely the pleasure of the Commander. I purposely forbore to say, that it is the vniust rule of one ouer many: for verie truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their dominion ouer their subiects, was none other than a meere tyrannie; though it were so, that they themselves were a great

were a great Citie, and a Popular estate, Neither is it peraduenture greatly need-
full, that I should call this forme of commanding, *violent*: since it may well
and easily bee conceiued, that no man willingly performs obedience, to one
regardlesse of his life and welfare; vnlesse himselife bee either a mad man, or
(which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of loue. The
practise of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for some Lords are more
gentle, than others, to their very slaues; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde
enough towards others, though it be but for his owne aduantage. Neuerthel-
esse, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it selfe, vnto no-
10 tice of the difference which might bee found betwene the worth of seuerall men;
it is commonly seene, that the taste of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, hath
so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it
to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should hee seeke out bounds, to
prescribe vnto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put
him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that hee hath gotten, by ex-
torting from some few: by sparing none, hee should haue riches in goodly abun-
dance. He hath taken a great deale from euery one: but euery one could haue spar-
ed more. He hath wrung all their purses, and now hee hath enough: but (as Ce-
cutoufnesse is neuer satished) he thinks that all this is too little for a stock, though
20 it were indeede a good yearlie income. Therefore he deuiseeth new tricks of ro-
berie, and is not better pleased with the gaines, than with the Art of getting. Heis
hated for this; and he knowes it well: but hee thinks by crueltie to change hatred
in to feare. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all, whom he suspec-
teth: in which course, if he suspect none vnjustly, he may be said to deale craftily;
but if Innocencie be not safe, how can all this make any Conspiratour to stand in
feare, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore hee
can thinke vpon none other securitie, than to disarme all his Subjects; to fortifie
himselfe within some strong place; and for defence of his Person and state, to hire
as many lustie Souldiers as shall bee thought sufficient. These must not bee of his
30 owne Countrey: for if not euery one, yet some one or other, might chance to haue
a feeling of the publike miserie. This considered, hee allureth vnto him a desperate
rabble of strangers, the most vn honest that can be found; such as haue neither
wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be carefull to support him, by whose
only fauour they are maintayned. Now lest any of these, either by detestation of
his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater re-
ward, than he doth giue, should bee drawne to turne his sword against the Tyrant
himselfe: they shall all be permitted to doe as hee doth; to robbe, to rauish, to
murder, and to satistie their owne appetites, in most outragious manner; being
thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more hee sees
them grow hatefull to all men else. Considering in what Age, and in what Lan-
40 guage I write; I must be faine to say, that these are not dreames: though some
English-man perhaps, that were vnacquainted with Historie, lighting vpon this leafe,
might suppose this discourse to be little better. This is to shew, both how tyran-
nic growes to stand in neede of mercinarie Souldiers, and how those Mercinaries
are, by mutuall obligation, firmly assured vnto the Tyrant.

†. I. I.

That the tyrannie of a Citie ouer her Subiects is worse, than the tyrannie of one man: 102
and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewise vse mercinarie
Souldiers. 966

Now concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppresseth her Sub-
jects; it may appeare some waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but
in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is jealous of her Dominion; but
not (as is one man) fearefull of her life: the lesse neede hath shee therefore, to se-
cure her selfe by crueltye. A Citie is not luxurious in consuming her treasures; and
therefore needes the lesse, to pluck from her Subjects. If warre, or any other great
ocasion, driue her to necessitie, of taking from her Subjects more than ordinarie
summes of monie: the same necessitie makes either the contribution easie, or the
taking excusable. Indeepe, no wrongs are so grievous and hatefull, as those that
are insolent. Remember (saith *Caligula* the Emperour, to his Grand-mother *Antonia*)
that I may doe what I list, and to whom I list: these wordes were accounted horrible,
though he did her no harme. And *Juvenal* reckons it, as the complement of all tor-
ments, inflicted by a cruell *Roman* Dame vpon her slaues; that whilst shee was
neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grieuances,
wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all sense of in-
dignitie: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of liber-
tie make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull, that shee
should keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintaine them in all villanie,
as *Dionysius* or *Agathocles* must doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to
hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by
themselves, may serue to proue, That a Citie is scarce able to deserue the name of a
Tyrannesse, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appeare, That the miseries, wherewith a Ty-
rant lodeth his people, are not so heauie, as the burdens imposed by a cruell Citie. 30
Not without some apparance of truth, it may bee said, that Lust, and many other
private passions, are no way incident to a Citie or Corporation. But to make this
good, wee shall haue neede to vse the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument
in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lasciuious, when *Cato* was faine to rise
and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reuerend regard of his grauitie, might
not hinder the people, from calling for a shew of naked Courtians, that were to be
brought vpon the open stage? By common practise, and generall approved custome,
we are to censure the qualitie of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice, of
any one man; nor by metaphysical abstraction, of the vniuersall from the singular, 40
or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is compounded. I say therefore (as I haue
said elsewhere) That it were better to liue vnder one pernicious Tyrant, than vnder
many thousands. The reasons, prouing this, are too many to set downe: but
few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soeuer, if they cannot
be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; hee is not able to search all corners; his hu-
mour may be found, and soothed; age, or good aduice, yea, or some vnexpected
accident, may reforme him: all which failings, yet is there hope, that his Successeur
may proue better. Many Tyrants haue bene changed into worthy Kings: and
many haue ill vied their ill-gotten Dominion, which becoming hereditarie to
their posteritie, hath growne into the most excellent forme of Government, euen
a lawfull Monarchie. But they that liue vnder a tyrannicall Citie, haue no such
hope: their Mistresse is immortal, and will not slacken the bridle of a more mightie
Chariotier. This is wofull: yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindfull
of

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- of the future. New flies, and hungrie ones, fall vpon the same force, out of which, others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends, who mean not to returne home empirie to their hives, without a good lading of waxe and hony. These flie into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the Province, is worthe to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his feares: becoming themselves, with in a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these matterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endlesse labour (yet it must be vnder-gone) and such as every one hath not meanes to goe about: but were this effected, what availeth it? The loue of one Governour is purchased with gifts: the Successour of this man, he is more louing than could be wished, in respect of a faire Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrarie faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore goers, who seeks the ruine of all that have bene inward with them. So the miseries of this tyrannie are not simple; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of ciuill warre. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or *Of Reconerie*, against extorting Magistrates: yet wee finde, that it serued not wholly to restraints their Prouinciall Governours; who presuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to worke all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for feare of judgement. If the subjects of *Rome* groined vnder such oppressions; what must we thinke of those, that were vassalls vnto *Carthage*? The *Romans* imposed no burthen some tributes; they loued not to heare, that their Empire was grieuous; they condemned many noble Citizens, for hauing bene ill Governours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrarie: the rapines newly deuised by one Magistrate, serued as precedents to instruct another; every man resolu'd to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and he was held a notable statesman, whose robberies had bene such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practise, are not extant: the gouernement of *Verres* the *Roman*, in *Sicily*, that is lively set out by *Tullie*, may serue to informe vs, what was the demeanour of these *Punick* Rulers, who stood in feare of no such condemnation, as *Verres* vnder-went. By prosecuting this discourse, I might inferre a more generall Proposition; That a Citie cannot gouerne her subject Provinces so mildly, as a King: but it is enough to haue shewed, That the tyrannie of a Citie is farre more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.
- Sureable to the crueltye of such Lords, is the hatred of their subjects: and againe, sureable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in warres abroad, the *Carthaginians* durst vse the seruice of *African* souldiers; in *Africke* it selfe, they had rather bee beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punick* Warre, shift his mercenaries out of their owne Countries; *Vt Afrin Hispania, Hispani in Africk, melior prociat ab domo futurum vterq; miles, velat mutuis pignoris obligati stipendia facerent*. That the *Africans* might serue in *Spain*, the *Spaniards* in *Africk*, being each of them like to prone the better souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were oblig'd by mutuall pledges. It is disputable, I confesse, whether these *African*, and *Spanish* hirelings, could properly be termed *Mercenaries*: for they were subject vnto *Carthage* and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by dutie. Yet seeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meere desire of gaine, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand vpon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than *Mercenaries*.

†. III.

The dangers growing from the use of mercinarie Souldiers, and forraigne Auxiliaries.

THE extreme danger, growing from the imployment of such Souldiers, is well observed by *Machiauel*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serue, than to those against whom they serue. They are seditious, vnfaithfull, disobedient, deuourers, and destroyers of all places and countries, whereinto they are drawne, as being held by no other bond, than their owne commoditie. Yea, that which is most fearefull among such hirelings, is, that they haue often, and in time of greatest extremitie, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who haue entertained them, but reuoluted vnto the contrarie part; to the vtter ruine of those Princes and States, that haue trusted them. These Mercinaries (saith *Machiauel*) which filled all *Italie*, when *Charles* the eighth of *France* did passe the *Alpes*, were the cause that the said *French King* wonne the Realme of *Naples*, with his Buckler without a sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*; who being entertained by *Queene Isabe* of *Naples*, abandoned her seruice on the sudden; and forced her to put her selfe into the hands of the King of *Arragon*. Like vnto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the first of that race Duke of *Milan*: who, being entertained by the *Milanois*, forced them to become his slaues, euen with the same Armie which themselves had leuied for their owne defence. But *Lodouick Sforza*, the sonne of this *Francis*, by the iust iudgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto posteritie, in loosing his whole estate by the trecherie of such faithlesse Mercinaries, as his owne father had haue. For, hauing waged an Armie of *Switzers*, and committed his Duchie, together with his person, into their hands; he was by them deliuered vp vnto his enemy the *French King*, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of *Loches* to his dying day.

THE like inconuenience is found, in vsing the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperor of *Constantinople* had hired ten thousand *Turkes*, against his neighbour Princes; he could neuer, either by perswasion or force, set them againe ouer Sea vpon *Asia* side: which gaue beginning to the *Christian* seruitude, that soone after followed. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Cassander*, sought aide of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdome, slue the same *Alexander* who had invited him, and made himselfe King of *Macedon*. *Syracusa* the *Turke* was called into *Egypt* by *Sanar* the *Soldan*, against his Opposite: but this *Turke* did settle himselfe so surely in *Egypt*, that *Saladine* his Successour became Lord thereof; and of all the holy Land, soone after. What neede we looke about for examples of this kinde? Euery Kingdome, in effect, can furnish vs. The *Britains* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrie; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*: but the one and the other soone became Lords of those two Kingdomes.

Against all this may be alledged, the good successe of the vnitd Provinces of the *Netherland*: vsing none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. In those *English Low Countries* haue many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants, that are wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are stout Sea men, and therein is their excellencie: neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they haue seldome bene able to stand against the *Spaniards*. Necessitie therefore compelled them to seeke helpe abroad: and the like neede made them forbeare to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with monie raised by their Trade, they maintayned the warre: and therefore could ill spare, vnto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more vse in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as might

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might be, whilst they had none other than mercinarie Souldiers. Many fruitlesse attempts, made by the Prince of Orange, can witness it: and that braue Commander, Count Lodowick of Nassau, felt it to his griele, in his retreat from Groeninghen; when in the very instant, that required their seruice in fight, his mercenaries cried out aloud for monie, and so ranne away. This was not the only time, when the hired souldiers of the States, haue either fought to hide their cowardize vnder a shew of greedinesse, or at least, by meere couetousnesse, haue ruined in one houre the labour of many moneths. I will not stand to proue this by many examples: for they themselues will not denie it. Neither would I ouch the honour of Monsieur the Duke of Anian, brother to the French King; saue that it is follie to concale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraigne Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords ouer those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this Monsieur, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrie, made it his first worke, to thrust by violence a galling yoke vpon the peoples neck? Well, hee liued to repent it, with griele enough. Euen whilst he was counterfeiting vnto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginarie sorrow for the poore Burghers of Antwerpe, as verily beleueing the Towne to bee surprisid and wonne; the death of the Count St. Signon, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, discharged against his owne rroupes, informed him better what had hapned, shewing that they were his owne French, who stood in neede of pittie. Then was his fained passion changed, into a very bitter anguish of minde; wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas, mon Dieu, que uenlx tu faire de moy; Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me?* So the affaires of the Netherlands will not serue to proue, that there is litle danger in vning mercinarie souldiers, or the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding they were obedient vnto necessity, and fought helpe of the English, Scots, and French: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in France a King, partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen of England refused to accept the Soueraignie of their Countrie, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the Spaniard their enemy, pursued him with continuall warre; when the heire of England reigned in Scotland, a King too iust and wise (though not engaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miseries, or to helpe those that had attempted the conquest of his owne inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very safely repose confidence, in the forces of these their Neighbour-Countries. The souldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit many other commendations) not only regardfull of the pay that they should receiue; but well affected vnto the cause that they tooke in hand: or if any were cold in his deuotion, to the side whereon he fought; yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his owne home, where the English would haue rewarded him with death, if his faith had beene corrupted by the Spaniard. They were therefore trusted with the custodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessity of the poorer sort was relieued, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helpe, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintain against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Country, of the same Religion; and to which they all are louingly affected: then may such a Countrie be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other business, in hope of like successe. But these circumstances meet so seldome, as it may well hold true in generall. That mercinarie, and forraigne auxilliary forces, are no less dangerous, than the enemies, against whom they are entertained.

1st French Army

2nd

3rd French

Netherlands Exp. 105. 273. 570. 739.

†. IIII.

That the moderate government of the Romans gaue them assurance to vse the service of their owne subjects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hinders eith the vse and benefit of the like moderation.

HERE may it be demanded, whether also the *Romans* were not compelled to vse service of other souldiours in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne citizens? for if it were their manner to arme their owne subjects; how happened it, that they feared no rebellion? if strangers; how then could they auoid the inconueniences about rehearsed? The answer is; That their Armies were compounded vsuallie of their owne citizens, and of the *Latines*, in euall number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of the *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Sannites*, or other of their subiects, as were either interested in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times, (though seldom they did imple so many,) tenne Roman Legions; a good strength, if all other helpe had beene wanting: which serue to keepe in good order their subiects, that were alwaies fewer in the Armie than themselves. As for the *Latines*, if consanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priuiledges and immunities, which they enjoyed, made them assured vnto the State of *Rome*: vnder which they liued almost at libertie, as being bound to little else, than to serue it in warre. It is true, that a yoke, how easie soeuer, seemes trouble some to the necke that hath beene accustomed to freedome. Therefore many people of *Italie* haue taken occasion of seuerall advantages, to deliuer themselves from the *Roman* subiection. But still they haue beene reclaimed by warre; the Authors of rebellion haue sharply punished; and the people, by degrees, haue obtained such libertie, as made them esteeme none other wise of *Rome*, than as the common cite of all *Italie*. Yea, in processe of time it was granted vnto many cities, and those farre off remooued, euen to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where *Saint Paul* was borne. That all the Burgeses should bee free of *Rome* it selfe. This fauour was conferred absolutlie vpon some; vpon some, with restraine of giuing voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to releafe vnto their new subiects halfe of their tribute which they had beene wont to pay vnto their former Lords, which was a readie way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the review of harder times past, should rather teach them to feare a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking inuouation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a speciall note of the *Romans* good government, That when some, for their well deseruing, haue had the offer to be made citizens of *Rome*; they haue refused it, and held themselves better contented with their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that *Petellus*, a cite of the *Brutians* in *Italie*, chose rather to endure all extremitie of warre, than, vpon any condition, to forsake the *Romans*; euen when the *Romans* themselves had confessed, that they were vnable to helpe these their subiects, and therefore willed them to looke to their owne good, as hauing beene faithfull to the vtmost. Such loue purchased these milde Gouvernours, without impairing their Maiestie thereby. The summe of all is: They had, of their owne, a strong Armie; they doubled it, by adioyning therunto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as neede required, with other helpe of their owne subiects; al or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperitie of *Rome* to be the common good.

The moderate vse of souereigne power being so effectuell, in assuring the people vnto their Lords, and consequentie, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: it may seeme strange, that the practise of tyrannie, whose effects are contrarie, hath beene so common in all ages. The like, I knowe, may bee saide, of all Vice, and

and Irregularitie whatsoeuer. For it is lesse difficult (whosoever thinke other wise) and more safe to keepe the way of Iustice and Honestie, than to turne aside from it; yet commonly our passions lead vs into by-pathes. But where Lust, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same vnrule appetite either bringeth with it an excuse, or at leaste will taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyrannie it is not so: for as much as we can hardly desier the passion, that is of force to insinuate it selfe into the whole tenour of a Gouernment. It must be confessed, that lawlesse desires haue bred many Tyrants: yet so, that these desires haue seldome bene hereditarie, or long-lasting; but haue ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which means the Gouernment hath bene reduced to a better forme. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, That Tyrannies are of short continuance. But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exercise Tyrannie? why did the *Athenians*? why haue many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safetie of the Weale publique? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection, wherein so many thousand citizens, diuided and subdiuided within themselves by factions, did all concur, notwithstanding the much diuersitie of temper, and the vehemencie of private hatred among them? Doubtles, we must be faine to say, That Tyrannie is, by it selfe, a Vice distinct from others. A Man, we knowe, is *Animal politicum*, apt, euen by Nature, to command, or to obey; euery one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankinde, are common likewise vnto bruite beastes; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth vnto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are giuen by nature, not only to Man and Beast, but vnto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other Affections are likewise naturall, in conuenient measure, both vnto mankinde, and to all creatures that haue sense, for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite: euen so is this desire of ruling or obeying, engrafted by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a ciuile forme of iustice. All these in-bred passions are good and vsfull. Neuertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttonie and Drunkenesse, which, in reproach, are called beastlie, by an vnproper terme: since they grow from appetites, found in lesse wortheie creatures than beastes, and are yet not so common in beastes, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than vnto bruite beastes, are held lesse vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grievously by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse, than of that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtfull vnto Mankinde, than that which issueth from the most noble roote, euen the depraued Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath bene an old question in dispute, whether bee the worse; That all things, or That nothing, should be lawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and ouer-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrarie dis Temper, whose vehemencie the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Vnder the extremitie of either, no countrie is able to subsist: yet the defectiue dulnesse, that permitteth any thing, wil also permit the execution of Law, to which, we neede not doth enforce the ordinarie Magistrate; whereas Tyrannie is more active, and please it selfe in the excesse, with a false colour of iustice. Examples of stupiditie, and vnaptnes to rule, are not very frequent, though such natures are euerie where found: for this qualitie troubles not it selfe in seeking Empire; or if by some error of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himselfe in a corner, found the Empire of Rome) some friend or else a wife, is it not wanting to supply the defect, which also crueltie doth helpe

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Arist. Pol. lib. 5.

as 503.6

as 503.6

as 506.



to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing vnknown, is without a name. Tyrannie is more bold, and feareth not to be knownen, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *proferum & felix scelus, a fortunate mischeif*, as long as it can subsist. There is no reward or honour (saith *PETER CHARRON*) assigned to those, that knowe how to increase, or to preferre humane nature: all honours, greatnesse, riches, dignities, empires, triumphs, trophies, are appointed for those, that knowe how to assist, trouble, or destroy it. *CAESAR*, and *ALEXANDER*, haue vn-made and slaine, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behinde them. Such is the error of Mans judgement, in valuing things according to common opinion. But the true name of Tyrannie, when it growes to ripenesse, is none other, than *Feritie*: the same that *Aristotle* saith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the Passions incident both to Man, and Beast; no lesse than Perurie, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceede in villanie, the faults of Gluttonie and drunkennesse, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hercof *Seron*, *Procrustes*, and *Pitycampetes*, that vsed their bodily force to the destruction of Mankinde, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius* and *Agathocles*, whose mischeious heades were assited by the hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of *Feritie*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the vief of Rule, nor the difference betwene Freeman, and slaues.

The rule of the husband ouer the wife, and of parents ouer their children, is natural, and appointed by God himselfe; so that it is alwaies, and simple, allowable and good. The former of these, is, as the dominion of Reason ouer Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one free man can haue ouer another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father ouer his whole countrie: which hee that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to bee, knows to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Masterlie rule, which God gaue vnto *Adam*, when he said, *Haue dominion ouer the ffish of the Sea, and ouer the fowle of the aire, and ouer euerie liuing thing that moueth vpon the earth*: which also hee confirmed vnto *Noah*, and his children, saying, *The feare of you, and the dread of you, shall be vpon euerie beast of the earth, and vpon euerie fowle of the aire, vpon all that moueth vpon the earth, and vpon all the ffishes of the Sea; into your hands are they deliuered*. Hee who gaue this dominion to Man, gaue also an aptitude to vse it. The execution of this power hath since extended it selfe, ouer a great part of Mankinde. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disability to gouerne themselves, proues them, according vnto *Aristotles* doctrine, to be naturallie slaues. *†††*

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppress men with bondage: vnlesse the lawfullnesse thereof be sufficientlie intimated, where it is said, That a man shall not be punished for the death of a seruant, whom he hath slaine by correction, if the seruant liue a day or two, because he is his monies; or else by the captiuitie of the *Midianitis* giles, which were made bondslaues, and the *Sanctuarie* had a part of them for the *Lords* tribute. Doublelesse the custome hath bene very ancient: for *Abraham* laid this curse vpon *Canaan*, that he should be a seruant of seruants; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, men, seruants, and maide seruants, which were none other than slaues. Christian Religion is said to haue abrogated this olde kinde of seruilitie: but surely, they are deceived, that thinke so. *Saint Paul* desired the libertie of *Onesimus*, whome he had wonne vnto *Christ*: yet wrote hee for this vnto *Philemon*, by way of request, craving it as a benefite, not vrging it as a dutie. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same *Saint Paul* giueth vnto seruants: Let euery man abide in the same calling whereto hee was called: art thou called, being a seruant? care not for it, but if thou maist be made free, vse it rather. It is true, that Christian religion hath procured libertie vnto many; not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Christian Masters stood in feare, of being discouered by their slaues, vnto the persecuters of religion. *Mahomet* likewise by giuing libertie to his followers, drew many

Gen. 1. v. 28.

Gen. 9. 1.

Exod. 21. v. 21.

Num. 30. v. 40.

Gen. 9. 25.

Gen. 12. v. 16.

Eph. 6. v. 9.

1. Cor. 7. v. 20.

1. Cor. 7. v. 21.

1. Cor. 7. v. 22.

1. Cor. 7. v. 23.

1. Cor. 7. v. 24.

1. Cor. 7. v. 25.

1. Cor. 7. v. 26.

1. Cor. 7. v. 27.

1. Cor. 7. v. 28.

1. Cor. 7. v. 29.

1. Cor. 7. v. 30.

1. Cor. 7. v. 31.

1. Cor. 7. v. 32.

1. Cor. 7. v. 33.

1. Cor. 7. v. 34.

1. Cor. 7. v. 35.

1. Cor. 7. v. 36.

1. Cor. 7. v. 37.

1. Cor. 7. v. 38.

1. Cor. 7. v. 39.

1. Cor. 7. v. 40.

many vnto his impietie: but whether he forbad it, as vnlawfull, vnto his sectatours, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; sūe that by the practise of the *Turks* and *Moors*, it seemes he did not. In *England* we had many bond-servants, vntill the times of our last ciuile warres: and I thinke that the Lawes concerning *Vilengage* are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaues were made free, which were of great vse and seruice, there are growne vp a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurfes, and other the like Trades; slaues in Nature, though not in Lawe.

But whether this kind of dominion be lawfull, or not; *Aristotle* hath well proceeded, that it is naturall. And certainly we finde not such a latitude of difference, in any creature, as in the nature of man: wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate, of the elect & reprobate) the wisest excell the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doeth surpass the wisest of beaſts. Therefore when Commiseration hath giuen way to Reason; we shall find, that Nature is the ground euen of Masterly power, and of seruile obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truly said, that some countries haue subsisted long, without the vse of any seruilitie: as also it is true, that some countries haue not the vse of any tame cat-taile. Indeede the affections which vphold ciuile rule, are (though more noble) not so simple needfull, vnto the sustentation either of our kinde, as are Lust, and the like; or of curie one, as are hunger and thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile and seruile dispositions, haue libertie to shew themselves begging in the streets; there may we more iustly wonder, how the dangerous toile of sea-faring men can finde enough to vndertake them, than how the swarme of idle vagabonds should increase, by access of those, that are wearie of their owne more painefull condition. This may suffice to proue, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted euen by Nature, a desire of absolute dominion: whereunto the generall custome of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaues.

This being so, we finde no cause to merruaile, how Tyrannic hath bene forſe in all ages, and practised, not onely in the single rule of some vicious Prince, but euer by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since, other vices haue likewise gotten head, and borne a generall sway; notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that haue vsed well the inferior Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not be disordered? In the government of wife and children, some are vtterlie carelesse, and corrupt all by their dull conuiniencie: others, by masterlie rigour, hold their owne blood vnder condition of slaue-rie. To be a good Governour is a rare commendation; and to preferre the Weale publicke aboue all respects whatsoever, is the Vertue iustly termed *Heroicall*. Of this Vertue, many ages afford not many exam-ples. *Alexander* is named by *Aristotle*, as one of them; and deseruedlie, if this praise be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, vsed in defence of a mans owne countrie. But if we consider, that a loue of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference vnto the fountaine of all goodnesse: wee shall finde, that no Morall vertue, how great soeuer, can, by it selfe, deserue the commendation of more than Vertue, as the *Heroicall* doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patterns hereof, such, as *Dauid*, *Iosaphat*, and *Iosias* were. Of Christian Kings if there were many such, the world would soone be happie. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due; or by preferring a lesse excellent. But he that can finde a King, religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement either of aduersitie, or of some regard of estate; a procurer of the generall peace and quiet; who not onely vseth his authoritie, but adds the trauaile of his eloquence, in admonishing his Iudges to doe iustice; by the vigorous influence of whole Government, ciuilitie is infused, euen into those places, that had bene the dennes of sauage Robbers and Cutthrotes; one that hath quite abolished a slauiſh Brehan

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896 208. 9. 426. 604. 492. 62

Lawe

Law, by which an whole Nation of his subiects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisdom doth make the prayse, not onely of Nobilitie and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the wives, and the goods, of those that are vnder his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging vnto some good Princes, to appeare lesse regardable: he, I say, that can finde such a King, findeth an example, worthe to adde vnto vertue an honourable title, if it were for merite wanting. Vnder such a King, it is likeli by Gods blessing, that a land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in countries before vnknewen; that Ciuitie and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen countries; and that the happinesse of his subiects, shall cause the Nations farre off removed, to wish him their Soueraigne. I neede not adde hereunto, that all the actions of such a King, even his bodilie exercises, doe partake of vertue: since all things tending to the preseruation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who, fixing his contemplation vpon God, seeketh how to imitate the vnspokeable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible maiestie, with both of which himselfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which hee procureth. Least any man should thinke mee transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bonds of reason; I adde hereunto, that such a King is neuertheless a man must die, and may erre: yet wisdom and fame shall set him free, from *error*, and from *death*, both with and without the helpe of *time*. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefite (though there be many other besides) reounding vnto this King, as the fruite of his goodnesse. The people that liue vnder a pleasant yoke, are not onely louing to their Soueraigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in multer of men, than of stout fighters, if neede require: whereas on the contrarie, he that ruleth as ouer slaues, shall bee attended, in time of necessitie, by slauiish mindes, neither louing his person, nor regarding his or their owne honour. Cowards may bee furious, and slaues outrageous, for a time: but among spirits that haue once yielded vnto slaerie, vniuersallie it is found true, that *Homer* saith, *God bereaue a man of halfe his vertue, that day when he casteth him into bondage*.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonable haue spoken, in the generall discourse of Government: but where so liuelie an example, of the calamitie following a tyrannicall rule, and the vse of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it selfe, as is this present businesse of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectuall, than being barclied deliuered, as out of a common place.

§. III.

How the warre against the Mercinarie was diuersly managed by HANNO and AMILCAR, with variable successe. The bloodie counsailes of the Mercenaries; and their finall destruction.

BEing now to retume vnto those Mercenaries, from whome I haue thus farre digressed, I cannot readilie finde, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they seeke their wages already due so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiniers. Had they all beene subiects vnto *Carthage*, then might they iustly haue beene termed Rebels: so but *Spandius*, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeouored to subuert. Wherefore I will borrowe the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* also doth.

These

These vying the aduantage of their present strength, belieged **Vrica*, and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being seated vpon the westernne Hauens of *Carthage*, where it is diuided by a necke of land; *Hippagreta* standing inwards vpon the great Lake; *Vrica* further out vpon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at *Tunes* abandoned, which lay filthie to hinder the *Carthaginians*, from passing vp into the countrey: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men, to followe the warre in all parts at once.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this vnexpected perill, any man may conceiue. But the businesse it selfe awakes them hallicie. They are hardly preit on all sides; and therefore trauailed their braines to the vttermoist, how to shake off these furious dogges from their shoulders, who sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came vnto the very walles of their Citie. This exigent *Hanno* was made their Generall: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatsoeuer was needfull, as well to relieue a Towne besieged, as to batter and assaile any place defended against him. With these prouisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to *Vrica*; so suddennlie that the enemies, as men surprised, forooke their Trenches, and retired themselves vnto a rising peece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of the beasts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to doe with *Nimidian*s, whose custome was, after any losse, to flie two or three whole daies iourne off; presently entred the Towne; to shew him selfe, after this his victory. But these good fellows, against whom he was to warre, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight againe, many times in one day, as neede required. Therefore as soone as they perceived, that he knewe not how to vse a victorie, they assailed their owne Campe, and with great slaughter, draue the *Carthaginians* out of it; forcing them to hide themselves within *Vrica*; and good possession of all the store, that *Hanno* had brought for the reliefe of the Towne. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with futeable indiscretion: looking the benefite of many faire opportunities, and suffering the enemies to take possession, of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firme land.

The *Carthaginians*, perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their shere anchor; lending to the field their great Capitaine, *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten thousand foote of supply, and seuentie Elephants. *Amilcar* had worke enough to doe, before he should be able to meet with the enemy vpon equal ground. For besides other places of aduantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had suffered them to winne the onely Bridge, by which the Riuier *Mauer*, or *Bagradas*, was passable vnto these, that were to trauaile into the Continent. This Riuier had not many foords, nor thofe easie for a single man to get ouer: but vpon them all was kept such guard, as gaue to *Amilcar* little hope of preuailing in seeking way by force. As for the Bridge it selfe, *Matho* & his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Towne, wherein to lie commodiously, intestine onely to the custodie thereof. But *Amilcar* had obserued, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* vsed to be sometimes cloyed with sand and grauell, that was driuen in by certaine customarie windes, and could not be driuen out againe, by force of that slow Riuier, till the wind falling, or changing, suffered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channell. Hereof he made vse; and taking his opportunitie, passed the Riuier; contrarie to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his owne Citizens.

There was no neede to bid *Spendius* looke about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come ouer *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with newes; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improuident grauntie of *Hanno*, but with an able spirit, euen with their owne Master in the Art of Warre, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was soone changed into presumption; when more than fiftene thousand of their owne Locitie, were come from *Vrica*; and other tenne thousand from the gard of the Bridge. Their

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Armie

**Vrica* is seated in the great Bay, that enters towards *Carthage*, not far within the Promontorie of *Apollis*. At this time it is called *Po to Faring*, or *Differ*; and by the *Arabs* is themselves, *God* *Altha*, *Niger* faith, that the Towne is selfe it is named, and the place, whereon it stood, now called *Mage* *thor* it was very ancient, and built before *Carthage* faith *Sidon*, As it flourished before *Carthage* was set vp: so did it alter *Carthage* was throwne down by the *Romans*, in the third *Punic* Warre. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it against *Cicero*, that worthy *Dutina* was Bishop thereof, in the time of *Seneca*; who lived all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the story of his cruelties.

Armie was farre greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were, in their owne iudgement, the better men, vpon which confidence, they resolved to charge him on all sides, and beate him downe, in despite of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attended vpon him; watching for some aduantage, and still exhorting one another to play the men, and giue the onset. Especiallie they that followed him in the Rere, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptnesse was such, as tooke from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himselfe on plaine grounds, that were fittest for the seruice of his Elephants, which hee placed in front of his Armie. Neither made hee shewe of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashnesse of his enemies to increase, till it should breake into some disorder. At length perceiuing, that with more boldnesse than good heed, they followed him so neare, as would bee little for their good, if hee should turne vpon them, he halted his march, euen to such a place, as made a shewe little differing from plaine flight. The Mercinaries presentlie fell vpon his skirts; beleeuing, that for feare of them he was readie to runne away. But whilest they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victorie, were driuing at the heeles of those that had the Rere; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, so that amazed with the apprehension of unexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this ouerthrowe, there were six thousand of the Mercinaries slaine, and about two thousand taken; the rest fled some to the Campe at *Pica*; others to the Towne at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he wanne the place easily: the enemies being thence also fled vnto *Tunes*, as not hauing recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victorie, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many Townes revolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to returne to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himselfe, in this dangerous time. He sent about *Numidia* and *Africk*, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or neuer to doe their best, for the recoverie of their freedome; hee perswaded *Spendius*, and *Antaritus* that was Captaine of the *Gauls*, to wait vpon *Amilcar*, and alwaies to keepe the higher grounds, or at least the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the Elephants; and hee himselfe continued to presse the Towne of *Hippagreta* with an hard siege. It was necessarie for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his businesse required, to take such waies as there were: for all the countrie lay not leuell. Therefore *Spendius*, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable aduantage of ground: the *Carthaginians* lying in a Plaine, surrounded with hills, that were occupied by the Mercinaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* succours. In this difficultie; the fame of *Amilcar* his personall worth did greatly benefit his countrie. For *Naransus*, a yong gentleman commanding ouer the *Numidians*, was glad of this occasion seruing to get the acquaintance & loue of so braue a man, which he much desired: and therefore came vnto *Amilcar*, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all seruice. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend; promised vnto him his owne daughter in marriage; and so wanne from the enemies two thousand horse, that following *Naransus* returned vnto the *Carthaginians* side. With this helpe hee gaue battaile vnto *Spendius*; wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approue his owne valour, to his new friend. So the victorie was great: for there were slaine ten thousand of *Spendius* his fellows, and foure thousand taken prisoners, but *Spendius* himselfe, with *Antaritus* the *Gauls*, escaped to doe more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many, as were vnwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should neuer more beare armes against the *Carthaginians*; threatening to take sharpe reuenge vpon all, that should breake this Couenant.

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Antaritus*, as

reading

tending to winne from them, the hearts of their souldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take such order, that not a man among them should dare, to truit in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safetie, whilest *Carthage* was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their companie, respectiue onely of their priuate benefit, and carelesse of the generall good, had a purpose to betraye them all vnto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull, to looke well vnto *Gesce*, and his companions, whom these traitours had a purpose to enlarge. Vpon this

- Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the souldiours, exhorting them to fidelitie, and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanitie of *Amilcar*, toward some, was none other then a baite, wherewith to entrap them all at once together; as also telling them, what a dangerous enimie *Gesce* would proue, if he might escape their hands. While hee is yet in the midst of his tale; were letts come, to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Autaritus*, and speaks his minde plainly: saying, that it were the best, yea the onely way, for the common safetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if some were desiring to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those, that had a care of the warre; that it were better to make an end of *Gesce* his life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custodie; that by such a course euerie one should be engaged in the present Action, as hauing none other hope left, than in victorie alone; finally, that such as would speake here-against, were worthe to be reputed Traitors. This *Autaritus* was in great credit with the souldiours, and could speake sundrie languages, in such sort that he was vnderstood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Gesce*, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuertheless there were some, that for loue of *Gesce*, sought to alter this intended crueltie; but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a Document vnto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they herewithall contented; but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* prisoners which they tooke, should be serued in like sort: and that the subiects or friends of *Carthage*, should loose their hands, and so be sent home: which rule they obserued euer afterwards.

- Of this crueltie I need say no more, then that it was most execrable feticie, As for the counsaile of vsing it, it was like vnto the counsaile of *Achilophel*; *All Israel shall beare, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee, be strong.* Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellows, if they be more innocent; and to auoide the punishment of lesse offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the reuengefull spirits of those that haue bene wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to which may be added, some deficiency of Lawes, in distinguishing the punishments of malefactors, according to their degree of the feuerall crimes. A coward thinks all prouision too little, for his owne securitie. If *Phocas* be a coward (saide the Emperour *Mavritius*) then is he murderous. To be steadfast and sure, in taking reuenge; is thought a point of honour, and a defence against new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is oposite to the rule of *Christianitie*; and such a qualitie discovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwise would haue repented, and sought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it, which wrought so much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Maibe*, and his *Africans*, to suspect euen their gentleness, as the introduction to extreame rigour. Like vnto the errors of Princes and Governours, are the errors of Lawes. Where one and the same punishment, is awarded vnto the lesse offence, and vnto the greater, he that hath aduentured to robbe a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his owne securitie.

Against these inconueniences, *Mercie* and *Seueritie*, vsed with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his owne souldiours were any way likely to be reclaimed, by gentle courses; his humanitie

was readie to inuite them. But when they were transported with beaſtly outrage, beyond all regard of honour and ſhame, he rewarded their villanie with anſwerable vengeance; calling them vnto wilde beaſts, to be deuoured.

Vntill this time *Hanniball*, with the Armie vnder his command, had kept himſelfe apart from *Amilcar*, and done little, as may ſeeme, for that nothing is remembered of him, ſince his late loſſes. Neither was *Amilcar* ſorrie to want his helpe; as being able to doe better without him. But when the warre grew to ſuch extremitie, as threatened vter ruine to the one or the other ſide: then was *Lanno* ſent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom hee ioyned his forces. By this acceſſe of ſtrength *Amilcar* was not enabled, to doe more than in former times: rather he could now performe nothing; ſuch was the hatred betweene him and his vnworthie Colleague. The Townes of *Vicia* and *Hippagreta*, that had ſtood alwaies firme on the Carthaginian partie, did now reuolt vnto the enemy, murdering all the ſouldiours that they had in Garriſon, and caſting their bodies forth, without ſuffering them to be buried. The prouiliſons brought by ſea, for maintenance of the Armie, were loſt in foule weather: and Carthage it ſelfe ſtood in danger of being beſieged, about which *Mattho* and *Spertius* conſulted, whilſt one of the Carthaginian Generals did (as it were) binde the others hands.

It hath in all Ages bene vſed, as the ſafeſt courſe, to ſend forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common praſtice of thoſe two mighty Cities, *Athenes* and *Rome*; which other States and Princes haue often imitated; perſwading themſelues, that great Armies are not ſo well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will vſe the greater diligence. They haue alſo ioyned two chiefe Commanders in equall commiſſion, vpon this further conſideration; the better to reſtraine the ambition of any one, that ſhould be truſted with ſo great a ſtrength. For hereof all Common-weales haue bene iealous, hauing bene taught by their examples, that haue made themſelues Tyrants ouer thoſe Cities and States that haue employed them. In this point, the *Venetians* haue bene ſo circumspect, as they haue, for the moſt part, truſted ſtrangers, and not their owne, in all the warres which they haue made. It is true, that the equall authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, ſerueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning vpon the Prince or State that hath giuen them truſt: but in manning the warre it ſelfe, it is commonly the cauſe of ill ſucceſſe. In warres made neare vnto *Rome* it ſelfe, when two good friends were Conſuls, or ſuch two at leaſt, as concurred in one deſire of *Triumph*; which honour (the greateſt of any that *Rome* could giue) was to be obtained by that one yeeres ſeruiſe; it is no meruaile, though each of the Conſuls did his beſt, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end than victorie. Yet in all dangerous caſes, when the Conſuls proceeded otherwiſe than was deſired, one *Dictator* was appointed, whole power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to ſend forth both the Conſuls to one warre; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his owne Prouince; vneſſe one buſineſſe ſeemed to require them both, and they alſo ſeemed fit to be ioyned in the adminiſtration. Now although it was ſo, that the *Romans* did many times preuaile with their ioynt Generals: yet was this neuer or ſeldome, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modeſtie hath often bene ſuch, that the eſſe able Capitaine, though of equall authoritie, hath willingly ſubmitted himſelfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they haue many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Armie, received great and moſt dangerous ouerthrowes; whereof in the ſecond Punick warre wee ſhall finde examples. On the contrary ſide, in their warres moſt remote, that were alwaies managed by one, they ſeldome failed to winne exceeding honour, as hereafter ſhall appeare. Now of thoſe tenne Generals, which ſerued the *Athenians* at the Battaille of *Marathon*, it may truly be ſaid, that had not their temper bene better, than the iudgment

of

of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affaires had found the same successe which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicily*; the one being so ouer-warie, and the other so hallic, as all came to nought that they vnderooke; whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Aristides*, and others, hauing sole charge of all, did their Countrie and Common-weale most remarkable seruice. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines, of equall discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of iurie than of iudgement, and so the contrarie, by which the best occasions are as often ouerslipped, as at other times many actions are vnseasonably vnderaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Condy* was slaine after the Battaille of *Tarnas*, (which Prince, together with the Admirall *Chastillon*, had the conduct of the Protestant Armie) the Protestants did greatly bewaile the losse of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an aduancement, than an hinderance to their affaires. For so much did the valour of the one, outreach the aduersednesse of the other, as whatsoever the Admirall intended to winne by attending the aduantage, the Prince aduertured to loose, by being ouer-confident in his owne courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this present busines: who, though they were still sicke of their ill grounded loue to *Hanno*, and were vnto the Generals, committed the decision of their controuersies, vnto the Armie that serued vnder them. The iudgement of the Armie was, that *Hanno* should depart the Campe: which he did; and *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*; and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of *Carthage* began to prosper somewhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Armie neare vnto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold, to hope and aduventure much; hauing in their Campe about fittie thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Neuertheless, the Citie was too strong for them to winne by assault: and the entrance of victuallies they could not hinder, if any should bee sent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of *Syracuse*, though during the warres in *Sicily* he assisted the *Romans*, and still continued in their Alliance, yet now sent succours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and consequently his owne; because if no other State gaue the *Romans* somewhat to trouble their digestion, the Principalltie of *Syracuse* would soone be denoured by them. The *Romans* also gaue them some lender assistance, and for the present refused good offers made vnto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to shew a kinde of noble disposition; which was indeed but counterfeite, as the sequel manifestly proued.

Whilest *Matho* and his followers were busily pressing the Citie, *Amilcar* was as diligent, in waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that came to their supply: so that finding themselves more straightly besieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purposed to desist from their vaine attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issue into the field: where *Spendius*, and one *Zareas* an *African* Captaine assisting the rebellion, take vpon them to finde *Amilcar* worke; leaving *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the businesse. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horse of *Narusus*, made *Spendius* fearefull to descend into the Plaines. Wherefore hee betooke himselfe to his former method of warre; keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the straightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it selfe, with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could bee matched by the labour of *Spendius*. Hee drew the enemy to many skirmishes; in all which the successe was such, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, prouoking them night and day:

day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giuing them the ouerthrow in
 plaine battaile: vntill at length he got them into a straight, whence ere they should
 get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their iudgement was enough,
 to perceiue their owne disadvantage: and therefore they had the lesse stomach to
 fight; but awaited for helpe from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that
 necessitie might teach them to dare impossibilities, vsed the benefit of their present
 feare, and that them close vp with Trench and Rampart. There they waited mi-
 serably for succour, that came not: and hauing spent all their victuallies, were so
 pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their prisoners. This they
 suffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deserued any fauour from *Cartha-
 ge*; and hoping, that their friends at *Tunis* would not be vnkindfull of them. But
 when they were driuen to such extremitie, that they were faine to deuoure their
 owne companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their ob-
 stinacie was broken; and they threatened their Captaines with what they had des-
 erued, vnlesse they would goe foorth to *Amilcar*, and seeke such peace as might be-
 gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarcas*, and *Antaritus*, fell to consultation, wherein it was re-
 solved, to obey the multitude; and yeeld themselves, if it were so required, vnto
 the death, rather than to perish by the hands of their owne companions. Hereup-
 on they send to craue parle, which is granted; and these three come forth to talke
 with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet
 by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seemes that they tooke the blame vpon
 themselves, and craued pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that
 the *Carthaginians* should choose, out of the whole number of these enemies, any
 ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all
 be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coate. When the peace was thus con-
 cluded; *Amilcar* told these Ringleaders, that he choose them presently, as part of
 the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest hee forthwith went to
 fetch, with his whole Armie in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was
 concluded vpon so gentle articles, thought themselves betrayed: and therefore a-
 mazedly ranne to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them; and the same
 altonishment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were
 ignorant, gaue vnto *Amilcar* both colour of iustice, in accomplishing reuenge, and
 ease in doing the execution. They were all slaine: being fortie thousand, or more,
 in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof, exceeding welcome to *Car-
 thage*; and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africa*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with
 his *Narusasus* and *Hannibal*, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found
 all places readie to yeelde: *Pica*, and *Hippagreta*, onely standing out, vpon feare of
 deferred vengeance; and *Tunes*, being held by *Matbo*, with the remainder of his
 Armie. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chiefe strength of
 the enemy. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his
 fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them vnder the wallies; to ter-
 rifie those of his olde companions, that were still in armes. With this rigour the
 seige began; as if speedie victorie had bene assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that
 part of *Tunis* which lay towards *Carthage*; *Amilcar* on the opposite side: too farre a-
 funde to helpe one another in sudden accidents; and therefore it behoued each, to
 be the more circumspect.

Matbo from the wallies beheld his owne destinie, in the miserie of his compani-
 on, and knew not how to auoide it otherwise, than by a cast at dice with fortune.
 So he brake out vpon that part of the *Carthaginian* Armie, that lay secure, as if all
 danger were past, vnder the command of *Hannibal*: and with so great and vnex-
 pected furie he sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter, he tooke *Hannibal* prisoner,
 on whom, and thirtie the most noble of the *Carthaginian* prisoners, he presently re-
 uenged the death of *Spendius* by the same torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing
 till

till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great losse, to continue the siege; but was faine to breake it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The terrour was no lesse within *Carthage*, vpon the fame of this losse; than had beene the ioy of the late great victorie. All that could beare armes, were sent into the field, vnder *Hanno*; whom, it seemes, they thought the most able of their Captaines furuiuing the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the imployment of one sole Generall, neare vnto their Citie (for they are knowne to haue trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hastic exigent, to deuise about repealing it. But thirte principall men are chofen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilears* campe, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched *Amilear* in his honour, that the carelesnesse of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed vnto him, by sending his enemie to moderate his proceedings. Neuertheless after many conferences the authoritie of the Senatours preuailed; *Amilear* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilst this warre lasted, *Hanno* tooke warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to followe good directions, though afterwards hee returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the meane season *Mathe* was come abroad; as meaning to vse the reputation of his late successe, whilst it gaue some life vnto his businesse. He had reason to doe as he did: but he wanted skill to deale with *Amilear*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of warre, wherein *Amilear* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so farre abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of *Mathe*, that he resolu'd to trie the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his desires should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no lesse prone, than *Mathe*: as being wearie of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approued it selfe in many trials; and well assured of *Amilear* his great worth, whereunto the enemie had not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making provision: inuiting their friends to helpe; and drawing forth into the fieldes, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this Battaile might haue bene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft. *Mathe*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring spirits, which had beene well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to runne away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as haue often bene victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the desire of libertie should worke so much, in men accustomed to seruitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once ingaged in that aduerture. So the *Carthaginians* wanne a great victorie, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slaine; the rest fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yeilded; and *Mathe* himselfe was taken aliue. Immediately vpon this victorie, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: *Utica* onely, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of fauour. But they were soone forced, to take what conditions best pleased the victours. *Mathe* and his fellows were led to *Carthage*, in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be deuised, in recompence of the mischiefs which they had wrought in this warre. The warre had lasted three yeeres, and about foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whose subjects did not loue them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, haue prevented in the beginning.

p. IIII.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Islanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrarie to the peace.



Hilest *Matho* and *Spendius* were making this terrible combustion in *Africa*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Bostar* the Gouverneur, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their own vie. Against these one *Hanno* was sent with a small Armie, (such as could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, leuied on the sudden. But these companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safetie, and present profit, to ioyne themselves with those that were already revolted, than to indanger themselves by battaile, for the good of that commonweale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practise with the *Sardinian* Rebels; offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away 20 all iealousie and distrust, they resolved to hang vp their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practise it hath bene in all Ages, with those that haue vnderaken the quarrell of an vnjust warre, to enioyne the performance of some notorious and villanous act, to those that come into them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assit the impious purposes which they haue in hand. It is indeed the best pawns, that desperate men can deliuer to each other, to performe some such Actions, as are equally vnardonable to all.

By such a kind of crueltie did the vngratfull *Mantineus* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent vnto them for their defence against the *Lacedamonians*, by *Aratus*, who, when hee had formerly possit himselfe of their Citie, by right of warre, did 30 not onely spare the sacke and spoile thereof, but gaue them equall freedom with the rest of the Cities vnited. These *Reuolts* are also common in our Court-warres; where, in the conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depreffion or destruction of olde friends, we cannot be receiued and trusted by old enemies. *Cesont les coups de vieille escrime. These*, (say the *French*) be the blowes of the old art of fencing.

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: onely they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Prouince. The Islanders were no lesse glad, than the souldiours, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrie: but they 40 could not agree about the profit of the victorie. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the souldiours for their paines taken. Contrariwise, the souldiours were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was deuolued vnto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) haue risen, betwene *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their *African* friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: vnlesse the riches of *Carthage*, had serued to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrie; the matter was not easily taken vp. So they fell to blowes; which how they were dealt I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driuen out, and compelled to saue themselves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it; with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicily*. Yet this offer was refused, vpon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matho* and *Spendius* with corne; of whom the

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the *Carthaginians* tooke almost fivie hundred, and held them in prison. Hercos was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbad all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carrie all provisions to *Carthage*. And vpon the same reason, did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the Citie of *Utica*, offering it selfe vnto their subiection. This might haue serued, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all posteritie: had not the issue proued, that it was meere regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should haue done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended, at that time, vpon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who had hee beene ouerthrowne by *Spandius* or *Matho* in one maine battaile, that mightie Citie must either haue fallen into the barbarous hands of merciles villaines, or haue humbled her selfe vnder protection of the *Romans*, with whom shee had lately striven for superiortie. That extreame necessitie, whereinto *Matho* reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one fallie made out of *Tunis*, is enough to proue, that *Carthage* was not farr from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not wisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might inuite a rich, but sinking shippe, to runne her selfe aground vpon their shore. But when all was ended in *Africk*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recouerie of *Sardinia*: then did *Ambition* put off her goodly vizour. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recouered her feete againe; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced warre against this enfeebled and impoucrished Citie, vnder a shamelesse pretence, that the preparations made for *Sardinia*, were made indeed against *Rome* it selfe. The *Carthaginians* knew themselves vnable to resist; and therefore yielded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing vnto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would haue twelue hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I see not what reason they could allege) of the great feare which they had endured, of an intialion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plaine, that they impudently sought occasion of warre. But necessitie taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the monie was paid, how hardly soeuer it was raised. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complaine of the *Punicke* faith, in breach of Couenants: shee her selfe hath broken the peace already; which *Amilcar* purpoeeth to make her dearely repent; but what *Amilcar* liues not to performe, shall bee accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne.

§. V.

How the affaires of *Carthage* went betwene the African Rebellion, and the second *Punicke* Warre.

THe iniurious dealing of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to picke a quarrell; serued to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessarie lesson. That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolute to be obedient vnto those that were more mightie. In a Citie long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easilie tooke place: and the best meanes were thought vpon, for the increase of puissance and Empire. The strength, and the iealousie of the *Romans*, forbade all attempts vpon the Mediterranean seas; but the riches of *Spaine*, that lay vpon the Ocean, were vnknown to *Rome*: wherefore that Province might serue, both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in warre, and to repaire their decayed forces, with all needfull supplies. Of this *Spanish* Expedition, the charge and soueraine trust was committed vnto *Amilcar*: vpon whom

whom his Countrey did wholly repose it selfe; in hope to recover strength by his means, that had saved it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other enuius men, that were of his faction, tooke little pleasure in the generall loue and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to bee the most worthe of command in all the Citie: onely they commended peace and quietnesse; aduising men to beware of prouoking the *Romans*, in whose amitie they laid, that the felicitie of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common weale; they got none other reputation, than of singularitie: which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisdom.

But the glorie of *Amilcar* was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable seruises that he did, to the singular benefit of his Countrey. He passed the Streights of *Hercules*, (now called the Streights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the westerne coast of *Spain*, in which Countrey, during nine yeares that he liued there, he subiected vnto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Prouinces. But finally, in a battaile that he fought with a Nation in *Portugale*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) hee was inuironed and flaine: carrying with him to the graue the same great honour and fame, by which in many signall victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*; *Asdrubal* his sonne in law was made Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in practise and cunning, than in deedes of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding so many subiects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to growe ielous againe of this hastie increase. He built a goodly Citie, vpon a commodious Hauē, in the Kingdome of *Granado*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gaue it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena*. With this successe of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but begin to cause their owne negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much paines to beate them out of the Ile of *Sicily*, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbering them selues in a warre of farre lesse importance, (whereof I shall speake anon) giuen them leysure, without interruption, to recover vpon their owne Continent, a Dominion by farre exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in reuēue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be innaded by the *Gauls*, their ancient enemies, and nearest neighbours to the West. But hee needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe to be feared: it is enough if he request; since his request shall haue the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* vtterly destitute of all good colour; that might helpe them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then vnacquainted with *Rome*; whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other such Rebels, to call in *Roman* succours. But in the enterprise of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serue their turne in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spanish* affaires had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his victories vnto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had bene suspected) they sent vnto him, requiring that hee should forbear to proceed any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the Citie of *Carthage*; they seeme to haue hoped, that howsoeuer the generallitie of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pilles, to auoide all occasion of warre with *Rome*: yet the brauerie of one man might proue more fastidious, and, resenting the iniurie, returne such answere, as would intangle his whole Countrey in the quarrell,

* The *Spaniards* haue since built a Citie of the same name in the West Indies: which being peopled by them in the year 1492, was taken by the *English* in the year 1585

quartell, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would haue this insolent covenant inserted into the articles of peace; he took vpon him to doe it, of his owne power, with such appearance of conformance to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and fought no further.

If it had beene so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans*, for feare of present warre, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*; yet should it not haue stood bound in honour, to obserue the same carefully, vnlesse an oath had also beene extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, vnder the bare authoritie of *Asdrubal*; this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accused more iustly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of periturie, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treatie with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* wanne some reputation in *Spaine*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the Citie which would needes be mistresse ouer them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiuing blowes from a stouter Dame; there were soone found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South side of *Iberus*, entred into confederacie with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither subiect, nor open enemy in warre to the *Carthaginians*) into their societie: and vnlawfull it was vnto the *Carthaginians*, to vse violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Neuerthelesse, if wee consider the late agreement made with *Asdrubal*; wee shall finde that the *Romans* could haue none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit coucnant of making the *Riuer Iberus* a bound, ouer which they themselves would not passe, in any Discouerie or Conquest by them intended to bee made vpon *Spaine*: in which regard, they might haue some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foote, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that Riuer, held almost all the Countrie. Howsoever it were; this indignitie was not so easily digested, as former iniuries had beene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, vpon confidence of helpe from a more mightie Citie. Wherefore either in this respect; or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest iniuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to doe themselves right: warre against *Saguntum* was generally thought vpon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after hee had commanded in *Spaine* eight yeeres: (being slaine by a slaue, whose master hee had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, sonne of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen Generall in his stead.

p. VI.

The estate of Greece from the death of PYRRHVS, to the raigue of
PHILIP the sonne of DEMETRIVS
in Macedon.

IN the long terme of the first Punic warre, and the vacation following, betweene it and the second; the estate of Greece, after the death of Pyrrhus, was growne somewhat like vnto that, wherein Philip of Macedon had found it; though faire weaker, as in an after-spring. The whole countrie had recovered, by degrees, a forme of libertie: the pette tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Captaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each vpon such Townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse, as not onely serued to defend themselves, but to giue protection to others. This conuerſion to the better, proceeded from the like diſſentions and tumults in Macedon, as had bene in Greece, when Philip first began to incroch vpon it. For after many quarrels and great warres, about the Kingdome of Macedon, betweene Antigonus the elder, Cassander, Demetrius, Lyſimachus, Seleucus, Pyrrhus, and the Gaules; Antigonus, the sonne of Demetrius, finally got and held it, reigning fixe and thirtie yeeres; yet so, that hee was diuers times thence expelled, not onely by the Gaules, and by Pyrrhus, as hath bene already shewed, but by Alexander the sonne of Pyrrhus the Epirot, from whose father he had hardly wonne it. This happened vnto him by the reuolt of his souldiours, euen at such time, as hauing ouerthrowne with great slaughter an Armie of the Gaules, hee was conuerting his forces against the Athenians, whom hee compelled to receiue his Garrisons. But his yong sonne Demetrius raised an Armie, wherewith he chased Alexander, not onely out of Macedon, but out of his owne Epirus, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the helpe of this yong Prince Demetrius (though in another kinde) Antigonus got into his possession the Citadell of Corinth; which was iustly termed the ſetter of Greece. The Citadell called *Acrocorinthus*, stood vpon a steep rockie hill on the North ſide of the towne; and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the towne, which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running betweene the *Egean* and *Ionique* Seas, ioyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Mainie of Greece. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cut off all passage by land, from one halfe of Greece vnto the other; besides the commoditie of the two Seas, vpon both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious haucns. Alexander, the sonne of *Polyſperchon*; and after his death, *Cratesipolis* his wife, had gotten Corinth in the great shuffling of Provinces and Townes, that was made betweene Alexander's Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, vntill it came, I know not how, to one Alexander; of whom I finde nothing else, than that he was thought to bee poisoned by this Antigonus, who deceived his wife *Nicea* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The deuce was this. Antigonus sent his yong Demetrius to Corinth, willing him to court *Nicea*, and seeke her marriage. The foolish olde widdowe perceived not how vnfit a match she was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; whereto the old King was euen as readie to consent, as was his sonne to desire it, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all Corinth was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the midst of which, Antigonus watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poore Ladie, whose ſealousie had bene exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not containe himselfe within the grauitie beſeeming his old age. But as hee had ſtollen it, so was it againe ſtollen from him: neither liued he to reuenge the losse of it, being already spent with age.

Demetrius,

CHAP. 2. S. 6. of the Historie of the World.

-399

Demetrius, the sonne of this *Antigonus*, succeeding vnto his father, reigned ten yeeres. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King, than after. The *Dardaniens*, *Ætolians*, and *Achaens*, held him continually bulied in warre; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decaie: and the *Grecians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the onely sonne of *Demetrius*, was a yong child when his father died; and therefore *Antigonus*, his vncle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minority of the Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his owne sonne, to whom he left the Crowne at his death; This

- 10 *Antigonus* was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorship; and was also called *Dolon*, that is as much as *Will-giue*, because he was low in his liberalitie. He represented the *Dardaniens*, and *Theffalians*, which molested his Kingdome, in the beginning of his raigne. Vpon confidence of this good fertice, hee tooke state vpon him, as one that rather were King in his owne right, than onely a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but were soone appeased by faire words, and a seeming vnwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaens* took from him the Citie of *Athens*, soone after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to haue wrought him out of all or most that hee held in *Greece*, if their owne estate had not bene endangered by a nearer enemy. But ciuile dissention,
- 20 which had ouerthrowne the power of *Greece*, when it flourished most; ouerthrew it easily now againe, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sickness, and gaue to this *Antigonus* no lesse authoritie therein, than *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

These *Achaens*, from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and faimeso that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the *Greekes*. By the equalitie of their Lawes, and by their clemencie (notwithstanding that they were a long time held vnder by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not onely draw all others by their loue and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to bee gouerned by one Lawe; and to vse

30 one and the same sort of waight, measure, and monie.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that vnited them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had bene by the *Macedonian* Captaines diuided into many Principalities. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as most of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kind of rule they first subiected themselves, after the descent of the *Heraclides*, when *Tisamenus* the sonne of *Orestes* possesst the Territorie of *Achaia*. In this estate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whome, when his sonnes sought to change the Legall gouernment of their Predecessours into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equall. This forme of Commonweale had continuance, with some small

40 changes according to the diuersitie of times, till the reigne of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempest-like ouerturned all things in that part of the world. For thole twelue Cities, called the Cities of alliance, whercof *Heliæ*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten vp a little before the Battaille of *Leuctra*; were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, diuided from each other, and trained into a warre, no lesse foolish than cruell, among themselves. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or neare it, *Ptolomie* the sonne of *Lagus*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, left the world; two of the ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenses* and the *Dimai*, vnited themselves, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, which after followed. For hauing bene, some of them Partisans with sundrie *Macedonian* Captaines, and others hauing bene gouerned by pettie Kings; they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of amitie, partly, in the *Olympiad* before spoken of, and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first voyage into *Italie*. Now after the vniting of the *Patrenses* and *Dimai*, to whome also the Cities of *Tritæa*, and *Phara*, ioyned themselves;

Agira chased out her Garrisons: and the *Eurians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the same Confederacie. These Cities, for twentie and five yeares, vied the same forme of Government with the *Achaïans*; who by a Senatorie and two Pretors, ordered all things in their Commonweale; and soone after, by one Pretor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynensis* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who living at *Argos* in exile, whilst his Countrey was oppressed by Tyrants, found meanes, through the helpe of other banished men, to enter their owne Citie by night, with ladders, whence they chased the Tyrant, and restored the people to libertie. This was in the time of *Antigonus* *Genetas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the *Greekes*, than wife in looking to his owne. For feare of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* entred into the *Achaïan* league: which though at that time it received more increase, by their accession, than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction served well enough against *Antigonus*, whose subletie was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industrie and counsaile of *Aratus* deliuered his Countrey from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaïan* league: so further, by his great liberalitie, with the exceeding great cost of one hundred and fiftie talents, he pacified the inexplorable controuersies, betwene the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaïa*. The monie he obtained of *Ptolemie* *Euergetes* King of *Egypt*; who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conuerſation of *Aratus* himselfe, that made a dangerous voiage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinth* or Citadell of *Corinth*; which he wan by night, being thereinto guided by some theues that he had hired for the purpose, who living in the place, had practised to rob *Antigonus* his treasure, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was he faine to fight for it, ere hee could get it: though indeede *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather over-come by their owne feare, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting lest the *Achaïans* were more in number, than in truth they were, and hauing lost the aduantages of the place a' readie, vpon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kinde of night seruices, ambushments, surprises, and practises, *Aratus* was very cunning, aduenturous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, hee was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approued) might looke pale and tremble, when he beganne battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diuersified, by the sundrie natures of men, and in a manner confined, vnto seuerall sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said; that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a naturall inclination standeth in neede of little practise; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, vse, good successe, and other helpe, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was *Aratus* in matter of Warre. In sincere affection to his Countrey he was vnproceable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will testifie.

When *Acrocorinth* was taken, and ioyned vnto the Common-wealth of *Achaïa*, the *Megarians* revolted soone after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the *Traceniens*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew so powerfull, that it aduentured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*, and *Argos*, and *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The enterprise vpon *Athens* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Ile of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and

and sent home the Athenian prisoners, without ranfome, to allure the Citie by shew of loue; yet the Athenians stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now growne honest slaves to the Macedonians. Vpon Argos the aduenture was carried more strongly. The Achaïans came sometimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might haue wonne it, if the Citizens would haue lent any helpe to the recourie of their owne freedome; sundrie times, and with diuerse euent, they fought with the Tyrants (who rose vp one after another in Argos) in open field, and slue one of them in battaile; but all sufficed not: vntill at length Aristomachus the Tyrant was so terrified, perswaded, and hired, by

- 10 Aratus, that he consented to resigne his estate. The like did Xenon the Tyrant of Hermione, and Cleonymus that had oppressed the Pelusians. Whilest this businesse with the Argiues was on foot, Lysidas the Tyrant of Megalopolis was so well handled by Aratus, that, without compulsion, he gaue libertie to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of Achaia: whereby he got such credit, that hee was chosen General of their forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two yeares together by one man) every second yeare, for a certaine while, Hee and Aratus succeeding one another by turnes. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, Lysidas and Aristomachus, were carried with priuate passion, from care of the generall good; in which courtes they opposed Aratus, to the great hurt of Achaia, as shall appeare

- 20 in due time.
- The Achaïans having obtayned so much puissance and reputation, that Ptolemie King of Egypt was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) General of their forces by Sea and Land; made open Warre vpon Demetrius the Sonne of Antigonus Gonatas, for the libertie of Athens. It is strange and worthe of noting, That when Aratus in this quarell had lost a battaile, the Athenians wore Garlands, in signe of ioy, to flatter their good Lords the Macedonians, that had wonne the victorie. Such were now the Athenians become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, *Aut humiliter trahit, aut superbe dominatur; It is either base in service, or insolent in command.* Neuerthelesse
- 30 when Demetrius was dead, Aratus performed that by monie which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captaine of the Macedonian Garrison, purchased libertie to the Athenians, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the Achaïans, louing them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entred not, fearing it belike, in regard of their owne out-worne glorie.

- Now as the Common-wealth of Achaia daily increased within Peloponnesus, by iustice and honestie; so did the Aetolians, in the vtter part of Greece, yea and within Peloponnesus it selfe, waxe very powerfull, by sturdinesse of bodie, and rude courage in fight, without helpe of any other vertue. They had stoutly defende themselves
- 40 against Antipater and Craterus; partly by daring to doe and suffer much; partly by the naturall strength and saltasse of their Countrey; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captaines to other businesse, as hath bene related. They had molested Cassander, in fauour of Antigonus; and were themselves as much plagued by him, and by the Acarnanians, a little, but stout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to doe with Demetrius, the sonne of the first Antigonus, and more or lesse, with all the Kings of Macedon succeeding him. They likewise held often Warre with the Acarnanians, Athamanians, Epirots, and many Cities in Peloponnesus: so that they were hardened with perpetuall trouaile; seldom putting off their Armour. But their hardinesse ill deferred the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honestie or friendship; measuring all things by their owne insolent will, and thinking all people base minded, that were not as fierce and outrageous as themselves.

These Aetolians had lately made great spoiles in Peloponnesus, and occupied a good part of the countrey. They had invaded the friends of the Achaïans, taken and sacked

Pallene; where although they were foundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gaine made them greece of a new voyage thither, as to a Countrey wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus Gonatas*: who pressed them so hardly, that they were driuen to seeke helpe of the *Achaens*; which they obtained. The warre which the *Achaens* made vpon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly vnto the *Aetolians*, at whose instance it was set on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diuerted from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged; though very basely the *Aetolians*, giuing thanks in wordes, deuifed how to requite the benefit with some great mischief. They saw that the *Achaens* were delirious, to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedemonians* were very ialous. Wherefore these *Aetolians* laboured earnestly, to set the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaens* together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselves should be called into helpe (it skilled not on what side) and so get no small share, both in bootie and Territorie. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their deuice vnto *Antigonus*, offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that his Kingdom had sustained by the *Achaens*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to giue the *Lacedemonians* cause to take armes. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late: and not altogether in his owne power to hold. He had bene meddling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedemon*; and thereby had prouoked the *Lacedemonians* to looke about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achaean*.

The Citie of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times; and subiect to the injuries of any stronger Neighbour. *Pylarchus* had greatly weakened it; The *Aetolians* entering *Laconia* with an Armie, had carried away fiftie thousand slaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Auarice and Luxurie reigned among them, the poore was oppressed by the rich, and the generositie of Spirit, that had sometime bene their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than seuen hundred naturall Citizens; of whom not about one hundred had lands: all the rest were needie people, and delirious of innoation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition, which endangered the Citie most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict obseruation of *Lycurgus* his lawes. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equall diuision of lands. All the younger, and the poorer sort were glad of this: but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse vnto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained vp in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the Citie, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends and Counsaillers in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne priuate commoditie. They were halie to take away all debts, and cancell bonds, for they themselves were deeply in debted: but the diuision of lands they afterwards hindred, because their owne possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased, by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdome, and the two aduerser Kings driuen to take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawne into prison, and there by his enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grandmother. The like to this was neuer knowne in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this crueltie proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should haue giuen Patronage to the lawes, vsing their power, and more power than to them belonged, against

against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the lawes required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and served to establish the impotent rule of a few tyrannical oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope, to adioyne *Lacedaemon* to the *Achaean* Common-wealth; though it were great iniustice to take such advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the generall good of *Peloponnesus*; and to the benefit of *Sparta* it selfe, if it could have bene wrought by perswasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did also require the iniust attempts of the *Achaean*s, even in their owne kinde: obtruding vpon them by force, an vnion of all *Peloponnesus*; though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedaemonians* and their King, should have bene the principall; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus caused *Agis* to be slaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gaue her in marriage (perforce) to his owne sonne *Cleomenes*. This yong Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and sought to winne her affection, as well as he had her person. He discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertaine a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So comming himselfe to be King, whilst he was very yong, hee gladly embraced all occasions of warre: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an estate of the Citie, had attempted to his owne ruine. Therefore when the *Epheori* gaue him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprise *Tegæa* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedaemonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, hee lost the labour of a painefull nights traualle, and discouered his enmitie to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing sorrie. By these degrees the warre began. In the entrance whereof *Aratus* had discouered the *Ætolian* practise, and therefore would haue staied the quarrell from proceeding too farre. But *Lyfias* and *Aristomachus* would needs fight, and he could doe none other than be ruled by them: especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so virgent. *Aristomachus* was at that time General of the *Achaean*s, (He & *Lyfias* being of great account, since they had abandoned their tyrannie) who sent vnto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his assistance in a iourne to be made into *Laconia*. No dissuasions of *Aratus* would serue: therefore he came in person, and tooke part of a businesse, little pleasing him in the present, and lesse in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himselfe against *Aristomachus*, who desired to giue battaile. Yet had the *Achaean*s, twentie thousand foot, and one thousand horse in their Armie: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thousand in all. This gaue reputation to the *Lacedaemonian*, and raised an ill report vpon *Aratus*; which *Lyfias* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Neuertheless the *Achaean*s would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their Generall the year following, against *Lyfias*, his accuser that sued for the place. Being Generall himselfe, it behoued him to confute, with deedes, the slanderous wordes of *Lyfias*. Therefore he purposed to set vpon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, neare vnto the Mount *Lycaur*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquished him in a great battaile, and drane him to hide himselfe all night for feare, so that he was thought to haue bene slaine. This misadventure *Aratus* recompensed by a trick of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Armie, that which could hardly haue been expected, had he been victorious. For whilst there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could vndertake; he secretly wrought with some of the *Mantinean*s, who did let him into their Citie. The *Mantinean*s had once before ioyned themselves with the *Achaean*s; but shortly vpon feare, or some other passion, they gaue themselves

to the *Aetolians*; and from the *Aetolians*, presently after this victorie, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their leuitie they were not punished, but freely admitted now againe into the *Achaean* societie. As this good successe repaired the credit of *Aratus*; so another battaile almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountered neare vnto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achaens* had somewhat the better at the first, but their Generall durst not follow his aduantage. Thereupon *Lysicles*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horse, brake vpon the *Lacedemonians*, whom hee routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too farre into places of hard passage, he was slaine by them, and his followers driuen back vpon their owne Companions; in such sort, that finally all the Armie was disordered, and put to flight. This was a great losse, and incensed the *Achaens* against *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* tooke patiently, and followed the warre neuertheless; wherein though *Cleomenes* wanne some Townes, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achaens* being wearie, and the *Spartan* King intentiu to another businesse.

Cleomenes hauing led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painfull journeys, forsooke the *Achaean* warre on a sudden, and came v unexpected home to *Sparta*, where hee slue the *Ephori*, and restored by force to the ancient discipline of *Lycargus*. Then gaue hee an accompt of his doings; and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had inroched vpon the power of Kings, and many disorders had growne in the Citie; he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equall diuision of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choosling new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Countrie might not altogether stand in neede of mercinarie helpe, as it lately had done, to saue it selfe from the *Aetolians*, *Illyrians*, and other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satisfied; and *Cleomenes* himselfe readie in the field, ere his enemies could take aduantage of these his domestick troubles.

The *Achaens* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long, ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the Citie, for feare of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had waisted all the Countrie of *Megalopolis*; had ranged ouer all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Mantinea*; and readie to take other places, euen of *Achaia*. These newes displeened them not a little: but they must patiently endure to heare worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authoritie, hee proceeded more roundly in his worke; being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedemonians* resumed their ancient courage; and he himselfe had the heart to demand the Principallitie of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend, about the possession of a few Townes: but aduentured to winne or loose all. The *Aetolians*, in fauour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side: and whereas he had gotten *Mantinea*, *Tegaea*, and other places, to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest vnto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrie, and saw that *Antigonus* with the *Aetolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begunne. Therefore hee deuised how to prouide against the worst, and either to repaire all, or (if it could not bee) to saue all from utter ruine. The office of Generall when it was next put vpon him, hee refused; fearing to bee so farre prest as to hazzard in one battaile all the force of his Countrie, to which as hee had neuer any affection, nor per chance courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted by surpris, and defended vpon the aduantage of place, after the manner

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of the *trifly*, and of all other Nations, over-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forsake the care of the weale publike, though in aiming at the generall good, it seemes that private passion drew him into an ill counsell. He saw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that *Antigonius* had not only opened her gates vnto *Cleomenes*, but slaine the *Achaean* Garrison that lay therein; that other Townes had yielded vnto him, without compulsion; and that *Arifolmachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and since Generall of the *Achaean*s, was now revolted vnto the enemy, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemie* was too farre off to helpe; and the neareness of *Antigonius* was very dangerous; yet might be vifull, if this King would (as *Polybius* faith) like others, be friend or enemy, as should best agree with his owne profit. To make triall hereof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt vnto his purpose; and instructed them how to deale with both *Antigonius*, and the *Achaean*s.

The Citie of *Megalopolis* had bene well affected to the *Macedonian*s, ever since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it vnto him by some especiall benefits. At this time it lay nearest vnto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deserved succour; yet could not well bee relieved by the *Achaean*s, with their owne proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadors should bee sent vnto the generall Councell of *Achaia*, requesting leave and
20 good allowance, to trie the fauour of *Antigonius* in their necessitie. This was granted, for lack of what els to answer: and the same Embassadors dispatched away to *Antigonius*. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their Citie had of long time borne vnto him and his Predecessors; of their present neede; and how it would agree with his honour to giue them aide. But when they deliuered the more generall matter; wherein *Aratus* had giuen them instruction; shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Atolians*, might redound to his owne great losse or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himselfe did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achaean*s vnder the Patronage of
30 *Macedon*: then beganne *Antigonius* to lend a more attentive care to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to giue it the more life, he wrote vnto the *Megalopolitans*, that his helpe should not be wanting, so farre forth, as it might stand with the *Achaean*s good liking. Particularly he commended himselfe, by these Messengers, to *Aratus*; assuring them, that he thought himselfe highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceiued, not to haue bene grounded vpon any hatred to the *Macedonian*s, but only vpon a iust and worthwhile loue to his owne Nation. With this answer they retume to *Megalopolis*: and are presently sent away to the Councell of *Achaia*; there to make some speedie conclusion, as the necessity of the time required.

40 The *Achaean*s were glad to heare, that *Antigonius* was so inclinable to their desire; and therefore were readie to entertaine his fauour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gaue his consent; and praised the wisdom of his Countrimen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest meanes of their common safetie: adding neuerthelesse, that it were not amisse, first of all to trie their owne abilitie; which if it failed, then should they doe well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus hee shewed himselfe moderate, in that which himselfe of all others did most wish: to the end, that hee might not afterward sustaine the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amisse; since it might appeare, that he had not bene Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that
50 leisurably, the generall consent.

Neuerthelesse in true estimation, this singlenesse of *Aratus* might haue bene vsed, with his greater commendation, in a contrarie course. For it had bene more honourable, to make an end of the Warre, by yielding vnto *Cleomenes* that power which they gaue vnto *Antigonius*: since thereby he should both haue freed his
Countrie

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Countrie from all further trouble; and withall should haue restored vnto the vniuersall state of Greece, that honorable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pittie) that Vertue hauing risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it selfe, (as it were) in the seat of Principallitie, by length of time, and successe of many actions; canill endure the haultie growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it selfe likely to bee ouer topped. Other causes to despise the *Lacedemonians* there was none; than that they lately had been in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himselfe more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was iustly plagued, when he saw his owne honors reuerbered by the insolent *Macedonians*; and in stead of liuing as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was defended of a long race of Kings, the posteritie of *Hercules*, was faine to doe sacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, as vnto a God, and was finally poisoned by *Philip*, whose Nobilitie was but of fiew descents, and whom perhaps he might haue seene his fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the loue of *Ptolomie* was lost: who forthwith tooke part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberalitie, as hee had vied to the *Achaens*; being warned, as may seeme, by their example, to be more warie both intrusting and disburling. *Cleomenes* himselfe, whilst this businesse with *Antigonus* was a foot, passed through *Areadia* with an Armie, and laboured by all means to draw the *Achaens* to battaile. At the Citie of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their estate, without seeking helpe of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where hee had so great a victorie, that the enemie was no longer able to keepe the open field. The calamitie was such, that *Aratus* himselfe durst not take vpon him to be their General, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achaens* were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted vpon this easie condition: That they should not arrogate vnto themselves the command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedemonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in Warre. Hereunto if they would condescend, he promised vnto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his prisoners ranom-free: also that they should enioy their owne Lawes and Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Achaens*: who desired him to come vnto the Citie of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the Warre.

Now seemed the affaires of Greece likely to bee settled in better order, than they had cuer bene since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warres, yea or since the *Persian* Inuasion: when God, who had other wise disposed of these matters, hindred all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* dranke in a great heat, and thereupon fell extreme sick, and so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Neuertheless he sent home the chiefe of his prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the *Achaens* in their desire of his friendship: who assembled againe at *Arges*, there to establish the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it; and fought by great wordes, and terrible threats, to make his Countymen afraid of resoluing. When all would not serue to returne he betooke himselfe to his cunning; and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that hee should doe well to leaue his Armie behinde him, and come alone into *Arges*, receiuing Hostages for safetie of his person. *Cleomenes* was already farre on his way, when he met with this aduertisement: and tooke it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had bene an easie matter, to haue told him so much at the first, and not haue made him come so farre with an Armie which afterwards he must dismisse. Yet that which chiefly seemes to haue troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners, who fought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deale only with themselves and their Messengers; or if he would aduenture

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uenture himselfe into the Citie, then to deprive him of all Royall shew, that might
breede respect of him in the Multitude. This was that indeede which *Aratus* feared,
and for which he sought to hinder his coming thither in person: lest the people,
hearing the promises of *Cleomenes* ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be
wonne with his gentle wordes, and finish the bargain without more ado. There-
fore *Cleomenes* wrote vnto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these
iugling tricks: and *Aratus* was not farre behind with him, in as bitter an Oration.
So betweene feare of the one, and reuerence of the other, the Assembly knew not
how to proceede, but abruptly brake vp, leaving all as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes*
10 tooke his aduantage of their present weaknesse, and renewed the Warre. Many Ci-
ties yielded vnto him willingly; many hee forced; and partly by force, partly by
terror, he wanne *Argos*, which neuer King of *Sparta* before him could doe. In this
case *Aratus* sent his owne sonne to *Antigonus*, entreating him to deferre no time,
but come presently to relieue the distressed *Achaens*. *Antigonus* gaue as good wordes
as could be wished: sauing that he vtterly refused to doe any thing, vnlesse he might
first haue *Acrocorinthus* put into his hand. This demand was somewhat like vnto
that of the Hunter, who promised to helpe the Horse against his enimie the Stagge;
but with condition, that the Horse should suffer himselfe to be saddled and bridled.
Aratus was here withall contented, but wanted all honest colour to doe it: seeing
20 the *Corinthians* had no way deserued, to be thus giuen away to the *Macedonians*. Yet
at length an occasion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he in-
tended, were minded to arrest him. So hee withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and
sent word to *Antigonus*, that the Caste should bee readie to let him in. The *Corin-
thians* on the other side ranne to *Cleomenes*, who lost no time, but made haste with
them to *Corinth*, where he sought how to get possession of their Caste, or at least to
saue it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it with *Trenches*, that none might issue
nor enter without his leaue. Whilest this was in doing, he tooke special order, that
Aratus his house and goods, within the Towne, should be safely kept for the Owner;
to whom hee sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agree-
ment, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, to *Peloponnesus*:
30 promising that if he would hearken to these perswasions, then would hee giue him
double the same pension, which hee had bene wont to receiue of King *Ptolemeus*.
As for the Caste of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which
none could hold assured soueraignie of the Countrey; he desired that it might not
be committed vnto his owne disposition, but be ioyntly kept by the *Lacedaemonians*
and *Achaens*. All this entreatie serued to no purpose. For *Aratus*, reiecting vtterly
the motion, sent his owne sonne as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the
Achaens, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his handes. Which when *Cleomenes* vnderstood,
he seised vpon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*,
40 whereof this his *Aduersarie* was native.

Antigonus in the meane time drew neare to the *Isthmus*, hauing passed with his
Armie through *Euboea*, because the *Atolians* held the streights of *Thermopylae* against
him. This they did, either in fauour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in
doubt of the greatnesse, wherunto the *Macedonians* might attaine by the good suc-
cesse of this iourne. At his coming thither he found the *Lacedaemonians* readie to
forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to haz-
ard battaile, but rather to wearie him thence with hunger, against which he came
not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force;
but he was not able so to doe: hee secretly got into the *Corinthian* Hauens; but was
50 violently driuen out againe, with great losse of men; finally hee resolved to turne a-
side, and seeke a passage ouer the gulfes of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of
Achaia; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily
made.

In this perplexitie newes from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*,

gonus, and no lesse troubled his Enemies. The *Achaens* were gotten into that Citie; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not drinen out of the Citadell, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in neede of present helpe. *Argos* had alwaies bene enemie to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* tooke it, he forsaue to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreatie of friends; and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperitie. They were glad indeede of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditours, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would haue bene tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their vniust hopes, beganne to turne good Common-wealths-men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because hee would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time; inuited the *Achaens*; assailed his Garrison; cut in peeces the R eliefe that he sent; and compelled him at length, to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and looke vnto the enemies that were behinde his back. For when he vnderstood, by continuall messages, that his men which held the Citadell at *Argos*, were almost lost: hee beganne to feare, lest his labour in guarding the entrie should grow fruitles; the *Achaens* in the meane while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore hee forooke his custodie of the *Isthmus*, and made all haile towards *Argos*: which if hee could saue, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so farre he prevailed at his comming to *Argos*; that both *Argues* and *Achaens* were glad to house themselves, leauing him Master of the streets: when the horse-men of *Antigonus* were discovered a-farre off, halting to relieue the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himselfe (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soone as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the bodie of his Armie. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to doe, than to make a safe retreat. This he did; and got him home into *Laconia*: looking in short space all, or most, of that which he had bene long in getting.

Antigonus hauing shewed himselfe at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadie*; where he wanne such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he tooke his way to *Aegium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achaens*: to whom he declared the cause of his comming, and spake braue wordes, that filled them with hope. The *Achaens* were not behinde with him; but made him Captaine General ouer them and their Confederates; and further entred into couenant with him, That they should not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sieyon*, his owne Towne (for Winter was come on) where he not only treated him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sieyonites*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very fine bargain, if in stead of *Cleomenes* that would haue bene a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore; and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen vpon the *Achaens*. This was hardly taken: yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himselfe ouercarefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in *Argos*, were againe erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues, which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all throwne downe by the same King, and one only left vnto himselfe at his earnest entreatie. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spightfull. Neuertheless in taking reuenge vpon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfie his owne passion by the aide of these *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Ariflanachus* to death, who had bene once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards Generall of the *Achaens*; and from them reuoluing vnto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled

handed hee (though not as yet) the *Mantineans*, for their ingratitude and crueltie flew to the *Achaens*. For hee sue all the principall Citizens, and sold the rest, men, women, and children, all for bond-slaves: diuiding the spoile; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achaens*. The Towne it selfe was giuen by *Antigonus* to the *Argiues*: who peopled it with a Colonie of their owne; and *Aratus* hauing charge of this businesse, caused it to be new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this crueltie there can bee no better excuse; than euen the flatterie, which *Aratus* was driuen to vse to *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was a token of seruilitie, wherinto they had vrged and brought him; whom he, as in reuenge thereof, did thus requite.

10 But leauing to speake of this change, which the comming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the Ciuill state of the *Achaens*; Let vs returne vnto his warre against the *Lacedemonian*.

The next Sommer *Antigonus* wanne *Tegea*, *Mantineæ*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Tegea*. *Mantineæ* hee dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* hee placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest hee restored to the *Achaens*; with whom hee wintered at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where hee lay readie to defend his owne Territorie. The reason why hee stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantineæ*, and to those other Townes that hee wanne, was this: Hee had few Soldiers, and not monie enough to wage more. *Ptolemie* the *Ægyptian* promised much, but would performe nothing, vnlesse he might haue *Cleomenes* his owne Mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent into *Ægypt*; yet the aide came not. For *Ptolemie* was slow; as dealing in the businesse of *Greece*, rather for his mindes sake, than vpon any apprehension of necessitie. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himselfe, as well as his owne abilitie would serue. Hee manumitted all the *Helots*, which were the *Lacedemonian* slaves: taking monie for their libertie, and arming two thousand of them, after the *Macedonian* fashion. Hauing thus increased his forces, hee came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*; that lay secure, as hauing defended it selfe in more dangerous times, and hauing now *Antigonus* neare at hand in *Ægium*. The

20 Towne hee wanne: but after hee was entred, all that were fit to beare armes, rose hastily against him; and though they could not driue him out, yet saued the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their escape. Hee sent after the Citizens, offering their Towne and goods to them againe, if they would bee of his partie. But they brauely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great bootie that hee found therein. These newes astonished the *Achaens* at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake vp their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his

30 *Macedonians*, out of their wintering places: but they were so long in comming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore hee returned them back to their lodgings, and went himselfe to *Argos*, there to passe the rest of this vniuersall winter, somewhat

40 furthcr from the eyes of the grieved *Achaens*. When hee had laine awhile at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates; with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argiues* perceiving that their Countrey would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the field; were very earnest with him to goe forth and fight. But hee was wiser, than to be moued with their clamours; and suffered them to see their villages burnt; to bid him resigne his Office of Protector, vnto some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with foolish words; rather than hee would be ouer-come in fight, and thereby loose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakening the reputation of his enimie: though hee thereby added neither followers, nor other strength, vnto

50 *Lacedamon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for warre, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troups; meaning to requite these brauado's of his enimie, with the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other side, laboured to keepe the warre from his owne gates; and therefore entred vpon the Countrey of *Argos*, where he made

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such hauck, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended inuasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was faine to endure, in coasting the *Spartan* King; that ranging ouer the Countrey of the *Argines*, *Phisians*, and *Orchomenians*, draue a Garrison of his out of *Ohyrtis*; and did sacrifice, as it were before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Iuno*, that was shut vp; sending vnto him in scorne, to borrow the keys. These were light things; yet serued to dishearten the *Achaan* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard, of things abroad, and to put all to hazard; by setting vp his rest, without more delay, vpon *Sparta* it selfe. He had in his Armie eight and twentie thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, collected out of sundrie Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gauls*, *Epirots*, *Boeotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achaans*, and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts, twentie thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying lightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seeke entrance. *Antigonus* coming to *Selasia*, found his enemy so throngly incamped, vpon and between the hills of *Eua* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, which hee greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Armie, in assaying their well-defenced Campe. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes 20 and feares) both Kings being resolu'd to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the Hill *Eua*: but his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achaan* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, & light-armed foot, incamped in the freight vally between those hills, issuing forth, fell vpon their skirts; and not only disordered them, but were like to haue endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himselfe had stood in that part of the bataile, he would haue made great vse of such a faire beginning. But *Euclidas*, his brother, a more valiant than skilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this aduantage, nor tooke such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopamen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proued a famous Captaine, serued then on horse, as a priuate yong man, among the *Achaans*. Hee seeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driuen to fall back vpon the Armie following them; perswaded the Captaines of the *Achaan* horse, to breake vpon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth, and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had giuen order, that they should keepe their places, vntill they receiued a signe from him, which was not as yet. *Philopamen* perceiving them to be more orderly, than well aduised; entreated some of his owne Countrymen to follow him; gaue a charge vpon the *Spartans*; and forced them not only to leaue the *Illyrians*, but seeke how to saue themselves. Being so farre advanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to bee wonne, 40 through the vnskilfulnesse of him that held it. Wherefore hee alighted, and perswaded the men at armes his Companions to doe the like: the folly of *Euclidas* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight vpon eu'n termes. So he recovered the Hill top; where though he was sore hurt, yet hee made good the place that he had gotten, vntill the whole Armie came vp to him; by which the *Lacedaemonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This ouerthrow, and death of *Euclidas*, made *Cleomenes* loose the day: who fighting brauely on the other side, vpon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himselfe; was like to haue bene furrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawne himselfe with an extraordinary speede. In this battaile, ended the glorie of *Lacedaemon*; which, as a light readie to goe out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

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Cleomenes fled vnto *Sparta*: where hee had no desire to stay, finding only two hundred left, of sixe thousand *Spartans* that hee had led vnto this battaile, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yeeld themselves vnto *Antigonus*; and promising to doe all that should at any tyme in his owne power, for their good, he halted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before prouided, against all that might happen) and imbarqued himselfe for *Egypt*. He was louingly entertayned by *Ptoleme Euergetes*; who vnderooke to restore him to his Kingdome; and (perhaps) meant no lesse, as being much delighted with his gallant behauiour and qualities. In the meane season hee had a pension allowed him, of foure and twentie talents, yearly. But this *Ptoleme* died; and his sonne *Ptoleme Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious yong Prince, wholly gouerned by lewd Women, and base Men, vnminde full of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to returne into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponnesus* did seeme to inuite him; *Ptoleme*, and his Minions, would neither giue him aide; nor yet dared to dismisse him (as he desired) to trie his owne friends in *Greece*, because hee was too well acquainted with the weakenesse of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they deuised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him was; that with thirtie of his Countymen, hee vnderooke
 20 a desperate enterprize: breaking out of the prison, and prouoking the *Alexandrins* to rebell, and seeke their libertie. In which attempt hee slue some enemies of his that he met; and hauing walked vp and downe the streets, without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) He, and his Companions, agreed together to bee Ministers of their owne death. Vpon his dead bodie *Ptoleme* was bold to shew his indignation: and slue his Mother and Children, that had bene sent thither as Hostages, together with the wiues of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending vpon the old Queene. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*; a generous Prince, but Sonne of *Leonidas*, who had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to
 30 come to such a bloudie end, as now befell his owne Wife, Sonne, and Grand-children.

After the Victorie at *Sellasia*, *Antigonus* without resistance entred *Sparta*: whereinto neuer the force of any Enemy, before him, coul'd make way. Hee kindly entreated the Citizens, and left them to their owne Lawes and Gouernment: carrying there no longer, than two or three dayes; after which he halted out of *Peloponnesus*, and neuer returned. The cause of his speedie departure was, an aduertisement that hee receiued out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* ouer-ran-ne, and destroyed the Countrie. Had these newes come a little sooner; or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few dayes longer, or at least-wile tarried, a few
 40 dayes after the fight, in *Sparta*: the Kingdome of *Lacedemon* would haue stood, and perhaps haue extended it selfe ouer all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

Antigonus fought a great battaile with the *Illyrians*, and ouer-came them. Yet therein hee caught his bane: not by any wound, but by ouer-straying his voice; wherewith hee brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, who was troubled before with a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended vnto *Philip*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, surnamed (I know not why) the Great; and *Ptoleme Philopater*, beganne to raigne in *Asia*, and *Egypt*; Boies all. Of these, *Ptoleme*,
 50 though old enough to loue Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seuentene yeares of his raigne. The vnripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconuenience to their Kingdomes, as is vsuall in the minority of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; vpon
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which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speake of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

§. VII.

How the Ilyrians infested the coast of Greece; and how they were subdued by the Romans.



Hilest things thus passed in Greece; and whilst the *Carthaginians* were busie in their conquest of *Spaine*: the *Romans* had found themselves worke among the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished againe, when they rebelled. They made also warre with the *Ilyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little paine. With the *Gauls* they had much ado, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Linie* saith, a tumult than a warre. So that by all these light exercises, their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Ilands in the *Mediterranean Sea*; it hath bene shewed before: of their dealings with the *Ilyrians* and *Gauls*, it is not meet to be utterly silent.

The *Ilyrians* inhabited the Countrie, now called *Slauonia*: a troublesome Nation, so impatient of rest, and continually making warre for gaine, without other regard of friend or foe. They were incited by *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, to helpe the *Mydonians*, his friends, that were besieged by the *Ætolians*, for that they refused to be of their societie. Before the *Ilyrian* succours came, the *Mydonians* were so farre spent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the bootie: the old Prætor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, clayming to haue the honor of the victorie, and the diuision of the spoile to be referred vnto him; for that he had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and wonne the Towne: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a pretie strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, who thought vpon diuiding the prey, before they had wonne the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and at *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, and the new Prætor, should bee ioyntly intituled in the victorie, and haue equall authoritie in distribution of the gettings. But the *Ilyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the *Ætolians*; and though good resistance was made, yet got the victorie, partly by force of their owne multitude, partly by helpe of the *Mydonians*, that were not idle in their owne businesse, but stoutly sallied out of the Towne. Many of the *Ætolians* were slaine, more were taken, their Campe and all their baggage was lost: the *Ilyrians* tooke the spoile, and went their way; the *Mydonians* erected a Trophie, inscribing the names, both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The successe of this voyage, highly pleased *Agron* King of the *Ilyrians*: not only in regard of the monie, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance, or of the bootie that was gotten; but for that hauing vanquished the flouriest of the *Greekes*, hee found it not vnease, to enrich himselfe by letting vpon the lesse warlike. For joy of this, he feasted, and dranke so immoderately, that he fell into a *Plurisie*, which in few daies ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left vnto *Tente*, his wife.

Tente gaue her people free libertie, to robbe all Nations at Sea, making no difference betweene friend and foe; as if shee had bene sole Mistresse of the salt Waters. Shee armed a fleet, and sent it into Greece: willing her Captaines, to make warre

Warre where they found aduantage, without any further respect. These fell with the western coast of *Peloponnesus*; where they invaded the *Elans*, and *Messenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and staid at the Citie of *Phenice*, to take in victuallies and other necessaries. There lay in *Phenice* eight hundred *Gauls*; that hauing bene Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Agriantum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to doe either, they neuertheless resolued, and were for their misdeedes disarmed, and sent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by the *Epirots*, and trusted to lie in *Garrison* within their Towne. The *Gauls* were soone growne acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phenice*; which deserued none other, in trusting them. All *Epirus* was presently in armes, and hastned to driue out these vnwelcome guests. But whilst the *Epirots* lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another *Illyrian* Armie, that was marching thithward by Land, vnder one *Sceurdilas*, whom *Queene Teuta* had sent to helpe his fellowes. Vpon this aduertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonis*, to make good that Towne, and the freights adjoyning, by which these new commers must enter into their Countrey; another part of them remains at *Phenice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one, nor the other, sped well in their businesse. For *Sceurdilas* found meanes to ioyne with his fellowes; and they that were besieged within *Phenice*, sallied out of the towne, and gaue such an ouerthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despaire of sauing their Countrey, without great and speedie helpe from abroad. Wherefore Embassadours were sent to the *Acheans* and *Etolians*: craving their helpe, with very pittifull termes of entreatie. They obtained their suit; neither was it long, before an Armie, sent by these two Nations, was readie in *Epirus*, to present battaile vnto *Sceurdilas*. But *Sceurdilas* was called home, by letters from *Teuta* the Queene, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no minde to put his forces to hazzard, but offered composition; which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ransom their Towne, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart, with all their bootie and slaues. Hauing made this profitable and honourable bargaine; the *Illyrians* returned into their owne Countrey by Land, sending their bootie away by Sea.

At their comming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voiage. For in fulfilling the commandement of their Queene, they had taken many *Italian* Marchants, whilst they lay at *Phenice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the *Roman* Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadours were sent to require of *Teuta*, that shee should abstaine from doing such injuries. These Embassadours found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that shee had, in short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, saue only the towne of *Issa*, which her forces held streightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperitie, shee could hardly afford a good looke to the vnmannersly *Romans*; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, *Pyrrae*, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, shee vouchsafed to tell them, That iniurie in publike shee would doe them none: as for priuate matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings, to forbid their Subjects to get commoditie, how they best could, by Sea. But (said the yonger of the two Embassadours) we *Romans* haue a manner, and a very laudable one, to take reuenge in publike, of those priuate wrongs, that are borne out by publike authoritie: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reforme your Kingly manners, and learne better of vs. These words the Queene tooke so impatiently, that no reuenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, shee caused him to be slaine: as if that had bene the way, to set her heart at rest; which was indeede the meane, to disquiet and afflict it euermore.

The *Romans*, prouoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by

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Sea,

Sea, consisting of two hundred faile, commanded by C. Fulvius; the other by Land, led by A. Posthumus. They trouble not themselves any more, with requiring satisfaction: for this injurie is of such nature, as must be requited with mortall warre. It is indeede contrary to all humane Law, to vse violence towards Embassadors: the reason and ground whereof, seemes to bee this; that since without mediation, there would neuer be an end of warre and destruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a lesseon taught by Nature, that Embassadors should passe freely, and in safetie, betweene enemies. Neuerthelesse, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King, or State, lay hold vpon Embassadors sent by their enemies, not vnto themselves, but vnto somethird, whom they should draw into the quarrell; then is it as lawfull, to vse violence to those Embassadors (thus imployed, to make the warre more terrible) as it is to kill the men of warre, and subjects, of an enemy. And so might the Athenians haue answered it, when they slue the Lacedemonian Embassadors, that were sent to Xerxes, to draw him into a warre vpon the Athenians. Neither are those Embassadors, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law whatsoever. For whereas the true Office of an Embassador residing, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practise against the life of another, much lesse may an Embassador doe it, without incurring justly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place giues him no priuiledge at all. But we will leaue this dispute to the Ciuilians; and goe on with the reuenge, taken by the Romans, for the slaughter of their Embassador C. Curianus.

The Illyrian Queene was secure of the Romans, as if they would not dare to stirre against her. Shee was indeede in an error; that had vndone many of all forts greater and lesse than these, both before and since: Having more regard vnto forme, than vnto the substance of things. The Greekes were at that time more famous than the Romans; the Aetolians and Epirats had the name of the most warlike people in Greece; these had thee easily vanquished; and therefore thought, that with the Romans thee should be little troubled. Had she considered, that her whole Armie, which wrought such wonders in Greece, was not much greater, than of ten thousand men; and that neuerthelesse, it prevailed as much, by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; shee would haue continued to vse her aduantage, against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that shee should not haue needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mightie than her selfe. But shee was a woman, and did what shee listed. Shee sent forth a greater fleet than before, vnder Demetrius of Pharos; with the like ample commission, to take all that could bee gotten. This fleet diuided it selfe; and one part of it fell with a Dyrrachium; the other, with Corcyra. Dyrrachium was almost surprized by the Illyrians; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In Corcyra the Illyrians landed; wasted the Ile; and besieged the Towne. Hercupon the Aetolians and Achaens were called in to helpe: who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea; loosing, besides others of lesse note, Marcus Cynensis, the first Pretor of Achaia, whom Aratus succeeded. The Towne of Corcyra, dismayed with this ouerthrow, opened the gates vnto Demetrius Pharius; who tooke possession of it, with an Illyrian Garrison: sending the rest of his forces to besiege Dyrrachium. In the meane season, Teus was angry with her Capitaine Demetrius: I know not why; but so, as he resolved to trie any other course, rather than to trust her.

The Romans were euen readie to put to Sea, though vncertaine which way to take, when aduertisement was brought to C. Fulvius the Confull, of Demetrius his feare and discontent. Likely it was, that such an occasion might greatly helpe to aduance the businesse in hand. Wherefore the Confull sailed thither; where hee found the Towne of Corcyra so well prepared to his hand by Demetrius, that it not only received him willingly, but deliuered into his power the Illyrian Garrison, and submitted it selfe vnto the Roman protection.

After

a Dyrrachium, sometime called Epidamnus, and now Durazzo, seated vpon the Adriatick Sea, betwene the Ilands of Ithura and Corcyra. b Corcyra, an Iland of the Adriatick Sea, not farre from Durazzo; called now Corfu, and in the possession of the Venetians.

CHAP. 2. §. 8. of the Historie of the World.

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After this good beginning, the Consull sailed alongst the coast, to *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he vied thenceforth as his counsailler and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus*, the other Consull, with the Land-Armie, numbered at twentie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they halten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but vpon newes of the Roman Armie, they disperse themselves. From thence the Romans enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by Sea, take twentie of their ships; and enforce the Queene *Tenta* to forsake the coast, and to couer her selfe in *Rijon*, farre within the Land. In the end, part of the Romans haste them homeward, and leaue the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; an other part staies behinde, and prosecutes the warre, in such sort, that *Tenta* was forced to begge peace: which shee obtained vpon miserable conditions; to wit, That shee should quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth, neuer send any of her ships of warre, towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Iland of *Lissa*: except it were some one or two vessels, vnarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* warre, the Romans sent Embassadours into diuers parts of *Greece*, signifying their loue to the Countrey, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made warre with good successe vpon *Tenta*, and her people. They hoped be- like, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: 20 which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their owne games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the Romans thenceforth might be partakers of the *Illyrian* pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vaine *Greekes*, and therefore well taken by the Romans: who by this *Illyrian* Expedition got nothing in *Greece*, saue a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

§. VIII.

30 Of the warre betweene the Romans and Gaules, somewhat before the coming of HANNIBAL into Italie.



He Gaules that dwelt in *Lumbardie*, were the next, against whom the Romans tooke Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes with their owne forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke *Rome*, and burnt it: though the issue of that warre proued not answerable to the beginning, if we may giue credit vnto Roman Historians. In following times, their successe was variable, and commonly bad. 40 Many ouerthrowes they received; and if they got any victorie, it yielded them no profit, but was soone extorted out of their hands. They were indeede more fierce, than well aduised: lightly stirred vp to warre, and lightly giuing out. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, lesse than women. The Romans were acquainted with their temper, by long experience; and knew how to handle them: yet gaue alwaies carefull heede to their approach, were it only bruted. For the danger of them was sudden, and vncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts vpon *Rome*, were called warres, but tumultuous Gallies; tumults of the Gaules; and right- ly. For they gaue many alarms to *Italie*, and vied to rise with great Armies: but 50 after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion serued to disperse them. Having received an ouerthrow; they would rest ten, or twelue yeares, sometimes twentie or thirtie: till they were stirred vp againe, by younger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whilest they rested; the state of *Rome*, that against these made only defensive warre, had leisure to grow, by setting vpon

c Apollonia, a
Citic neare
Dyrrachion, or
Durazzo, vpon
the Sea-coast.
Pinctus calls it
Sisigolis.

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John 15:18
John 15:18

upon others. Herin God provided well for that Monarchie, which hee intended to raise: that the *Gauls* neuer fell upon *Italie*, with a mightie power, in the time of any other great and dangerous warre. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilst *Pyrrhus* was traualling in the same enterprize; or in either of the two former *Punic* warres: it may be doubted what would haue become of this imperious Citie. But it seemes that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affaires of *Italie*, than strangers had in *Gauls*. At least, they knew not how to vse their times: and were therefore like to smart, whensoever the enemies, whom they had much prouoked, and little hurt, should finde leisure to visit them at their owne home: which was now after the first *Punic* Warre. Once before this, the *Romans* had bene bold, to set 10 upon the *Gauls* in their owne Countrey: and that was three yeares before the coming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italie*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gauls*, invading *Iteturia*, and besieging *Arretium*, had wonne a great battaile, and slaine *L. Caelius* with the most of his Armie. *Manius Curius* the new Confull, sent Embassadors to them, to treat about ranfome of prisoners. But these Embassadors they flue. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled these *Senones* out of their Countrey, and sent a Colonie of their owne to inhabit it. This caused the *Boj*, another people of *Gauls*, to feare the like measure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the *Iteturiens* to their side. But the *Romans* ouerthrew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them sue for peace, 20 which lasted vntill this end of the *Illyrian* warre.

e There were diuers nations of the *Boj*; as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria*, *Germantia*, in *Baurois* in *France*, and in *Aquiana*; but these *Boj* were of the French race, & dwelt at this time about the mouth of the River of *Po*.

It vexed the *Gauls*, to see a *Roman* Colonie planted in their Countrey; who had bene accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their Neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpinos* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to vs they are nearer; like as they called *Cisalpinos*, or *by-bisher* the *Alpes*, those who dwelt betweene them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their partie: reasonably presuming, that as their diuision had caused their losse, so their vnion might recompence it, with large amends. But the businesse was so foolishly carried, that the *Cisalpinos* and *Transalpinos*, fell together by the eares: putting the *Romans* only to a tumult, without further trouble of warre: Soone after, they were wraged by a greater indignitie, to goe more substantially to worke. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, proposed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colonie already planted in the territorie of the *Senones*, as many more should be caried thither, as would serue to people the whole Countrey betwene *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating vtterly those *Gauls*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Gaius* it selfe, would not ouer-joy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* tooke this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joynd with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had euer after their good will.

This dreadfull President extremely displeased the *Boj*: who being Neighbours 40 to *Ariminum*, feared the like displantation. And because all the rest of the *Gauls* had reason to resolue, that themselves also should bee rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the Duchie of *Milan*, joynd with the *Boj*, and vpon a common purle entertained the *Gessates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Sviteres* in these times. The *Gessates* hauing receiued a great Imprest, come to the field vnder the conduct of their Kings, *Concoltanus* and *Anerceslus*: who with the *Boj* and *Insubrians*, compound an Armie of fiftie thousand foot, and twentie thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, thateuer invaded the *Roman* Territorie; to whom, the *Senogalli*, that had bene beaten out of their possessions, gaue a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Ventians*, and the *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better beleueing in their 50 propheticke and right fortune. For feare of whole incursions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leaue a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of *Milan*: With the rest of their forces they entred into *Tuscan*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, send

f *Cenomanni*, ate the people about *Bregenz*, on the North-side of the River *Po* in *Italie*. There were alio of these *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countrey of *Matis*.

send *Emilius* to *Rimini*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Attius* their other Consul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prators, for the defence of *Tuscan*.

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the consideration of this powerfull Armie, which the *Gauls* had assembled, they caused a view to bee taken, as well of all their owne forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no lesse willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their owne destruction could not bee prevented other wise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserue to be recorded: because they set out the power of the *Romans* in those dayes. With the Consuls they sent forth to the warre foure Legions of their owne: euey Legion consisting of fife thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. There were also appointed for Supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fiftie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; which Armie was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Umbrians* and *Sarsinates*, which inhabited the *Apennines*, there were twentie thousand; and of the *Penetians* and *Cenomans*, other twentie thousand: which latter Armies were directed, to invade the *Boj*, that forcing them to defend their owne Territories, the generall Armie of the *Gauls* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to bee readie against all vnertaine chances of warre, thirtie thousand foot, and fiftene hundred horse, garrisoned in *Rome* it selfe, of their owne people; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse.ouer and above these great troupes; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was sent vnto the Senate, there were numbred fourescore thousand foot, and fife thousand horse; in that of the *Samnites*, seuentie thousand foot, and of horse seuen thousand; in that of the *Ulysses*, and *Messapies*, fiftie thousand foot, and sixtene thousand horse; the *Lucans* sent a list of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Maris*, *Marrucini*, *Ferentani*, and the *Veslini*, of twentie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse. The *Romans* had also two Legions in *Sicil*, and about *Tarentum*, containyng eight thousand foure hundred foot, and foure hundred horse. So as of the *Romans* and *Campans* jointly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were registred two hundred and fiftie thousand foot; and of horse, three and twentie thousand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fiftie thousand foot, and about sixe thousand horse. Calling vp the whole forces of all the Prouinces in *Italie*, both of the *Romans* and their Confederates, it amounted to seuen hundred thousand foot, and seuentie thousand horse. But the number is somewhat misse-cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to enrich himselfe by the dead paies: for where he reckons nine hundred horse too many, he falls short nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

How great sooner this Muster was, it seemes to haue beene like vnto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth invaded *Italian*: at what time, the better to encourage himselfe, and his subjects, hee tooke a Roll of all persons able to beare armes, within the Duchie, though indeed he were neuer able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battailes of *Trebia*, *Trasimene*, and *Canna*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* faine to arme their flanes, euen for want of other Souldiers, after their ouerthrow at *Canna*. Wherefore the maruaile is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were litle terrified, with report of such a multitude. For all heads are not fit for helmets: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in generall, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the *Gauls* keepe on their way: and entring into *Tuscan*, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to finde the *Romans*, rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the

g *Ulysses* and *Messapies* seeme to be one Nation; who are also called *Salernitans*, *Penetisii*, *Apulians*, and *Calabrians*. The Countie is now *Apulia*, containing the Northernmost head-land of *Calabria*.
h A people of the Kingdom of *Naples*.
i *Pisani* call them a people of *Italie*.
k A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Prentines*, *Santh* *Lander*.

Roman Armie, sent into *Tuscan*, hauing taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had mislead of them, came againe fast after them, to arrest them in their iourne. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: and in the same euening discovered the *Roman* Armie, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparant necessitie, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratageme: that shewed no great fineness of wit, but such, as well becomed those that had none other occupation than warre; and flood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not farre: leauing their horse in guard, to whom they giue order, to come off at the first light of day, with such a speede, as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat, as if they had not dared to abide battaile. The *Romans*, interpreting this their halie departure, as the *Gauls* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gauls* returne; charge them; and kill fixe thousand vpon the place; the rest take a peece of ground of aduantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Aemilius*, being at *Arminum*, comes to their succour. Vpon the comming of the Consul; the *Gauls* consult, whether they should giue the *Romans* battaile, or forbear. In which dispute, *Anerofus*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to returne into their owne Countries; where after they had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the warre, being without carriage, peller, or other impediment. This aduice they all embrace; for seeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoiles of their enemies; they thought it wisdome, to hazzard neither it, nor themselves, any further.

This inderde had bene a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had bene in sight. But as well in the warres of these latter ages, as in former times, it hath euer bene found extreme dangerous, to make a retreat in the Head of an enemies Armie. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwaies going on from the pursuing enemy, they finde within a few miles, either straight hedge, ditch, or place of disaduantage, which they are inforced to passe in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knowes it, as well as the Capitaine, that he which forsaekes the field, perceiues, and feares, some aduantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the betrayer of those succours that Reason offereth, when it hath once possit the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and vnderstanding. They that make the retreat, are alwaies in feare to be abandoned; they that leade the way, feare to be engaged: and so the hindmost tread on his heeles that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, runne, and perill, if those that fauour the retreat, be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow, that the *French* receiued in *Naples*, in the yeare 1503. vpon a retreat made by the *Marques of Sal*, doth testifie no lesse. For although a great troupe of *French* horse, sustayned the pursuing enemy a long time, and gaue the foot leisure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spanish* foot ouer-tooke, and defeated them vtterly. During the warres betwene the *Imperialls*, and the *French*; *Buiss* and *Mont* were lost at *Brignolles*, who in a brauerie would needes see the enemy, before they left the field. So was *Sirois* overthrowne, by the *Marques of Marignan*, because he could not be perswaded, to dislodge the night before the *Marques* his arriuall. Therefore did the *French* King *Francis* the first, wisely: when without respect of point of honour, he dislodged from before *Landersey*, by night; as many other, the most aduised Captaines, (not finding themselves in case to giue battaile) haue done. *Je ne trouue point* (saith the *Marshall* *MONLUC*) *au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retraite; I finde nothing in the arte of warre so difficult, as to make a safe retreat.* A sure Rule it is, that there is lesse dishonour to dislodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof *M^r. de la Noue* giues this iudgement, of a daies retreat, made in *France*, presently before the battaile of *Moncontour*. For (saith he) staying vpon our reputation, in *Afrow* not to dislodge by night; we lost our reputation in deede, by dislodging by day: whereby

whereby we were forced to fight vpon our disadvantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthie Gentleman, *Count Lodowick of Nassau*, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, make the retreat at *Moncouth* with so great resolution, as hee faced the one halfe of the Protestant Armie, then broken and disbanded, of which my selfe was an eye-witnesse; and was one of them that had cause to thanke him for it.

Now the *Gauls*, embracing the late aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings; turne their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Emilius* followes them, as neare as he can, without ingaging himselfe, attending his aduantage. In the meane while, *C. Attilius* the other Consul, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisa*; so as the *Gauls*, inclosed betwene two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Reare, and Front. To sustaine *Emilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front, they range the *Piemontous*, and the rest of the *Gauls* inhabiting vpon the River of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gauls* fell; and so did *Attilius* the Consul: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gauls*, *Concolitanus* and *Amerocilus*, with fortie thousand of their Vallalls.

After this fatal overthrow, the *Gauls* lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italie*. For they were innaded the year following this overthrow, by the new Consuls, *Fulvius*, and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to vse their victorie: they gaue not ten, twentie, or thirtie yeares time, to the *Gauls*, to repaire their forces, as the *Gauls* had done to them. These new Consuls beat the *Boij*; but, by reason of the great raines that fell, and the great pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second year, *Furius*, and *Flaminius*, invade the *Milanois*; and preuaile very farre, being strongly assisted by the *Cambranni* and the *Venetians*. Neuertheless these Consuls were euoked out of their Province, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to resigne their Office: because the *Angures*, or *Soothsayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their diuination, the *Romans* were extremely superstitious) had not only foretold little good, when they were chosen; but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiuing letters of this reuocation, from the Senate, and being other wise aduertised of the contents, was not hastie to open them: but first gaue battaile vnto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Countrey; then perused the letters; and returning home obtayned a triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that hee sided in faction with the Commonaltye, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for diuiding the Countrey of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that vnderstanding the Majestie of *Rome* to be indeede wholly in the people, and no other wise in the Senate, than by way of Delegation, or grand Commission; did not stand highly vpon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and vse their power, ouer himselfe, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side: and found Imitators, that rose by the same are; which in proceesse of time, grew the only or chiefe way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being deposed, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that yeare. The *Gauls* about this time desired peace, and were like to haue obtayned it: though the new Consuls were against it, as fearing to want worke. But when thirtie thousand of the *Gessates*, following their King *Britomarus*, were come ouer the *Alpes*, and joyned with the *Insubrians*: all other discourse, than of present warre, was at an end. So the Consuls hastied into their Province, where they besieged *Acerre*, a towne not farre from *Veruaro* (so farre had the *Romans* pierced already) in the Duchie of *Milan*. To diuert them

them from this siege, *Britomarus* late downe before *Clasidium*, a Towne in the same Tract, with great part of his forces: leaving the rest, with the *Insubrians*, to attend vpon the Consulls at *Aceras*, and to looke to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* breake vp their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and six hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deale well enough with those at *Clasidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consulls coming; and met him vpon the way: so suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to rest themselves after their iourne, but were compelled instantly to fight. Hecin *Britomarus* had done well; if he had not forthwith, in a rash brauerie, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but hee thought so well 10 of his owne personall valour, that he rode out single before his Armie, prouoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no lesse daring; than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He flew and disarmed *Britomarus*, in presence of both Armies: whereby his owne men tooke such courage, and his enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight, the *Romans* obtained a great victorie.

This was the third and last time, that euery *Roman* Generall (like the Generall of the enemies, with his owne hand. To this kinde of victorie, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Celsus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I date lay, that the two *Scipio's*, and diuers other *Roman* Captaines, especially *Casár*, 20 were better men of warre than any of these three; though they neuer offered vp to *Iupiter*, *Opima spolia*; *The Armour of a Generall slaine by themselves*, when they were Generalls, nor perhaps affected so to doe.

After this victorie, *Aceras* was yelded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* soone after: with all that belonged to the *Cisalpine*, or *Gauls*, that dwelt in *Lumbardie*. Thus was that valiant and mightie Nation, that had for so many yeares vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the Citie it selfe, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territorie posselt by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italie*, so many as would not subject their necks to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountaines, like Out-lawes and Thieues. And thus did the *Romans* spend the three and twentie yeares, following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed vp the Temple of *Ianus*: which they neuer did before, (it standing alwaies open, when they had any warre) saue once, in the raigne of *Numa*; nor in long time after, vntill the raigne of *Augustus*. But this their present happinesse was not to last long: 30

a dangetous warre, and perhaps the greatest that had euer beene, was to come vnto their gates; which being well ended, they might boldly vndertake, to extend their Monarchie as farre, as their ambition could reach.

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CHAP.

39

CHAP. III.

Of the second Punick Warre.

§. I.

10 The warres of HANNIBAL in Spain. Quarrels betweene the Romans and Carthaginians.

HANNIBAL besetgeth and taketh Saguntum; whilest the Romans are busyd with the Ilyrians. Warre proclaimed betweene Rome and Carthage.



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ANNIBAL, the sonne of Amleat, was about sixe and twentie yeares old, when hee was chosen General of the Carthaginian forces in Spain. Hee was elected by the Armie, as soone as Asdrubal was dead: and the election was ratified by the state at Carthage; where with Hanno and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the Barchine familie (so called of Amleat, whose surname was Barchas) that had command in chiefe, ouer the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps haue beene lesse enuied, by these domestically enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the Barchine house, had not also borne the whole sway in gouernement, and been the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the People. This generall goodwill, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of Amleat, in sauing his Countrie from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with treasures, and great reuenues; so was it retained by the same good artes, among his friends and followers. Hanno therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was vnprovable; nor to performe the like seruices vnto the Common-weale: had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprehension of Warre, and cautelous aduice, of not prouoking the Romans. This they seasoned otherwhiles with detraction; saying, that the Barchine faction went about to oppresse the libertie of the Citie. But their malicious wordes were vnregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to Rome, then were all the Citizens, (very few excepted) no lesse Barchine, than Hannibal himselfe. For it was long since apparent, that the oath of the Romans, to the articles of peace, afforded no securitie to Carthage; were the neuer so quiet, and officious; vnlesse the would yeeld to become their Subiect. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than vntill the Romans could finde some good aduantage, to renew the Warre: it was rather desired by the Carthaginians, that whilest their owne state was in good case, the warre should beginne; than that in some vnhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great losse of Armie or Fleet, they should be driuen to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to giue away basely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, vpon termes of disadvantage.

This disposition of his Countymen, Hannibal well vnderstood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deuised of this businesse) that in making warre with the Romans, it was no small aduantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Armie into Italie, without molestation; there was good hope, that he should finde friends and assistants, euen of those people, that helped to increase the Roman armies in forreigne wars. But this could neuer be effe.

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cted, if the matter were openly disputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad soever they would be to hear that he had let the warre on foote, would neuertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which it should happen they were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discussed of, in procuring allowance to his designe. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege vnto *Saguntum*; which might seeme not greatly to concerne the *Romans*; and would highly please the *Carthaginians*, that had fresh in mind the indignitie, of that *Spanish* Townes alliance with their false friends. So should hee assaile both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his owne Citizens.

Having thus concluded, he neuertheless went faire and orderly to worke: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approached vnto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (saith *Luise*) to giue some colour to his proceedings; as if he had not principally intended the warre, against *Saguntum*, but had beene drawne thither by course of businesse. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needfull to finish the Conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should prouoke the *Romans*. First therefore he entred vpon the Territorie of the *Oleades*; and hauing besieged *Althaa* (*Luise* calleth it *Cartera*) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Master not onely thereof, but of all the other townes of their Countrey. This Nation which he first vnderooke, being subdued, and the winter at hand, he refted his Armie in *New Carthage*, or *Carthagena*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the spoiles he had gotten in his late conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the warre against the *Vacei*: and without any great difficultie, wanne first *Salamantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, *Abrucala*, by assault: though not without a long siege, and great difficultie. But in his returne, he was put to the heighth, both of his courage, and of his Martiall iudgement. For all such of the *Vacei*, as were able to beare armes, being made desperate by the spoiles of their Countrey, with those of *Salamanca*, and of the *Oleades*, that had escaped in the late overthrow, joyning themselves with the *Toletans*, compounded an Armie of an hundred thousand able men: and flayed *Hannibal* on the banks of the Riuer *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisbourne* in *Portugale*. These foure Nations, hauing had experience of *Hannibals* invincible courage, and that he neuer saw enemy, vpon whom hee durst not giue charge; were thoroughly resolved, that his naturall valour would at this time no lesse neglect the cold aduice of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to doe, when the like great occasion perswaded him to vse it. But hee that makes himselfe a bodie of Crytall, that all men may looke through him, and discern all the parts of his disposition; makes himselfe (withall) an Asse: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or driue him. Wile men, though they haue single hearts in all that is iust and vertuous; yet they are like coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that this subtle *Carthaginian*, when he serued vnder *Asdrubal*, was, of all the men of marke in the Armie, the most aduenturous. But that which may beseme a Captayne, or inferior Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe; though it hath sometime succeeded well with such great ones, as haue beene found more fortunate, than wise. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to diminish his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himselfe from the Riuer side, as if fearefull to foord it; thereby to draw out that great multitude, from their banks of aduantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in such sort, as *Hannibal* desired that they should; thrust themselves in furie and disorder into the swift streame, with a purpose to charge the *Carthaginians*; abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defences on the contrarie side. But when *Hannibal*

* A people (saith *Stephanus*) neare the Riuer of *Ebro*. But in the old description of *Spain*, in *Ortelius*, they are found neare *Tages*; and by *Strabo*, not far from *New Carthage*.
a A people of *Celtis*, the old.
b *Abrucala*, or *Abrucala*, an in and Cite of the *Vacei* in *Altaga*.

law them in their way, and well-near ouer; hee turned back his Elephants, to entertayne them at their landing: and thrust his Horſe-men, both aboue and beneath them, into the Riuer. Theſe, carrying a kinde of *Lance de gay*, ſharpe at both ends, which they held in the middle of the ſtaffe; had ſuch an aduantage ouer the foot, that were in the Riuer, vnder their ſtrokes, clattered together, and vnable to moue or ſhift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they ſlew all thoſe, (in a manner) without reſiſtance, which were already entred into the water; and purſued the reſt, that fled like men amazed, with ſo great a ſlaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that ſide the Riuer of *Iberus*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to liſt vp their hands againſt the *Carthaginians*.

- The *Saguntines*, perceiuing the danger towards them; cryed before they were hurt. They ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, and bemoaned themſelues, as likely to ſuffer that, which afterwards they ſuffered indeede; only becauſe of their alliance and friendſhip with this honourable Citie, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This ſaie moued the Senate: but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already beſieged. Hereupon ſome crye out, that Warre ſhould bee proclaimed by Land and Sea; as alſo that the two Conſuls ſhould be ſent with Armies, the one into *Spaine*, the other into *Africk*. But others went more *Roman-like* to worke; and carryed it. So it was only concluded; that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent into *Spaine*, to view the ſtate of
 20 their Confederates: which were indeede none other, than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended warre againſt *Rome*, it was likely, that he would giue them, ere it were long, a more plauſible occaſion to take armes againſt him: if hee had no ſuch purpoſe; yet would it be in their power, to determine what they liſted themſelues, vpon the report of theſe Embaſſadours; and this their grauitie, in being not too ralh at firſt, would ſerue to countenance their following Decree. Of theſe Embaſſadours *Liuius* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*; but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where alſo they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius*, an Hiſtorian of ſinceritie leſſe queſtionable, tels, that they found him at *Carthage*; and had conference with him, though ſuch as
 30 left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the reſt of *Hannibal* his whole courſe. And ſurely wee might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* ſhould afterwards admit a more peremptorie Embaſſage (as *Liuius* confeſſeth) and fall to diſputation about the covenants of peace; if they had reſected that which was ſent vpon none other pretence, than preuention of warre.

- Whileſt the Embaſſadours paſſed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not only his forces, but ſome *Roman* pretences, againſt *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that ſhould doe as the *Mamertines* in *Sicily* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his helpe againſt the *Saguntines*. Theſe were the *Turdetani*; a Nation adjoining to *Saguntum*, and hauing many quarrells with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himſelfe had hatched ſome. Finding there-
 40 fore ſuch an occaſion, whatſoener it was, as made him able to ſay, that the *Saguntines* had firſt prouoked him, ere he medled with them; he made no more ado, but ſate downe with his whole power before their Towne. Hee was now more ſecure, than he had formerly been, of his owne Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embaſſadours, with any trembling reuerence, as of late yeares they had beene wont. Neuertheleſſe, he was glad of any handſome colour, to ſhadow his actions: not only becauſe the warre, which he ſo much deſired, was not proclaimed, but that he might not be checked in his courſe, as an open enemy, before hee could
 50 ſet foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrarie deſire. They were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, ſhould thereby in ſhort ſpace become their owne. Yet were they not haſtie to threaten, before they were ready to ſtrike; but meant to temporize, vntill they had an Armie in readineſſe to be ſent into *Spaine*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the ſeat of the Warre.

In the meane while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King ouer a great part of *Ibryia*, rebelled against them: either for that hee found himselfe ouer-
 streightly tyed vp by them, with hard conditions; or rather because hee was of an
 vnthankfull disposition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterward, the fame
 of the *Carthaginian* warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons:
 whom he ought to haue defended and aided, in all perills, euen with the hazard of
 his whole estate, which hee had receiued of their gift. But hee was a Traitor to his
 owne Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had re-
 rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, and spoiled the Isles of *Greece*: a-
 gainst the coucnants to which he was bound. Then he aduentured further, and sei-
 ded vpon some places, that the *Romans* kept in their owne hands. If he had begunne
 sooner, or rather if he had staied somewhat longer, he might haue sped better. For
 the businesse with the *Gauls*, was ended; with *Hannibal*, not thoroughly begun: when
 he declared himselfe, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquished. The *Roman*
 Consul, *Emilius*, was sent against him: who in feuen daies wan the strong Towne
 of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought such terror vpon the Countrey round about, that
 Embassadors were sent from all places, to yeld themselves, without putting him to
 further paines. Only the Citie of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist:
 which it might haue done long, if the hot-headed Rebell had not bene too foolish.
Emilius landed a great part of his Armie, in the Isle of *Pharus*, by night; and be-
 bestowed them in couert; presenting himselfe the next morning, with twentie ships
 before the Towne, and offering to force the Hauens. *Demetrius* with all his power
 issued out against the Consul; and was soone intercluded from the Towne, by those
 that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths, to a creeke, where
 he had shipping readie for him, and embarked himselfe: leauing all his estate vnto
 them, of whose liberallitie he first had it.

This businesse, though it were soone dispatched, yet preuented it not the siege of
Saguntum; before which *Hannibal* satte downe, ere *Emilius* was landed in *Ibryia*. In
 the beginning of the siege, the *Carthaginians* were much discouraged, by reason of the
 braue sallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their Generall receiued a dan-
 gerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many daies vnable to moue. Ne-
 uertheless he was not vnmindfull of his worke in the meane while; but gaue order
 to raise certaine mouable Towers, that might equall those which were built on the
 walls of the Citie; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. These
 being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great and large breach
 was made, by the fall of diuers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot
 assault was giuen: but it was so well sustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians*
 were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Towne,
 which vpon the first furie they had won; but they were pursued euen to their owne
 trenches and camp. Neuertheless the *Carthaginian* Armie, wherein were about an
 hundred and fiftie thousand men, did so wearie the townsmen with continuall tra-
 uaille, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindered from taking full
 possession of the Citie, by some counter-worke of the *Saguntines*, that were also re-
 adie to be won. In this extremitie, there was one *Aleon* a *Saguntine*, that conueyed
 himselfe out of the Towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the condi-
 tions which the *Carthaginian* offered, were so seuer, and without all compasse of hon-
 our, as *Aleon* durst not returne to propound them to his countrimen. For *Hannibal*
 demanded all that they had; gold, siluer, plate, and other riches within the Citie:
 yea, the Citie it selfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that hee would
 assigne some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carrie out with
 them any other thing, wherewith to sustaine themselves, than the clothes on their
 backs; or other armes to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they
 farre better haue submitted themselves vnto this miserable appointment, (seeing
 thereby they might haue enioyed their liues, and saued the honor of their wiues and
 daughters)

daughters) than to haue eldest at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soone after they did: by whom their wives and daughters were deflowered before their faces; and all put to sword, that were about fourteen yeares of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and sell their blood at the dearest rate, they shut themselves up like most wretched creatures, in their owne houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying vnrunged. The treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Armie: the slaues, and other bootie, he diuided among his Souldiers; reseruing some things of choice, wherewith to present his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them vnto the Warre.

These tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*; who had good cause to bee angrie at their owne slownesse, in forbearing to send helpe vnto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight moneths, looking still for succour, in vaine. Wherefore they determined to reparaire their honour, by taking sharpe reuenge. To this end they sent Embassadors againe to *Carthage*: demanding only, whether it were by generall consent and allowance of the *Carthaginians*, that *HANNIBAL* had made warre vpon *Saguntum*; which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to giue them defiance. Hereunto answer was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect. That this their second Embassage, how soeuer qualified with milde words, was indeede more insolent than the former. For in that, they only required iustice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of *Carthage*, was vraged to pleade guiltie, or not guiltie. But (saide the *Carthaginian* speaker) whether the Generall of our Armie in *Spain*, in besieging *Saguntum*, haue only followed his owne counsaile; or whether he did it, by direction from vs: it is not the question which the *Romans* ought to aske vs. That which is indeede worthy examination or dispute, is; whether it were lawfull, or vnlawfull, for *HANNIBAL* to doe as hee hath done. For it belongs to vs, to call our owne Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errors; to you, to challenge vs, if wee haue done any thing contrarie to our late League and Contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Lucius* the 30 Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, betwene you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that haue taught vs, how to answer that particular. For what soeuer you found in the Treatie betwene vs and *Lucius*, to your owne disadvantage, you cast it vpon your Consuls presumption; as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of *Rome*. If then it bee lawfull for the *Romans*, to disauow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and precise warrant; the same libertie may we also assume, and hold our selues no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which *Asdrubal* hath made for vs, without our commendement and consent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meere caull. For *Lucius* the Consul, in his Treatie of peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expressly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had been therefore much better, to haue dealt plainly; and to haue alleaged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Isle of *Sardinia*, and withall of twelve hundred talents; which perjure the state of *Carthage*, being now growne able, would reuenge with open warre. As for the *Saguntines*; it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacie, and forthwith inserted their names into the Treatie of peace with *Asdrubal*: seeing that the Treatie with *Asdrubal*, and all other businesse betwene *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* injuries; as implying this commination, Doe
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whatsoeuer wee require, else will wee make warre, without regard of our oath, which wee haue already broken.

But this the *Carthaginians* did not allage, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Pythias* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Lini* himselfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of reuenge: we may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this iniurie was omitted, not so much vpon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought conuenient, by ripping vp such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the warre, now towards, had long bene thought vpon, and like to be made with extraordinary force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moued the *Roman* Embassadors, to deliuer vnto them in plaine termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering vp the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had bene laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I haue here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and Warre: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Euen which of them you your selfe haue a fancie to offer vs. Marrie then (quoth *Fabius*) take the Warre, and sharc it among you. Which all the Assembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolved to make warre, it was merely frivolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, haue euer bene maintayned by the partie vnwilling, or vnable to sustaine the warre. The rustie sword, and the emptie purse, doe alwaies pleade performance of covenants. There haue bene few Kings or States in the World, that haue otherwise vnderstood the obligation of a Treatie, than with the condition of their owne advantage: and commonly (seeing peace betweene ambitious Princes, and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the best-advised haue rather begunne with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henrie* the second, of *France*, with the *Imperials*, when he wrote to *Brisac*, to surpris as many places as he could, ere the warre brake out; *Don Iohn*, with the *Netherlandes*; and *Philip* the second, of *Spaine*, with the *English*, when in the great Imbarge he tooke all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditarie desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being readie to take his iourne into *Spaine*, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortall hatred, and to worke them all possible mischief, as soone as he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old, when his father caused him to lay his hand vpon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no meruaile, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacie, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that some of those Kings; with whom wee are now in peace, haue received the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of *England*.

§. II.

HANNIBAL takes order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africk*.
His iourne into *Italie*.



Arre being thus proclaymed, *Hannibal* resolved, not to put vp his sword, which hee had drawne against the *Saguntines*, vntill hee had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of *Rome*. So began the second *Pannick Warre*; second to none, that euer the Senate and People of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintred at *Carthage*; where he licensed his *Spanish* Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the meane while he gaue instructions to his brother *Asdrubal*, for the gouernement of *Spain* in his absence. Hee also tooke order, to send a great many troupes of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, to equall the numbers of *Africans* formerly drawne thence into *Spain*; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he transported into *Africk* thirteen thousand, eight hundred, and fiftie foot, and twelue hundred horses; also eight hundred lingers of the *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected foure thousand foot, all yong men, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of *Spain*; which he appointed to be garnisoned in *Carthage* it selfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serue for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the *Spanish* Citizens, and those that swayed most in their seuerall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. Hee also left with his brother, to guard the coasts and Ports, fiftie and seuen Gallies; whereof thirtie seuen were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of *Africans*, and other Nations strangers, he left with him aboue twelue thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twentie Elephants.

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africk*; he sent Discourers before him, to view the passages of the *Pyrenean* Mountaines, and of the *Alpes*. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtaine a quiet passage: that he might bring his Armie entire into *Italie*, and not be compelled to diminish his forces, by any warre in the way, till hee came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embassadors, and Discourers, being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past over the Riuer of *Iberus*, with an Armie consisting of fourescore and ten thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse. All those parts of *Spain*, into which he had not entred before, hee now subdued: and appointed *Flanno* (not that old enemy of his house, who fate still at *Carthage*) to gouerne *Spain* on the East side of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Armie of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, some of his *Spanish* Souldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that others might not also doe, or attempt, hee courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the iourne seemed the lesse tedious vnto those that accompanied him; as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his armie, consisting now but of fiftie thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, he past the *Pyrenes*, and entred into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered vpon *Spain*, readie in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrie: but wonne them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed vpon their Leaders, to fauour his Expedition. So without any molcistation, hee came to the banke of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each side of the Riuer, a people called *Voles*. These were vnacquainted with the cause of his coming; and therefore sought to keepe him from passing ouer the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those *Gauls*, that inhabited on the West side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Vuarets* and *Lionnois*. For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods, into the Countrie of *Dauphine*, thinking to defend the further banke against him: yet such as remained, being desirous to free their Countrie of so many ill guests,

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were better pleased to haue their Countreimen beaten, which had abandoned them, than to haue their owne store of corne and cattaille wasted, by the long stay of so great an Armie, as lay vpon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more easie passage, higher vp the Riuer; and lent him guides. When the vessels for transportation of his Armie were in readinesse; he sent *Hanno*, the sonne of *Bomilear*, vp the Riuer: himselfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Foorde below. The end of this labour was: that *Hanno* charging the *Gauls* vnawares vpon their owne side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the Riuer in their faces, the further banke was wonne, though with some difficultie; and the enemies disperfed. Yet was hee greatly troubled in conueying ouer his Elephants; who meruailously feared the water. He was therefore drun to make rafles of trees, and couer them with earth and turfe; whereof hee fastened one to each banke, that might serue as a bridge, to and from another, of the same sort, but loose, vpon which the beafts were towed ouer.

Having past this first brunt, and ouer-come both the rage of the Riuer, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Gauls Cisalpine*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Atlan*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. These informed him of the passages of the *Alpes*, that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he receiued guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding; hee found himselfe extremely incumbered by 20 the *Saxons*: and lost, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainely assailed by them, before he could recouer the plaine Countries on the other side. And whereas this iourne ouer the Mountaines cost him fiftene dayes trauaile, he was euery day, more or lesse, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withall, extremely beaten with grievous weather and snow: it being in the beginning of Winter, when he beganne, and ouer-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plaines, which were now readie to receiue them; with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, who by their proper forces had so often invaded the *Roman* Territorie; gaue them great comfort, and encouragement to goe on: hauing no- 30 thing else of difficultie remayning, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to ouer-come, by their proper valour and resolution; namely the *Roman* Armies, and resistance.

§. III.

*How the Romans in vaine solicited the Spaniards and Gauls to take their part.
The rebellion of the Cisalpine Gauls against the
Romans.*

THe Countries of *Spaine* and *Gaul*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus farre, had beene solicited before, by the same *Roman* Embassadors, who had denounced the warre at *Carthage*. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, tooke *Spaine* in their way homeward from *Carthage*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least, to dissuade them from contracting any friendship with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted, were the *Possicians*, a people in *Spaine*; from whom, in open assembly, they receiued by one that spake for the rest, this vncomfortable answer. With what face (saith he) can yee *Romans* perswade vs to vaeleu your Alliance, or to preferre it before the friendship of the *Carthaginians*; seeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wise, than so? For they, relying on your faith, and promised assistance, haue beene vterly rooted out, and destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they

they might else haue held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spaine* haue found them. Yee may therefore be gone, with this resolution from vs, That for our parts (and so I thinke may answer for the rest of our Countymen) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kinnesse at our handes: who are resolved, neuer to make account of their protection, nor amitie. From the *Pelicians*, the Embassadors tooke their way towards the *Gauls*; vsing their best arguments to perswade them, not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to passe into *Italie*, through their Territorie: and withall greatly glorifying themselves, their strength, and large Dominion. But the *Gauls* laugh't them to scorn, and had hardly the patience, to heare them speake. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibals* passage into *Italie*, entertaine a warre which is not meant to be made against vs? Shall we hold the warre among our selues, and in our owne Territorie, by force, which marcheth with a speedie pace from vs, towards our ancient enemies? Haue the *Romans* deserued so well of vs, and the *Carthaginians* so ill, that wee should set fire on our owne houses, to saue theirs from burning? No, wee know it well, that the *Romans* haue already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territorie and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enemies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor wetchem.

10 With this vnpleasing answer the Embassadors returned home: carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather some assurance from the people of *Masilia*, which were Confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine Gauls* gaue hastie proofe. For when the newes was brought into *Italie*, that the *Carthaginians* had passed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone sufficed to stirre vp the *Boij*, and *Insubrians*, against the *Romans*. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman Colonies*, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territorie. Relying therefore vpon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had giuen to the *Romans*, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it seemes that they could not winne; for *Hannibal* shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countrey) to flee to *Modena*: where they besieged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time; when the *Gauls*, hauing little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed wearie, and seemed desirous to haue peace, and to come to some good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand vpon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeeme their hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the *Romans* sent out Embassadors to treat with them, and to conlude a peace; whom they detayned. *Attilius* the

40 Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the reliefe of the besieged. But the *Gauls*, hauing laid a strong ambush in a wood ioyning to the way, fel vpon the Prætor so opportunely as he was vnderly ouerthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place; a few excepted, that recovered, by fast running, a little village, but defensible, vpon the Riuer of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Attilius*, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent, to relieue the besieged, with one Legion, and fise thousand of the *Roman* associates: which forces were taken out of the Consuls Armie, and supplied by a new leuie.

As the *Gauls* were too rash and hattie: so were the *Romans* too slow, and indeede too ill-aduised, in the beginning of this warre. They were not perswaded, that *Carthage*, which had almost seruilently endured so many indignities, in time of belate peace; would be so braue and couragious on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of *Italie* it selfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls, to make warre in *Spaine*, the other in *Affrick*: resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* tooke his way toward *Affrick*, with an hundred and three score *Quinquereines*, or Gallies,

lies, of siue to an Oare; which preparation may seeme to threaten euen the Citie of Carthage, to which it shall not come neare. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Prouence*; and vsed such diligence, hauing the winde also fauourable, as in siue dayes he recovered *Masilia*. There hee was aduertised, of *Hannibal* his hauing passed the Riuer of *Rhodanus*; whom hee thought to haue found busie yet awhile in *Spain*. *Hannibal* had also newes of the Consuls arrivall: whereof he was neither glad, nor forrie; as not meaning to haue to doe with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts, to discover the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about siue hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were 10 beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly bragge, hauing slaine only two hundred, and lost of their owne, one hundred and fortie. But when *Scipio* drew neare, to haue met with the *Carthaginians*; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as hee then found assuredly true) with an intent to looke vpon the walls of *Rome*. This interrupted his intended voiage into *Spain*. Neuertheless hee sent away thither his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Armie, to trie what might bee done against *Asdrubal*, and the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in that Countrie. He himselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to *Pisfa*; and passing through *Tuscanie* into *Lumbardie*, drew together the broken troups of *Manlius* and *Attilius*, that lately had bene beaten by the 20 *Gauls*: with which forces he made head against the enimie, thinking to finde him over-laboured, with trauaile of his painefull iourne.

§. II II.

SCIPIO the Roman Consul over-come by HANNIBAL at Ticinam. Both of the Roman Consuls beaten by HANNIBAL, in a great battaile at Trebia.

TWELVE moneths *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious iourne from *Carthage*. 30 *na*; what great multer he could make, when hee had passed the *Alpes*, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twentie thousand; others report them to haue been only twentie thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, in his Monument which he raised, in the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter summe. Yet the *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyned with him, are likely to haue mightily increased his Armie, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirtie thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all saue those remembered by himselfe in 40 the Inscription of his Altar in *Iuno's* Temple, are like to haue perished, by diseases, enemies, Riuers, and Mountaynes; which mischiefs had deuoured, each, their seuerall shares.

Having newly passed the *Alpes*, and scarce refreshed his wearied Armie in the Countrie of *Piemont*, he sought to winne the friendship of the *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held warre at that time with the *Insabrians*, which were his good friends; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amitie. Wherefore he assaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three dayes. Their spoile serued well to hearten his Armie; and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gauls*, without more ado, fell vnto his side: many for feare, many 50 for good-wil, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Countrie: which joyned, or was all in a readinesse to joyne, with the *Carthaginians*; when the newes of *Scipio* the Consul his arrivall, made some to be more aduised, than the rest. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in those quarters; what

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a These dwell about Turin, a goodly City, now subiect vnto the Duke of Savoy: which from thence took the name of *Auzim* or *Taurinam*.

was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Consul was already gotten through the most defensible passages, ere any speech had been heard of his approach: many fate full, for very feare, who else would haue concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for greater feare, offered their seruice against the *Carthaginians*, whom neuerthelesse they wished well to speede.

This wauering affection of the Prouince, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals halten to the triall of a battaile. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pausa*; where each of them wondred at the others great expedition; *Hannibal* thinking it strange, that the Consul, whom he had left behinde him on the other side of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before hee had well warmed himselfe in the Plainess; *Scipio* admiring the strange aduenture of passing those Mountaynes, and the great spirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed, at *Hannibals* successe, and sudden arriuall. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all haile vnto *Sempronius*, the other Consul, that was then in *Sicilia*; giuing him to vnderstand hereof; and letting him further know, that whereas he had beene directed to make the warre in *Africa*, it was now their pleasure that hee should forbear to prosecute any such attempt, but that hee should returne the Arme vnder his charge, with all possible speede, to saue *Italia* it selfe. According to this order, *Sempronius* sent off his Fleet from *Lilybaum*; with direction to land the Arme at *Ariminum*, a Port Towne not farre from *Rauenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haile. In the meane while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come so neare, that fight they must, ere they could part alunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the best arguments they had: vnto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetorick of a present example, that he shewed vpon certaine prisoners of the *Savoyans*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into *Italia*. For these, hauing borne no lesse miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to be deliuered from their miseries by any kinde of present death; were brought into the middle of the Arme: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were slaine; with condition, being the Victor, to receiue his libertie, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftaines of the *Gules* were wont to vse in single combats. Euerone of these vnhappie men wished, that his owne lot might speede; whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolutely: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and hauing none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilld not how equally: for all these poore creatures were willing, vpon whatsoever vneuen termes, to ridde themselves out of slauierie. T he same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them; wrought also vpon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the spectacle was ordayned. For they deemed happie, not only him, that by winning the victorie had gotten his libertie, together with an horse and armour: but euen him also, who being slaine in fight had escaped that miserable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. T heir Generall perceiving what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them; beganne to admonish them of their owne condition, speaking to this effect. T hat he had laid before them an example of their owne estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the same fortune, that these slaues had done; all to liue victorious and rich, or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed far more grievous) to liue in a perpetuall slauierie: T hat none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himselfe any hope of life by flight; since the Mountaines, the Ri- uers,

uers, the great distance from their owne Countries, and the pursuit of mercilesse Enemies, mult needes retrench all such impotent imaginations. He therefore praied them to remember, that they, who had euen now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their owne case; seeing there was neuer any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had euer bene broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrarie, he told them, that the *Romans*, who were to fight vpon their owne soile, and in view of their owne Townes; who knew as many waies to saue themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necessitie, (to which nothing seemes impossible) did no way presse them, or constraïne them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantiall argument, That there was no meane, betwene *Victorie* and *Death*, encourage his Companions. For (saith a great Captayne of France) la comodité de la retraite aduance la fuite; The commoditie of a retreat, doth greatly aduance a flat running away.

Scipio, on the other side, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to vse the best arguments and reasons hee could, to encourage the Armie heled: putting them in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had preuailed; and ouer how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armie commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late warre they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to consider, that at this time it was not only diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of *Brigants* and *Theues*, than an Armie like to encounter the *Romans*; but so weather-beaten, and starued, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustayne the first charge that should be given vpon them. Nay (saide he) yee your selues may make iudgement what daring they have now remayning, after so many traualles and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the *Rhone*, their horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driuen back to the very Trenches of their Campe, but *Hannibal* himselfe, fearing our approach, ranne head-long towards the *Alpes*: thinking it a lesse dishonour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the sharpe swordes of the *Romans*, which had so often cut downe his people, both in *Africa*, and in *Spain*.

It was not long after this, ere the two Generalls met: each being farre advanced before the grosse of his Armie, with his Horse; and the *Roman* hauing also with him some light armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discouered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* sent before him his horsemen of the *Gauls*, to beginne the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground betwene their troupes, to assist them: himselfe with his *Roman* men at armes, following softly in good order. The *Gauls* (whether delirous to trie the mettall of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get fauour of the *Romans*) behaved themselves courageously, and were as courageously opposed. Yet their foot that should haue aided them, thranke at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for feare of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding, the *Gauls* maintayned the fight, and did more hurt than they received: as presuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Consul vnmindfull to relieue them: their hardinesse deseruing his aide; and the hastie flight of those that should haue flood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore hee adventured himselfe so farre, that he received a dangerous wound; and had bene left in the place, if his sonne (afterward surnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others giue the honour of this rescue, to a *Ligurian* slave. Whilst the *Romans* were busied in helping their Consul; an vnexpected storme came driuing at their backs, and made them looke about how to helpe themselves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Nimidian* light horse, to giue vpon the *Romans* in flanke, and to com-

passé them about, whilst he with his men at armes sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in peeces the scattered foot, that ranne away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose lookes were fastened vpon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impression, the *Romans* were shuffled together, and rowed: so that they all betooke them to their speede, and left vnto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horse thus beaven, and the rest of his Armie thereby greatly discouraged; he thought it a point of wisdom, hauing lost so many of his Fleet vpon the first puffe of winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extremest of the tempest ouer-tooke him. For he saw by the lowring morning, what manner of day it was like to prove. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet vnbroken, hee in a manner stole the reitrait; and recouered the bridge ouer *Tiermus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, hee left sixe hundred of his R care behinde him: who were the last that should haue passed, and staid to breake the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of warre, *Si certamen quandoq; dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripit fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which must be vnderstood in this sort; If a Generall of an Armie, by some unprosperous beginnings doubt the successe; or finde his Armie fearefull or wauering; it is more profitable to scale a safe reitrait, than to abide the vncertaine enent of battaile.

It was two dayes after, ere *Hannibal* could passe the River; *Scipio* the whilst refreshing his men, and ealing himselfe of his wound in *Placentia*. But as soone as *Hannibal* presented his Armie before the Towne, offering battaile to the *Romans*, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their campe; the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for feare, gathered out of his feare courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-desired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than *Anercasus*, *Britomarus*, and the *Gessates*, were come to helpe them; if they had the hearts to helpe themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell vpon the *Roman* campe; wounded and slew many; especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate; with whose heads in their hands, they fled out to the *Carthaginians*, and presented their seruice. *Hannibal* receiued them exceeding courteously, and dismist them to their owne places: As men likely to bee of more vse to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other seruice at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consul scale a reitrait, as hee had done before; but not with the like ease and securitie. *Hannibal* had a good eye vpon him; and ere he could get farre, sent the *Numidians* after him: following himselfe with all his Armie. That night the *Romans* had receiued a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedie of spoile, had not staid to ransack their campe; and thereby given time to all, saue some few in R care, that were slaine or taken, to passe the River of *Trebia*, and saue themselves: *Scipio* being both unable to trauell by reason of his wound, and withall finding it expedient to attend the coming of his fellow-Consul; incamped himselfe strangely vpon the banks of *Trebia*. Necessitie required that he should so doe; yet this diminished his reputation. For euery day, more and more of the *Gauls* fell to the *Carthaginian* side; among whom came in the *Bois*, that brought with them the *Roman* Cōmissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as Pledges, to redeme their owne Hostages: but now they deliuer them vp to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whose helpe they conceiued better hope of recouering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, *Hannibal*, being in great scarcitie of victualles, attempted the taking of *Clatidium*, a Towne wherein the *Romans* had laid vp all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brundisius*, whom the *Romans* had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a little monie.

The newes of these disasters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, ra-

ther with a desire of hastie reuenge, than any great sorrow for their losse received; seeing that, in a manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore bailed away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Ariminum*, where the Armie, by him sent out of *Scilla*, awaited his comming. He therefore halted thither; and from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him vpon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Consuls deuised about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiuing from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibals* arrivall; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or misadventure the *Romans* weretherein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treason of 10 the *Gauls*.

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Sempronius, having received from *Scipio* the state of the affaires in those parts; sought by all meanes to trie his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glorie of the victorie, which he had already in his imagination, certainly obtainned. He also feared the election of the new Consuls: his owne time being well-near expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the contrarie; objecting the vnskilfulness of the new-come *Souldiers* and withall gaue him good reason, to assure him, that the *Gauls*, naturally vncoustant, were vpon termes of abandoning the partie of the *Carthaginians*; those of them inhabiting betwene the Rivers of *Trebia*, and *Po*, being already revolted. 20 *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to finde out the dishonour, which he might other wise easily haue avoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*, who feared nothing so much as delay and losse of time. For the strength of his Armie, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*; he no lesse feared the change of affection in the one, than the impetience of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many passions mouing them to turne their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*; it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gauls* inhabiting neare vnto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as hee supposed that 30 they might haue done; although hee daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at libertie, hee had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his wordes, he was bold to be his owne Caruer; and tooke from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Herevpon they fled to the *Romans* for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to ioyne with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their fullhood, and was assured of their mutabilitie. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honour of *Rome*, to preserve the Confederates from suffering injuries: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gauls*. 40 Therefore he lent out a thousand horse: which coming vnlooked for vpon *Hannibal* his foragers, and finding them heauie laden, cut many of them in peeces, and chased the rest euen into their owne campe. This indignitie made the *Carthaginians* fallie out against them: who caused them to retire faster than they came: *Sempronius* was readie to back his owne men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did this like: So that at length, all the *Roman* Armie was driue forth; and a battaile readie to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victorie (for so the Consul would haue it called) made the *Romans* in generall desirous to trie the maine chance in open field: all the perswasions of *Scipio* to the contrarie notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was aduertised by the *Gauls*, his spies, that were in the *Roman* Campe. Therefore he bethought himselfe how to helpe forward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces. He found in the hollow of a water-courle; ouer-growne with high reeds, a fit 50 trench

trench to couer an ambush. Thereinto he call his brother *Mago*, with a thousand choice horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Armie, after they had well warned, and well fed themselves, in their campe, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, he had sent ouer *Trebi* some companies of *Numidian* light horse: to braue the enemie, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was readie to take any opportunitie to fight; and therefore not only issued out of his campe, but forded the River of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of foode, did so enfeeble and coole their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the *Latines*: hauing of the one, sixteen, of the other, twentie thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse: thrusting their light armed, and Darters, in loose troops in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vanguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot, were in a manner equal to their enemies; in horse, they had by farre the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the *Roman* horse, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their fooe were charged both in front and flanke, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Elephants*; when finally the whole Armie was vnawares prest in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush: then fell the *Romans*, by heapes, vnder the enemies swordes; and being beaten downe, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the horse-men that pursued them, there escaped no more of sixe and thirtie thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errors *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deserved to be recompensed with the losse that followed. The first was, that hee fought with *Hannibal* in a Champane, being by farre inferiour in horse, and withall thereby subiect to the *African* Elephants, which in inclosed or vn-even grounds, and woodlands, would haue bene of no vse. His second error was, that he made no discouerie of the place vpon which he fought; whereby he was grossly over-reachd, and insuared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his foot-men with emptic stomachs, in the River of *Trebia*, euen in a most cold and frostie day, whereby in effect they lost the vse of their limbs. For as one saith well; *There is nothing more inconuenient and perillous, then to present an Armie, tyred with trauaile, to an enemie fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generosity of minde is but as an impenetrable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Armie, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding raynie, from the *Carthaginians*; who either perceiued him not, because of the shewes; or would not perceiue him, because they were ouer-weari'd. *Sempronius* escaped with extreme danger; flying through the Countrie that was ouer-runne by the enemies horse. Hee was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer, than could haue made resistance, if the enemie had met with him. Neuertheless hee got away, and came to *Rome*, where hee did his office in choosing new Consuls for the year following: and then returned into his Prouince, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

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The departure of HANNIBAL from the Cisalpine Gaules into Hetruria.
 FLAMINIUS the Roman Consulaine, and his Armie destroyed
 by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of
 Trasymen.

THe Winter growing on apace, was very sharpe, and vsfit for seruice: to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who being not able to keepe the field, lay warme in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet: but vexed them with continuall alarmes; assaying diuers places; taking some; beating the *Gaules* their adherents; and winning the *Ligurians* to his partie, who presented him, in token of their faithfull loue, with two *Roman* Quæstors or Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen the Sonnes of Senatours, which they had intercepted. These, and in generall all such Prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in stright places, loden with yrons, and miserably fed: those of their followers hee not only well entreated, but sent them to their Countries without ranfome; with this protestation, That he therefore undertooke the Warre in *Italie*, to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these meanes hee hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and assistance. But the *Gaules* were not capable of such persuasions. They stood in feare, lest hee should make their Countie the seat of the Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding vpon them, and wasting their Territorie. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gaue him the aduice, were readie soone after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to vse Perwigs of haire, and false beards of diuers colours, to the end that he might not be described, nor known, to those that should undertake to make him away. Faine hee would haue passed the *Apennines*, vpon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarrie among the *Gaules*, till hee had seene more Swallows than one. At length, when the year was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leaue of these giddie Companions, and bring the warre nearer to the gates of *Rome*. So away he went, hauing his Armie greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gaules*; more seruicable friends abroad, than in their owne Countie. That the passage of the *Apennine* Mountaines was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet since the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell vpon *Hannibal*, when hee was trauieling through and ouer them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremitie of Winter, that makes all wayes foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that journey. Neuerthelesse to auoid the length of way, together with the resistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to haue bene erected vpon the ordinarie passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to trauiile through the Fennes and rotten grounds of *Tuscanie*. In those Marishes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants, save one, together with the vse of one of his eyes; by the moistnesse of the aire, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe mire and water. In briefe, after hee had with much adoe recovered the firme and fertile Plaines; he lodged about *Arretium*: where hee somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the *Roman* Consuls.

C. Flaminius, and Cn. Seruilius had of late bene chosen Consuls for this year: Seruilius, a tractable man, and wholly gouerned by aduice of the Senate; Flaminius,

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an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as hee thought) of his Consulship, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be served so againe, vntil hee quickly finished the warre. This jealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his Office, lest his aduerlaries, by sayning some religious impediments, should detain him within the Citie, or finde other businesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour, that hee hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Towne; and meant to take possession of his Office, when the day came, at *Ariminum*. The *Fathers* (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, reuoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their injunction; and halting to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Arretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fierie disposition of this Consul, promised vnto *Hannibal* great assurance of victorie. Therefore he prouoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*: hoping thereby to draw him vnto fight, ere *Strutius* came with the rest of the Armie. All the Countrie betwene *Fesula* and *Arretium*, hee put to fire and sword, even vnder the Consuls nose; which was enough to make him sure, that would not haue sitten still, though *Hannibal* had bene quiet. It is true, that a great Captayne of *France* hath said; *Pays gaste v'esle pas perdus*. A wasted Countrie is not thereby lost. But by this waste of the Countrie, *Flaminius* thought his owne honour to be much impaired; and therefore aduanced towards the Enemy. Many aduised him (which had indeede bene best) to haue patience awhile, and stay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to heare: saying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* went, burning downe all *Italie* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore heooke horse; and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported, as ominous, that one of their Ensignes stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked vp by the Ensigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tullie* makes a jest: saying, that the cowardly knaue did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) hauing hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto. For he commanded, that it should be digged vp, if feare had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withall; whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this jealousy, both hee, and the Senate that gaue him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territorie of *Cortena*, as farre as to the Lake of *Thrasymene*, was on a light fire; which whilst the Consul thought to quench with his enemies blood, he pursued *Hannibal* so vnadvisedly, that he fell, with his whole Armie, into an ambush cunningly laid for him, betwene the Mountaines of *Cortena*, and the Lake. There was he charged vnawares, on all sides, (saue only where that great Lake of *Perusia*, permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flee from them) knowing not which way to turne, or make resistance. So was hee slaine in the place, accompanied with fiftene thousand dead carcases of his Countermen. About sixe thousand of his men, that had the Vanguard, tooke courage, as for the most part happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountaines. If these had returned, and given charge vpon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might haue greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which kindled by necessity, had wrought the effects of hardinesse, was well allwaged, when they ceased to despair, of sauing their liues by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweat, vpon the Hill-top; hearing vnder them a terrible noise, but not discovering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all the morning. When it grew toward noone, the aire was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellows. But they staid not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were defried, and attached by

the enemies horfe. This they should haue thought vpon sooner; since they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For defected they were, and *Maharbal* lent after them; who ouer-tooke them by night in a village, which hee surrounded with his horfe: and so they yielded the next day, rendering their armes, vpon his promise of their liues and liberties. This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirme; saying, that it was made by *Maharbal*, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their owne. For if it were lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to alter covenants, or adde vnto them what they listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be faine to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargain; as also to renounce their interest in *Sardinia*, and bee limited in their *Spanish* Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present aduantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* bee as *Roman*, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidioussnes gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it loofeth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thousand *Italian* prisoners, or thereabout, hee had in his handes: of which all that were not *Romans*, he set free without ranfome; protesting, as he did doe before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyrannie, that he had vndertaken this warre. But the *Romans* he kept in streight prison, and in fetters; making them learne to cate hard meat. This was a good way, to breede in the people of *Italie*, if not a loue of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this warre had not concerned the generall safetie, but only the preserving of her owne neck from the yoke of slaueirie, which her ouer-strong enemies would thrust vpon her, in reuenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by successe of many ages, is not lost in one or two battailes. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginian* can get any *Italian* Partisans.

Presently after the battaile of *Thrasymene*, *C. Centronius*, with foure thousand *Roman* horse, drew neare vnto the Campe of *Hannibal*. Hee was sent from *Ariminum*, by *Serulius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*: but coming too late, he increased only the misaduenture. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this companie; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great ouerthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost halfe of them, draue the rest vnto an high peece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yielded to mercie, the next day. *Serulius* himselfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the *Gauls*; against whom hee had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes were brought him, of his Colleagues ouerthrow and death in *Uetruvia*; that made him halten back to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the fruits of popular ieaousie, which perswaded the *Romans* to the yearelie change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are farre better taught by their owne errors, than by the examples of their fore-goes. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had beene taken but the yeare before, by this subtile *Carthaginian*; yet suffered he himselfe to be caught soon after in the same manner. He had also belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to be preuented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battaile, without helpe of his companion *Scipio*, had beene rewarded with shame and losse: else would he not, contrarie to all good aduice, haue been so hasty to fight, before the arriall of *Serulius*. If *Sempronius* had beene continued in his charge, it is probable that he would haue taken his companion with him the second time, and haue searched all suspected places, proper to haue shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Gouernement of France ten yeares, *Cesar* brought that mightie Nation, together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *Germans*, vnder the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there beene euery yeare a new Lieutenant sent, they would

would hardly, if ever, have been subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to informe it selfe, within one yeares compasse, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helpes, whereby to prosecute a warre to the best effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three yeares; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them have returned as wise, as they went out; others have profited more, and yet when they beganne but to know the first rudiments of Warre, and Governement, sitting the Countrey, they have beene called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath ever bene the course of the World, rather to follow old errors, than to examine them: and of Princes and Governours, to vp-hold their slothful ignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and peoples, though neither likenesse of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, have perswaded the imitation.

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¶ V I.

Now *Q. FABIVS* the Roman Dictator, sought to consume the force of *HANNIBAL*, by lingering warre. *MINUTIVS*, the Master, of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successful attempting, adventures rashly upon *HANNIBAL*; and as like to perish with his Armie, but rescued by *FABIVS*.

Greatly were the Romans amazed, at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparent; which threatened them in more terrible manner, than ever did warre, since *Rome* it selfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow; that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all *Italie* was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrell was not grounded upon hate: hee only sought honour, and fought (as it were) upon a braverie, demeaning himselfe like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* detested the whole Roman name; against which he burned with desire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, and his ability. Whitherto withstand, they fled vnto a remedie that had long bene out of vse, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject vnto comprell of the whole Citie. Wherefore this Officer was seldome chosen, but upon some extremitie, and for no longer time than fixe moneths. He was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consul (if he stood upon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the one Consul being dead, and the other too farre off, the People rooke upon them, as having supreme authority, to give the Dignitie by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the best reputed man of warre in the Citie. *Novum sacrum, novum consilium expetit*. Contrarie winds, contrarie courses. *Q. Fabius* chose *M. Minutius Rufus* Master of the horse: which Officer was customarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amisse in matter of religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion bene also good. But it were true (as *Livy* reports it) that the bookes of *Sybil* were consulted, and gave direction in this businesse of denotion; then must we beleue, that those bookes of *Sybil*, preserved in *Rome*, were dictated by an evil spirit. For it was ordayned, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to *Mars*, should be made anew, and amplified; as having not been rightly made before: also that great Plates should be vowed vnto *Jupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with other such trumperie. This vehem

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vehementie of superstition, proceedes alwaies from vehementie of feare. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly dis tempered with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their sonnes returne alive from *Thrasymene*, may serue to beare witnesse; though it bee more properly an example of motherly loue. The walls and towers of the Citie, were now repaired and fortified; the bridges vpon Riuers were broken downe; and all care taken, for defence of *Rome* it selfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*; word was brought, that the *Carthaginian* fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Against these *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Serulius* the Consul to put to sea; and taking vp all the ships about *Rome*, and *Ostia*, to pursue them: whilst he, with the Legions attended vpon *Hannibal*. Foure Legions he had leuied in haste: and from *Ariminum* he reueiled the Armie, which *Serulius* the Consul had conducted thither.

With these forth-with he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what aduantage the *Numidian* horse had ouer the *Romans*, he alwaies lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the meane while, pursuing his victorie, had ranged ouer all the Countrey, and vfed all manner of crueltie towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the sword, all that were able to beare armes. Passing by *Spoletum* and *Ancona*, he incamped vpon the *Adriatick* shores; refreshed his diseased, and ouer-trailed Companies; armed his *Africans*; alter the manner of the *Romans*; and made his dispatches for *Carthage*, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoiles that hee had gotten. Having refreshed his Armie; fed his horses; cured his wounded Souldiers; and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse heeles of the scratches, by walking their pallems in old wine: he followed the coast of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a Northerne Province of the Kingdome of *Naples*; spoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he ouer-ran, he had not taken any one Citie: only he had assailed *Spoletum*, a Colonie of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, presently gaue it ouer.

The malice of a great Armie is broken, and the force of it spent, in a great siege. This the *Protestant* Armie found true at *Poitiers*, a little before the battaile of *Moncousier*; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at *S. Jean d'Angely*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himselfe in any such enterprize, as should detain him, and giue the *Romans* leaue to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once hee was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of batterie. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battaile, as soone as he saw him; and prouoked him with all manner of brauado's. But *Fabius* would not bite. Hee well knew the differences, betwene Souldiers bred vp, ever since they were Boies, in warre and in blood, trayned and hardened in *Spain*, made proud and aduenturous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and such, as had no other seene the enemy, than been vanquished by him. Therefore hee attended the *Carthaginian* so neare, as hee kept him from stragling too farre; and preserved the countrey from vtter spoile. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and hee brought them first to looke on the *Lyon* a farre off, that in the end they might sit on his taile.

Now *Mintius* had a contrarie disposition, and was as fierce as *Flaminius*; taxing *Fabius* with cowardise and feare. But all stirred not this well-advised Commander. For wise men are no more moued with such noise, than with wind bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion, and danger, than to pursue misfortune: It wasteth it selfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Armie that desires battaile: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading, and the

- the victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to crosse the *Apenines*, and to fall upon the most rich and pleasant Territorie of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to adventure the *Roman* Armie in battaile: but being farre too weak in horse, he alwayes kept the Hills and fall grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no meanes draw this warie Dictator to fight; that the Winter came on; and that the towns stood firme for the *Romans*, whose Legions were in sight, though a-farre off; he resolved to rest his Armie, that was loaden with spoile, in some plentiful and assured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he must passe along by the Dictators campe, that hung ouer his head vpon the Hills of *Callicula*, and *Casilinum*: for other way there was none, by which hee might issue out of that goodly Garden-countrie, which hee had already waited, into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by meere error of his guide, that he first entred within these streights. For he would haue bene directed vnto *Casilinum*, whence he might both assaye the faire Citie of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises vnder hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming neare it to prevent him. But his guide mis-vnderstood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Casilinum* to *Casilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now beganne the wisdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap; and wonne the victorie, without blows. But
- 10 *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himselfe; by a slight inuention, yet seru-
ing the turne as well as a better. In driving the countrie, he had gotten about two thousand Kine; whose hornes hedressed with drie faggots, and setting fire to them in the darke night, caused them to be driuen vp the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible especially to those that knew it to be the worke of a terrible enemy. What it should meane, *Fabius* could norrell: but thought it a deuice to circumuent him; and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill-tops, were horribly afraid, when some of these fierie Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ranne therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behinde their backs, and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no lesse afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Armie, recovered sure ground, without molestation: where he stayed till the next morning; and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmiter. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his iourne towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, between him and the Citie, whilst the *Carthaginian* waited all the Plains. The *Carthaginian* tooke *Geryon*, an old ruinous Towne in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants; which he turned into Barnes and Store houses for winter, and incamped vnder the broken walls. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about some businesse of Religion, and left the
- 40 Armie in charge with *Mintius*, the Master of the horse.
- Mintius* was glad of this good occasion to shew his owne sufficiency. Hee was fully perswaded, that his *Romans*, in plaine field, would be too hard for the *Affricans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had bene soiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtiltie and ambush, which he thought him selfe wise enough to prevent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred by iudgement of the Souldiers, in worthinesse to command, before the cold and warie *Fabius*. In this iollitie of conceit, hee determined to fight. Yet had hee bene peremptorily forbidden so to doe, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme perill of death. But the honour of the victorie, which hee held vndoubtedly his owne; the loue of the Armie; and the friends that he had at home bearing Office in *Rome*, were enough to saue him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter neuer so hainously. *Hannibal* on the other side was no lesse glad, that he should play with a more a-luenerous gamester. Therefore hee drew neare: and to proucke the *Romans*, sent forth a third part of his Armie to waite the
- 50 Countrie.

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Country. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seemed, that he now despised those whom hee had so often vanquished. There was a peece of high ground betwene the two camps; which because it would bee commodious to him that could occupie it, the *Carthaginians* seized vpon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plaine force, wanne it from them the next day; and entrenching himselfe thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

The maine businesse of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horses, which hee knew to bee the chiefe of his strength; that he might keepe them in good heart against the next Sommer: if besides this he could giue the *Romans* another blow; it would increase his reputation, encourage his owne men, terrifie his enemies, and giue him leaue to forrage the Countrey at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his campe, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This advantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and setting it in order presented battaile to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, euen at his owne Trenches. His horse, and all his light Armature, diuided into many companies, hee sent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed ouer all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no resistance. This angered *Hannibal*, that was not able to helpe them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* tooke heart to assaile his Trenches. They perceived that it was meer weakenesse, which held him within his campe, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This emboldened *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom neuertheless hee did not fuch hurt, as hee had received.

For this peece of seruice *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the People at *Rome*, to whom he sent the newes, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Armie had recovered spirit, so farre forth that it dared to set vpon *Hannibal* in his owne campe; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as farre out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that hee had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: sauing that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeede in no other thing hee had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyfull of a little good luck, as angrie with the breach of discipline; and fearefull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. Hee said that hee knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise; and make him giue account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence; the other, taught men to be warie. Against these Sermons euery one cried out; especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speake; and doe what he list, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our only Man, chosen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Italie* to be wasted before his eyes, to the vtter shame of our State; vnlesse he also hinder others, from doing better than himselfe can, or dares? It were good to consider what he meanes by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* hee hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Scruilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and Hee, haue as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeede forborne to spoile some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into enuie and suspition) and the Dictator giuing him leaue to spoile all others, without impeachment.

peachment. Surely his drift is even this; He would haue the warre to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and haue the sole Gouernement both of our Citie, and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonaltie of Rome, which gaue him this authoritie, should againe take it from him, and conferre it vpon one more worthie. But lest, in mouing the people hereto, I should seeme to doe him iniurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will only prouide, that the Master of the Horse may be joyned in equall authoritie, with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor lesse necessarie, than was the electing of this Dictator, by the People.

- 10 Though all men, even the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publike, was lesse than very honourable. Whereas therefore in the manner, in passing of any Act, that some man of credit and authoritie, besides the Propounder, should stand vp, and formally deliver his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both vnto a worthie Personage, and (there withall) vnto that Dignitie, whose great power had freed the State at severall times, from the greatest dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the yeare before had bene Praetor, was glad of such an opportunity, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonne of a Butcher; afterwards became a shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brabbings, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being aduanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobilitie fauoured his very basenesse. And now hee thought the time was come, for him to give an hard push at the Consullship; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or fauouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot inuective, not only against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobilitie; saying, that it grieued them to see the people doe well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them, in matter of Gouernement; that they sought to humble the Commons by pouertie, and to impouerish them by warre, especially by warre at their owne dores, which would soone consume every poore mans living, and finde him other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore he had them to be wile: and since they had found one, (this worthie Master of the horse) that was better affected, vnto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deserts; and giue him authoritie, accordingly as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled, to proceede as he had begunne. So the Act passed.
- 30 humble the Commons by pouertie, and to impouerish them by warre, especially by warre at their owne dores, which would soone consume every poore mans living, and finde him other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore he had them to be wile: and since they had found one, (this worthie Master of the horse) that was better affected, vnto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deserts; and giue him authoritie, accordingly as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled, to proceede as he had begunne. So the Act passed.

Before this busie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of a new Consul, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the roome of *C. Flaminius*; and having finished all requisite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the Multitude, in hindering the Decree. The newes of *Minutius* his aduancement, was at the campe as soone as *Fabius* was foorth his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, beganne to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to diuide their authoritie; whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them, succeeded diuinely, for some longer time, should command in chief. *Fabius* briefly told him, that it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equal to the Dictator; but that he should neuer be his superiour: He would therefore diuide the dignities with him, by lot, according to the custome. *Minutius* was not here with gearely pleased; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke such wonders, as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Neuertheless hee meant to doe his best; and forsaking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and an halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though *Lucius* seeme to taxe him for it) that he should so doe. For where two severall Commanders are not subordinate one vnto the other, nor ioynd

ned in Commission, but haue each entire and absolute charge of his owne followers, there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one campe shall not hold them both, without great inconuenience. *Polybius* neither findes fault with this diuision, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was vnwilling to command in chiefe successfullie (as the two Consuls vsed) with *Minutius*, by turnes. Hee saith that *Minutius* was very refractarie; and so proud of his aduancement, that continually hee opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to diuide the forces betweene them, as is said before, or else to haue command ouer all by course. This is likely to bee true. For natures impatient of subjection, when once they haue broken loose from the rigour of authoritie, loue nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein consisted the prooffe and assurance of their libertie.

It behoued the Matter of the horse, to make good the opinion which had thus aduanced him. Therefore he was no lesse carefull, of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of avoiding the necessitie. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired, could not long be wanting. The Countre lying betweene them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many, and spacious caues; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places, *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discouered. But lest by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize vpon a peece of ground, that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eies and thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needfull care, to businesse little concerning them. Like vnto this was the occasion, which, not long before, had prouoked *Minutius*, to aduenture vpon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his owne troupes with fresh companies) hee followed in person with the Legions. He was soone caught; and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retreat. In this dangerous case, whilest the *Romans* defended themselves, loosing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew neare, in very good order, to relieue them. For this old Captaine, perceiving a farre off, into what extremitie his new Colleague had rashly throwne himselfe, and his followers; did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Countre, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approue himselfe, by hastning to doe good, than by suffering his enemy to feele the reward of doing ill. Vpon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* rettyred: fearing to be well wetted with a shewre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himselfe to *Fabius*; by whose benefit hee conselled his life to haue beene saued. So from this time forwards, the Warre proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would haue it; both whilest his Office lasted; which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when hee deliuered vp his charge vnto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Consul had pursued in vaine a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which hee came neuer within kenning. He ranne along all the coast of *Italie*; tooke hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corficans*; passed ouer into *Affricke*; and there negligently falling to spoile the Countre, was shamefully beaten aboard his ships, with the losse of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, hee returned home by *Syracuse*; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Consul, where they tooke charge of the Armie.

§. VII.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the warre quickly, choose a rash and unworthie Consul. Great forces leued against HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL seeketh the Romans provisions in the Castle of Cannæ. The new Consuls set forth against HANNIBAL.



10 **W**ith little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in Rome, heare the great commendations, that were given to *Fabius* by the principall Citizens. He had indeed preferred them from receiving a great overthrow: but hee had neither finished the warre, nor done any thing in apparence thereto tending. Rather it might seeme, that the reputation of this his one worthie act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the worke to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custome, since it was neuer heard before, that any Roman Generall, had willingly suffered the time of his command to runne away without any performance: as if it were honorable to doe just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were readie every man, to discharge the griefe and anger of his owne private losse, vpon the ill administration of the publike.

This affliction of the people, was very helpfull to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoued him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his owne worth being little or none, and his credit ouer-weake, to make way into that high Dignitie. But the Commonaltie were then in such a moode, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, *Publius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to vse the libertie of his place, in saying what he listeth, without all regard of truth, or modestie. This bold Orator stuck not to affirme, that *Hannibal* was drawne into *Italie*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; that *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to haue beene overthrowne, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but had all beene joynt together, what they might haue done, it was apparent, by the victorie of *Minutius*, when he commanded ouer all, as Master of the horse; that without a *Plebeian* Consul, the warre would neuer be brought to an end; that such of the *Plebeians*, as had long since beene aduanced to honor by the people, were growne as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contemned the meaner sort, euer since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mightie; that therefore it was needfull to chosse a Consul, who should bee altogether a *Plebeian*, a meere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples loue, nor could with more, than to keep it, by well deseruing of them. By such perswasions, the Multitude was wonne, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to 40 the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure, to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honor; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, at tell out, or at least was alleged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared, from attending vpon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose: and he againe deposed; either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the *Fathers* desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to preuaile in choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* tooke name and being in Rome, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in vse at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the *Fathers*, or *Senators*, who at the first were an hundred, parted themselves into *Tens*, or *Decuries*; and gouerned successively, by the space of five daies, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Vigiles*, carrying 50 the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only vpon the chiefe of them with these Ensignes of power. This custome was retained, in times of the Consuls; and put in vse, when by death, or any casualtie, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the

old yeare, to substitute new for the yeare following. The aduantage of the *Fathers* herein was, that if the Election were notlike to goe as they would haue it, there needed no more, than to let slip five daies, and then was all to begin anew; by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well alluaged. Vpon such change of those, that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawfull vnto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publicly declare themselves to seeke those Offices. But no device would serue, against the generall fauour borne vnto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed ouer; and the malice of the *Fathers*, against the vertue (as it was belieued) of this meane, but worthie man, seemed so manifest, 10 that when the People had vrged the businesse to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Here vpon all the former Petitioners gaue ouer. For whereas men of ordinarie marke had stood for the place before; it was now thought meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpert, and bot-headed man, one of great sufficiency, and reputation, should be ioyned with him; as both Companion and Opposite. So *L. Aemilius Paulus*, he who few yeares since had ouercome the *Illyrians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was vrged by the Nobilitie to stand for the place: which he easily obtained, hauing no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honorable man, to trouble himselfe any more in such great busi- 20 nesse of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service; He, and *M. Lulius* that had been his companion in Office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the People, and called vnto iudgement: wherein *Lulius* was condemned, and *Aemilius* hardly escaped. But of this iniustice they shall put the *Romans* well in minde, each of them in his second Consulship, wherein they shall honorably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grieuous losse; the other bravely winning, in the most happie victorie, that euer befell that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence, in preparing for the warre: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders hee would worke, and that hee would aske no more, than once to haue a 30 sight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very fifth day; yet the prouidence and care of *Paulus*, traualled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote vnto the two old Consuls *Seruilus* and *Attilius*; desiring them to abstaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuertheless, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when hee and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now leuying, they might finde the foure old Legions well accustomed to the Enemy, and the Enemy well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refuse the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised it is vncertaine. Fourescore thousand foot, at the least, and sixe thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking vpon 40 *Hannibal*.

Here, the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their owne Mercenaries; so did he now send helpe to *Rome*, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantitie of Wheat, Barlie, and other provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mightie Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine; that stood vpright, by hauing them somewhat euently ballanced. He gaue them also counsaile, to send 50 forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that meanes they might diuert the warre from home. His gifts, and good aduice were louingly accepted; and instructions were giuen to *Titus Othacilius* the Prætor, which was to goe into *Sicily*, that hee should accordingly passe ouer into *Africa*, if he found it expedient.

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The great Leues, which the *Romans* made at this time, doe much more serue to declare their puissance, than any, though larger, account by Poll, of such as were not easily drawne into the field, and fitted for seruice. For besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicily*; twentie five thousand, with *L. Posthumus Albinus* another of the Prætors, went against the *Gauls*; to reclaime that Province, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedony*; requiring him to deliuer into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who hauing bene their
10 subject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdome. They also sent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was alreadye past. What answer they receiued, it is not knowne; only this is knowne, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent vnto them; and that *Philip* henceforth beganne to haue an eye vpon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* monie; by the shifts that they were driuen soone after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little soeuer) would haue bene welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cauilt about forfeiture for non payment of the whole.

While the Citie was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as near vnto *Hannibal*, as possibly they could, without incurring the necessitie of a battaile. Many
20 skirmishes they had with him; wherein their successe, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other seruices, but was indeede the occasion, to draw on the miserie following. *Hannibal*, for the most part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*, where lay all his force for the Winter. The *Romans*, to be neare him, lodged about *Cannussum*; and, that they might not be driuen to turne aside for all necessities, to the losse of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Cattle of *Cannus*: for the towne was razed the yeare before. This place *Hannibal* wanne; and thereby not only furnished himselfe, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, vnlesse they would bee troubled with farre carriage. Besides this, and more to his aduan-
30 tage, hee enabled himselfe to abide in that open Countrie, fit for the seruice of his horse: longer than the *Romans*, hauing so many mouthes to feede, could well endure to tarry; without offering battaile; which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Seruilus* had informed the Senate, letting them vnderstand, how this Peece, taken by *Hannibal*, would serue him to command no small part of the Countrie adjacent; it then seemed needfull, even vnto the *Fathers* themselves, to aduerture a battaile with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus to take roote in the ground of *Italye*. Neuerthelesse, ansuere was returned vnto *Seruilus*, that hee should haue patience yet awhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to doe as neede required.

40 When all things were readie in the Citie, and the season of the yeare comodious to take the field; the two Consuls, with their armie, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was alwaies done with great solemnitie: especially, whensoever they went forth to warre against any noble or redoubted Enemie. For Sacrifices, and solemne Vowes, were made vnto *Iupiter*, and the rest of their Gods, for good successe and victorie: which being performed; the Generals, in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, not only such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaryes, for loue, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home, were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leaue-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the *Fathers*, and the whole Nobilitie, waited vpon *Emilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthe of
50 this honor, or likely to doe his countrie remarkable seruice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens: a troupe no lesse in greatnes, than the other was in dignitie. At the parting; *Fabius* the late Dictator, is said to haue exhorted the Consul *Paulus*, with many graue wordes, to shew his magnanimitie, not

only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outrageous follie of his fellow-Consul. The answer of *Paulus* was, That hee meant not againe to ruine into danger of condemnation, by offending the Multitude; that he would doe his best for his Countrey; but if he saw his best were likely to be taken, Hee would thinke it lesse rashnesse to adventure vpon the Enemies sword, than vpon the malice of his owne Citizens.

VIII.
Diffension betwene the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that *Hannibal* was upon point of flying out of *Italie*, when the Romans possessed him to fight. The great battaile of *Cannæ*.

THese new Generals, arriuing at the Camps, dismissed *M. Attilius* one of the last yeares Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weakenes: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their Assistant. The first thing that *Emilius* thought necessarie, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good wordes; who out of their bad successe hitherto, had gathered more cause of feare, than of courage. He willed them to consider, not only now, their victories in times past against the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their owne great numbers: which were no lesse than all that *Rome* at the present was able to set forth. Hee told them in what danger their Countrey stood; how the late and lastie thereof, relied vpon their hands; vniing some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectuall part of his Oration was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Armie, had not yet obtained one victory by plaine force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambush he had stolne the honor, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thrasymene*. Here withall he taxed the inconsiderate rashnesse of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*, of whom the one saw not his enemies, vntill hee was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thicke mist, through the darknesse: whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. Finally, declaring what advantages they had against the Enemy; and how deliuitute the Enemy was of those helps, by vvich he had hitherto preuailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and doe their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of armes, gaue them cause to thinke, that vnder a Captaine so well experienced, and every way sufficient, as *Emilius* vvvas knowne to bee, they should easily preuaile against the *Carthaginians*: that came farr short of them in all things else, save craft; which vvould not alwaies thriue. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It vvvas his desire, that they should haue heart to fight; not that they should loose the patience of awaiting a convenient season. But they, hauing preconceived a victorie, thought all delaies to be impediments: and thereby sought to robbe themselves of their best helpe; vvich vvvas, good conduct. They remembered vbat talke they had heard at *Rome*: and were themselves affected vvith the Vulgar desire, of ending the vvvar quickly; wherein since *Emilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbear to vse it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Consul *Teren- tianus*, vvho vvvas no lesse popular in the Campe, than he had been in the Citie. Expectation is alwaies tedious; and neuer more, than vvhen the Event is of most importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Armie, to bee freed from the doubtful Passions of Hope and Feare: therefore *Teren- tianus*, vvho hastened their desire to effect, vvvas likely to winne more thankes, than should his Colleague, though greater in the performance.

Thus while the *Romans* thinke themselves to haue the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconuenience, than vvich few are more dangerous. Diffension of

off their chiefe Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would so too, but said that it was not yet time; why? because the enimie must shortly dislodge, and remove hence, into places lesse fit for his horse. But shall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten vp his last yeares prouisions, returne into *Campania* to gather a second Haruest? This would (said *Varro*) saue too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth fauour no lesse of *C. Flaminius*. Their deedes were like their words: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably euer day. *Æmilius* lodged sixe miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat vneuen. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take paines to come; hee doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leaue running till they were out of *Italie*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the *Plaines*; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Neuertheless he sate downe close by *Hannibal*; who as an vnbidden guest gaue him but a rude well come and intertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horse, and light Armature, fell vpon the *Roman* Vantcoursers; and put the whole Armie in tumult, whilst it was yet in march; but they were beaten off, not without losse, for that the *Romans* had, among their *Felites*, some troupes weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handsonly withdraw the Armie out of that leuell ground, incamped vpon the Riuer *Asinus*; sending a third part of his forces ouer the water, to lie vpon the Easterne banke, where they entrenched themselves. Hee neuer was more vnwilling to fight, than at this present: because the ground serued wholly for the aduantage of his enimie; with whom hee meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equall termes. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himselfe; expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Canna*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessaries: whereof an Armie foraging the countrey, was not likely to carrie about with it sufficient quantitie, for any long time.

Here it would not bee passed ouer with silence, that *Linie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many strange tales, of the miserie into which *Hannibal* had bene driuen; and of base courses that he deuised to take, if the *Romans* could haue retained their patience a little longer. He had (saith *Linie*) but ten daies prouision of meat. He had not monie to pay his Souldiers. They were an vnruely Rabble, gathered out of seuerall Nations, so that He knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Prouant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were readie to forsake him, and runne ouer to the *Roman* side. Yea *Hannibal* himselfe was once vpon the point, to haue stolne away into *Gaul* with all his horse, and left his foot vnto their miserable destinies. At length, for lack of all other counsaile, Hee resolved to get him as farre as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermost parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his vnfaithfull Souldiers might finde the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early harvest. But whilst he was about to put this deuice in execution, the *Romans* pressed him so hard, that they euen forced him vnto that, which hee most desired; euen to fight a battaile vpon open champaigne ground: wherein hee was victorious. It was not vncommendable in *Linie*, to speake the best of his owne Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their owne great folly, they had done passing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing only by report. For thus he saith; *HANNIBAL de fuga in Galliam [dicitur] agisse*; *HANNIBAL [se] said* to haue betrougtht himselfe of flying into *Gaul*: where he makes it no more than a matter of heare-say; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the proesse it selfe, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaul*, through the Marshes and Bogs of *Hetruria*, could finde victualles enough, and all things needfull vnto his Armie, the Sommer foregoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this yeare; especially seeing he had plaid the carefull husband in making a great harvest; since

he had long bene Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surpris, no small part of the *Romans* provisions: So suteable hereunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corne and cattails; his Souldiers might perhaps haue fallen into mutinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italie*: and had so well increased his Rock, since he came into that Countrie, that hee had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman-like*; and loaden his followers with spoile: hauing left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the *Enemie*; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not ealie to doe the like. In this point therefore, wee are to attend the generall agreement of Historians: who giue it as a principall commendation vnto *Hannibal*, That hee alwaies kept his Armie free from sedition, though it were composed of sundrie Nations; no lesse different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he so doe, hauing not only pronounced, That which of his men soeuer fought brauely with an *Enemie*, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but solemnely protested and sworne, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deserue and seeke it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaulle*, was a senselesse deuce. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Armie, tooke so little pleasure in the Countrie and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should hee now doe there with his horse? or how could hee bee trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to liue; hauing betrayed all his Armie; and relinquished his miserable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omiteth; who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Liuie*. But of this and the like it is enough to say, That all Historians loqe to extoll their owne Countymen; and where a losse cannot be dissembled, nor the honor of the victorie taken from the *Enemie*, and giuen vnto blinde Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgouernment of their owne forces: as if they might easily haue wonne all, but lost all through such folly, as no *Enemie* can hope to finde in them another time.

Now let vs returne back to the two Armies, where they lie incamped on the River *Aufidius*. *Varro* was perswaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good his word vnto the people of *Rome*: and since he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to vse his owne authoritie; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the first breake of day he beganne to passe the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and sought, as in former times, to haue dissuaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrie to a needlesse hazard. Against whose wordes and substantiall arguments, *Terentius* could allege none other, than point of honour. *Hannibal* had presented them battaile at their Trenches: should they endure this Brauado? He had sent his *Numidians* ouer the River but euen the day before, who fell vpon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the lesser Campe; and draue them shamefully to runne within their defences, which also they made offer to assaile: must this also be suffered? Hee would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was liuely, and full of such courage, as promised assured victorie. When *Emilius* perceiued, that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion; he tooke all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand *Roman* foot he caused to be left behinde, in the greater campe, opposite vnto the *Carthaginian*; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might bee compelled, to leaue behinde him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucitie he was lesse able to spare from the battaile, than were the *Romans*) or that these ten thousand, falling vpon the *Carthaginian* Campe, when the fight beganne, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly doe such accidents) terrifie and distract the Enemies in the heat of fight. This done; the two Consuls went ouer the water with their Armie to the lesser Campe, whence

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whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile: the ground on the East part of the Riuer, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Armie. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and, without any delay, passed like wife ouer, somewhat higher vp the streames, which ranne from the South; leauing in his owne campe so many, as he thought would serue to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He bad them look about them, and view the ground well, vpon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (saide he) pray for any greater fortune, than to joyne battaile with the *Romans* vpon such a leuell ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prouaile? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (saide he further) ye are first of all to thanke the Gods, that haue brought them hither; and then Vs, that haue trained them along, and drawne them into necessitie of playing for their liues, where they are sure to loose them. As for these *Romans*, I was faine to encourage you against them, when yee met them first: but now yee may euen encourage your selues, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom yee haue as often beaten as seene. Of one thing only I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects; as, to driue them before you out of *Gauls*; and to winne the open Countrey, and fields of *Italy*; both of which yee haue obtained: now are yee to fight for the Townes themselves, and all the riches within them; which this victorie shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Soldiers: and ere many houres passe, yee shall bee Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this; his brother *Mago* came to him, whom hee had sent to view the countenance of the Enemie. *Hannibal* asked him, what newes; and what worke they were likely to haue with these *Romans*? Worke enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee brother, that among them all, search them neuer so diligently, thou shalt not finde one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that hee fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladded the soldiers; who thought their Generall would not be so merric, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* about many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no lesse troubled with thinking vpon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant only to correct the sad moode of his brother with a jest, and shew himselfe merrie vnto the Soldiers: this his answer was more manly, than was the relation of his discouerer. But if *Hannibal* himselfe had bene sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*; he could not haue returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captaine *Gaius*, before the battaile of *Agincourt*, made vnto our King *Henrie* the first: saying, that of the *Frenchmen*, 40 there were enough to be killed; enough to be taken prisoners; and enough to runne away. Euen such wordes as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serue many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke vpon such passions, as must gouerne more of the businesse: especially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himselfe; expressing no lesse perfection of his militarie skill, than was gratefull in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiounesse of the place, into which hee had long before conceiued the meanes to draw his enemies to battaile; Hee marshalled his Armie in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might doe best seruice. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, he sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose troupes, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a *French* name *Enfans perdus*; but when we vse our owne termes, the *forlorne hope*. The groffe of his Armie following them he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the spoiles which they had

had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the vse of those weapons, that were of more aduantage, than those wherewith they had formerly serued; made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betweene these hee ranged his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, armed, each after their owne Countrie manner; their shields alike; but the *Gauls* vsing long broad swordes, that were forcible in a downe-right stroke; the *Spaniards*, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gauls*, naked from their nauell vpwards, as confident in their owne fiercenesse; the *Spaniards*, wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in qualitie, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The *Gauls* were strong of body, and furious in giuing charge; but soone wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them haue inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were lesse eager, but more warie; neither ashamed to giue ground, when they were ouer-pressed; nor afraid to returne, and renew the fight, vpon any small encouragement. As the roughnesse of the one; and patience of the other; serued mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; so the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence jointly vnto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians*; and other *Africans*; whose name was growne terrible in *Spain*, by their Conquests; and in *Gaul*, by this their present warre. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamitie should fall vpon them, while the wings on either side stood fast: these Barbarians had no cause to shrink, or forbear to employ the utmost of their hardinesse, as knowing that the Enemy could not presse farre vpon them, without further engaging himselfe than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great aduantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horse: by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retreat. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so liuely, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused these *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to aduance; leauing void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, when they should be over-^{636.}hardly pressed. So, calling them into the forme of a Crescent, hee made them as it were his Vanguard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the emptie space from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thinne, as seruing only to guide it orderly back, when neede should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthened and thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to haue bene so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behinde it: though such figures, cut in brasie, as I haue seene of this Battaille, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appeare: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Reare, to second the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, when they were driuen to retreat; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood betweene the last ranks of his long batallions, and in the head of his reare, doubtlesse well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betweene the left battallion and the Riuer *Ausidus*, were the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, vnder the command of *Astribal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plains, was *Hanno* (*Linie* saith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Reare. The whole summe of *Hannibals* Armie in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and fourtie thousand foot; his enemies hauing two to one against him in foot; and hee, five to three against them in horse.

The *Roman* Armie was marshalled in the vsual forme: but somewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had bene found conuenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former warre. It was indeede no bad way of resistance against Elephants to make the Ranks thick and short, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Reare, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, vnder shelter whereof the disordered troups might re-allie themselves. Thus much

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it seemes, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailles accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his vnderstanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their aduantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of embattailing, was very vnprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than vpon a long flanke. As for *Emilius*; it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yeeld for very wearinesse vnto the more contentious. Vpon the right hand, and toward the Riuier, were the *Roman* horse-men, vnder the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *Q. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other *Astociates*: *Cn. Seruilius* the former yeares Consul, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly risen, and obscured neither part; the *Carthaginians* hauing their faces Northward; the *Romans* toward the South.

- After some light skirmish, betweene the *Roman* Velites and *Hannibal* his Darters and lingers of the *Bulwers*: *Asdrubal* brake vpon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountered; not after the manner of seruice on horse-back, vsed in those times, wheeling about *Alman-like*; but each giuing on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as hauing the Riuier on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake through. Wherefore they not only vsed their Lances and Swords; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so, their horses running from vnder them, fell many to the ground; where starting vp againe, they begane to deale blowes like foot-men. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were ouer-borne, and driuen by plain force to a staggering recoil. This the Consul *Paulus* could not remedie. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, was not to be resisted by these *Roman* Gentlemen, vnequall both in number, and in horsemanship. When the battailes came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found worke enough, and some what more than enough, to breake that great Crescent, vpon which they first fell: so strongly, for the while, did the *Gauls* and *Spanish* foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battaile drew towards the midst; by whose aide, these *Oppolites* were forced to disband, and flie back to their first place. This they did in great haste and feare: and were with no lesse haste, and folle, pursued. Vpon the *Africans*, that stood behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was void roome enough; and forasmuch as the *Reare*, or *Hornes* of this Moone, pointed into the safe retreat, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was readie to reinforce them, when time should require. In this battie retreat, or flight, of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*; it hapned, as was necessarie, that they who had stood in the limbe of yter compass of the halfe Moone, made the innermost or concave surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside outward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, vntouched, only turning round, and recoiling very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an halfe-circle; which they should not haue needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thinne and broken; and the bottome of it, none other than a throng of men rowted, and seeming vnable to make resistance) had all the enemies foot been cast into this one great bodie, that was in a manner disolued. But whilst the Legions, following their supposed victorie, rushed on vpon those that stood before them, and thereby vniuitingly engaged themselves deeply within the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either side advanced so farre, that getting beyond the *Reare* of them, they inclosed them, in a manner, behinde: and forward they could not passe farre, without remouing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is apparent, that the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as couered the *Africans*; who lay behinde it vndiscerned, vntill now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *vnawares*; and that they behaued themselves, as

Plut. in vit. Hannib.

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men that thought vpon no other worke, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would haue bene so mad, as to runne head-long, with the whole bulke of their Armie, into the throat of slaughter; had they seene those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashness of inferior Capitaines: but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe among the Legions; it cannot bee supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themselves. *Asdrubal*, hauing broken the troupes of *Roman* horse, that were led by the Consul *Paulus*, followed vpon them along the *Riuer* side, beating downe, and killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himselfe was either driuen vpon his owne Legions, or willingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neuertheless hee cheered vp his men as well as hee could, both with comfortable wordes, and with the example of his owne stout behaviour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the battaile; and with better successe. For the Consul receiued a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to saue him from further harme; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weaknesse, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his companie alighted, thinking that the Consul had giuen order so to doe: as in many battailes, the *Roman* men at armes had left their horses, to helpe their foot in distresse. When *Hannibal* (for he was neare at hand) perceiued this, and vnderstood that the Consul had willed his horse-men to dismount; He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would haue deliuered them vnto me, bound hand and foot*: meaning, that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horse of the Associates, in the left wing, was meruailously troubled by *Hanno* (or *Asdrubal*) and the *Numidians*: who beating vp and downe about that great sandie Plaine, raised a foule dust; which a strong South-winde, blowing there accustomedly, draue into the eyes and mouthes of the *Romans*. These, vsing their aduantage both of number and of lightnesse, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giuing, nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him a happie day of it. For when the battailes were euen readie to ioyne, five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellowes, with their shields cast behinde their backs, (as was the manner of those which yielded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendred themselves. This was good luck to beginne withall, if there had bene good meaning. *Varro* had not leasure to examine them; but caused them, vnweaponed as they were, to get them behinde the Armie, where he had them rest quietly till all was done. These craftie aduenturers did as hee bade them, for a while; till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yielded. Vnder their Iackets they had short swordes and poyards; besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were slaine, and there withall slew vpon the hindmost of the *Romans*, while all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terrour. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plaine leuell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was giuen by the same hand which gaue the first. *Asdrubal*, hauing in short space broken the *Roman* troupes of horse, and cut in peeces all, save the Companie of *Æmilias* that rushed into the grolle of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage, betwene the *Riuer* and their owne Battalions; did not stay to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but fell back behinde the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came vp to the *Numidians*: with whom hee joynd, and gaue vpon

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upon *Terentius*. This fearefull cloude, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other side : so did it prognosticate a dismall storme vnto those, vpon whom it was readie now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, hauing wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope to sustain; thought it the best way, to auoide the danger by present flight. The Consul was no lesse wise than they, in apprehending the greatnesse of his owne perill; nor more desperate, in strining to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many thranke from him, to sustaine the impression alone, which he could not haue endured with their assistance. Now hee found, that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at Rome; and another, to encounter him. But of this, or of ought else, excepting hastie flight, his present leisure would not serue him to consider. Close at the heeles of him and his flying troopes, followed the light *Numidians*: appointed by *Asdrubal* vnto the pursuit, as fittest for that service. *Asdrubal* himselte, with the *Gauls* and *Spanis* horse, compassing about, fell vpon the backs of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else. He brake them easly; who before made ill resistance, being inclosed, and laid at on euery side, not knowing which way to turne. Here beganne a pittifull slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging vp and downe, they knew not whither or which way, whilest euery one fought to auoide those enemies, whom hee saw nearest. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Emilius*, got vp to horse, and saved themselves: which though it is hardly vnderstood how they could doe; yet I will rather belecue it, than suppose that *Luie* so reporteth to grace thereby his Historie with this following tale. *CN. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS*, galloping along by a place, where he saw the Consul sitting all blonried vpon a stone, entreated him to rise and saue himselte; offering him his assistance and horse. But *PAYLVVS* refused it; willing *LENTVLVS* to fight for himselte, and not to loose time: saying, That it was not his purpose to be brought againe into iudgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guiltie himselte of that dayes losse. Further hee would *LENTVLVS* to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to *FABIVS*: willing them to fortifie Rome, as fast and well as they could; and telling *FABIVS*, that hee lined and died man: full of his whole some counsel. These wordes (peradventure) or some to like purpose, the Consul vttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will he was drawne to that Battaille, or when hee beheld the first defeat of his Horse, at what time he put himselte in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew vwhat he said a good while before this; when he thought the Consul and his troupe, in little better case than if they had beene bound. The whole Grosse of the *Romans*, vvas inclosed indeede as within a sack, vwhereof the *African* Battalions made the sides; the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom; and *Asdrubal* with his horse, closed vp the mouth: in which part, they first of all were thrust together, and beganne the Rout, vwherein all the rest followed. *Emilius* therefore, who could not sit his horse, whilest the battaile yelasted, and whilest the spaces were somewhat open, by which he might haue vwithdrawne himselte; vvas now (had he neuer so vell bene mounted) vnable to fle, hauing in his vway so close a throng of his owne miserable followers, and so many heapes of bodies, as fell aspace in that great Carnage. It sufferech vnto his honour, That in the Battaille hee fought no lesse valiantly, than hee had vvarily before, both abstained himselte, and dissuaded his fellow Consul, from fighting at all. If, vwhen the day vvas vterly lost, it had laine in his power to saue his owne life, vnto the good of his Countrey, neuer more needing it; I should thinke, that he either too much disesteemed himselte, or being too faintly minded, vvas vware of the World, and his vnthankfull Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise wortie in *Emilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *English* vertue of the Lord *Iohn Talbot*, Vicount *Lille*, sonneto that famous Earle of *Shrewsburie*, who died in the Battaille of *Cheshill*, more highly to be honoured. For *Emilius* was sold, grieuouly, if

if not mortally, wounded, and accomptable for the ouerthrow receiued: *Talbot* was in the floure of his youth, vnhurt, easily able to haue escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to forsake his father; who foreseeing the losse of the battaile, and not meaning to slaine his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble sonne to be gone, and leaue him.

In this terrible ouerthrow died all the *Roman* foot, saue two or three thousand, who (as *Linie* saith) escaped into the lesser campe; whence, the same night, about fixe hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conueyed themselves away ere morning, about foure thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troup, partly disperfed, into *Cannussum*: the next day, the *Roman* Camps, both lesse and greater, were yeelded vnto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Emilius* had left on the West side of *Aufidus* (as was shewed before) to set vpon the campe of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed, but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-neare done, the battaile was lost: and *Hannibal*, comming over the water to them, draue them into their owne campe; which they quickly yeelded, having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first sight of *Hannibal*, comming vpon them with his victorious Armie, a great number of these did flie; and thereby escaped, whilst their fellows, making defence in vaine, retired into their campe, and held the Enemie buied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made vp by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having serued at *Canna*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their Companions fighting.

Of the *Roman* horse what numbers escaped, it is vncertaine: but very few they were that saued themselves in the first charge, by getting behinde the River; and *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Venusia*, with three score and ten at the most in his companie. That he was so ill attended, it is no meruaile: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his nearest way thither, had bene through the midle of *Hannibals* Armie, if the passage had bene open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of sight, he returned vp some by-way, so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contre*. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but tooke other waies, and were scattered ouer the fields; two thousand, or thereabouts, were gathered vp by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slaine, all saue three hundred; who disperfed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundrie Townes. There died in this great Battaille of *Canna*, besides *L. Emilius Paulus* the Consul; two of the *Roman* Queitors or Treasurers, and one and twentie Colonells or Tribunes of the Souldiers, fourscore Senators, or such as had borne Office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especiall mark, as having bene *Aediles*, *Prators*, or *Consuls*: among whom was *Cn. Seruilus* the last yeares Consul, and *Atimilius*, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battaile, *Linie* makes no greater than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse: too few to haue defended, for the space of one halfe houre, both the *Roman* camps; which yet the same *Linie* saith, to haue bene ouerwardly yeelded vp. We may therefore doe better, to giue credit vnto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no lesse than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the Enemie spared, when the furie of Execution was past: but to these must be added about fixe thousand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their companie were either slaine or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before cast vp (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they finde it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some foure thousand *Gauls*, fiftene hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts: a losse

Liv. l. 19.

not

not sensible, in the joy of so great a victorie; which if he had pursued, as *Maharbal* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the Warre had presently beene at an end. But hee believed not so farre in his owne prosperitie; and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to lose.

¶ IX.

Of things following the battaile at *Canna*.

Not without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*: who regarding more the pleasure of them, vnto whose honour they consecrated their troubles, than the truth of things, and information of posteritie, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* *Quirites* and *Fathers* conscript. No man of sound judgement will condemne this libertie of censure, which *Polybius* hath vied. For, to recompence his junioritie, (such as it was) hee produceth substantiall arguments, to iustifie his owne Relation; and confuteth the vanitie of those former Author: out of their owne writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which paines it is to bee suspected, that hee would not have taken, had hee beene borne in either of these two Cities, but haue spared some part of his diligence, and beene contented, to haue all men thinke better and more honourably than it deserved, of his owne Countrie. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter finde in others; and shall haue cause to wish, that either they were somewhat lesse *Roman*, or else, that some Workes of their opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least heare both sides speake: being henceforth destitute of *Polybius* his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But since this cannot be, we must be sometimes bold, to obserue the coherence of things; and belieue so much only to be true, as dependeth vpon good reason, or (at least) faire probabilitie. This attentiu circumspection is needfull euē at the present: such is the repugnancie, or forgetfulness, which we finde in the best Narration, of things following the Battaille of *Canna*. For it is said, that foure thousand foot and horse gathered together about the Consul *Terentius Varrus*; that others, to the number of ten thousand, got into *Cannussum*, choosling for their Captaines yong *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Consul *Terentius Varrus*, joyning his companie vnto those of *Scipio* at *Cannussum*, wrote vnto the Senate, that hee had now well-neare ten thousand men about him; that these letters of the Consul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly risen, that had beene taking order for pacifying those tumults in the Citie, which grew vpon the first bruit of the ouerthrow; and yet, that Embassadors from *Capua* (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or, without further circumstance, to side with *Hannibal*) were sent vnto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venusia*, a pretie while before he wrote those letters, which ouer-tooke (in a manner) at *Rome* the first newes of the ouerthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter en-
fusing: mutuall dependencie in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* campe, and trusted vp the spoiles, forthwith hee dislodged, and marched away into *Sannium*; finding a disposition in the *Elipines*, and many other people therabout, to forsake the *Roman* partie, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The first Towne that opened the gates vnto him, was *Celssis*, where he laid vp his baggage: and leauing his brother *Mago* to take in other places, He hastied into *Campania*. The generall affection of the Multitude, in all the Cities

of *Italie*, was inclinable vnto him; not only in regard of their grievous losses, sustained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Countrey, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly endure; but in a loving respect vnto that great courtserie (as it seemed) which he held, vnto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victorie at *Cannæ*, He had lowly dismissed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate, against him that had fought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither spared hee to winne their loue with gifts; pretending, to admire their valour; but seeking indeede, by all waies and meanes, to make them his; whilest all other motives were concurrent. At this time also hee beganne to deale kindly (though against his nature) with his *Roman* prisoners: telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred vnto their Estate; but being prouoked by injuries, sought to right himselfe and his countrey; and fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, should beare soueraigne Rule, not, which of them should be destroyed. So he gaue them leaue to chosse ten of their number, that should bee sent home to treat with the *Fathers* about their rancome: and together with these, he sent *Carthago* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and Generall of his Horse, to seele the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much aduersitie, and could stoope vnto desire of peace. But with the *Romans* these artes prevailed not, as shall bee shewed in due place. The people of *Italie*, all or most of them, saue the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not only wearie of their losses past, but entertained a deceiueable hope, of changing their old Societie for a better. Wherefore not only the *Sannites*, *Lucians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not vntill the former generation vtterly subdued, beganne to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the *Campanians*, a Nation of all other in *Italie* most bound vnto the State of *Rome*, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as sleightly conioyned, as were any saue the *Latines*, changed on a sudden their loue into hatred; without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Prouince of *Italie*, if not (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the Citie of *Capua*, answerable vnto the Countrey, whereof it was Head, so great, faire, and wealthie, that it seemed no lesse conuenient a seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, brauerie is the least requisite vnto soueraigne command. The *Campanians* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselves, like *Lazies* by their feathers, despised the vnfortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons, and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principall among them, as in other Cities, that bore especiall regard vnto the majestic of *Rome*, and could not endure to heare of Innouation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately so prevailed within *Capua*, that all was gouerned by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Publius Calpurnius* an ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was vp-held, by furthering all popular desires: whereof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their Citie to the *Carthaginian*, shortly after the battaile of *Thrasymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his iourne into *Campania*; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting vpon him. At that time, either the neernes of the *Roman* Armie, or some other feare of the *Capuans*, hindred them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leisure, to treat about any articles of new Confederacie: or had leisure serued, yet were the Multitude (whose inconstant loue *Hannibal* had wonne from the *Romans*, by gentle vsage, and free dismissing of some prisoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any such negotiation, without aduice of the Senate; which mainly impugned it. So they that had promised to yeeld vp their towne to *Hannibal*, & to meet him on the way, with some of their nobilitie, that should assure him of all faithfull meaning; were driuen to sit still, in a great perplexitie: as hauing failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discovered themselves,

felues, to draw vpon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incensed against their Senate; on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their owne cowardize. The People, holding so tender a regard of libertie, that euen the lawfull Government of Magistrates grieved them, with an imaginarie oppression; had now good cause to feare, lest the Senators would become their Lords indeede, and, by helpe of the *Romans*, bring them vnder a more flighty subjection, than euer they had endured. This feare, being readie to breake into some outrage, *Pacuvius* made vse of, to serue his owne ambition. He discoursed vnto the Senate, as they sat in Councell, about these motions troubling the Citie: and said, That he himselfe had both married a *Roman* Ladie, and given his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*; but, that the danger of forsaking the *Roman* partie was not now the greatest: for that the People were violently bent euen to murder all the Senate, and afterward to joyne themselves with *Hannibal*; who should countenance the fact, and save them harmless. This he spake, as a man well knowne to be beloued himselfe by the People, and priue vnto their delignes. Having thoroughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them: He promised neuertheless to deliuer them all, and to set things in quiet, if they would freely put themselves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other assurance that they should demand, for his faithfull meaning.

They all agreed. Then shutting vp the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leave; He called the People to assembly: and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to heare; hee told them, that these wicked Governours were surpris'd by his policie, and all fast, readie to abide what sentence they would lay vpon them. Only thus much he aduised them, as a thing which necessitie required, That they should choose a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger vpon the old. So rehearsing vnto them the names of one or two Senators, hee asked what their iudgement was of those. Allcried out, that they were worthe of death, Choofe then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the Multitude, vnprovided for such an election, was silent; vntill at last, some one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were vterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some knowne fault, basenesse, and insufficiencie; or else euen because they were vknowne, and therefore held vnworthie. This difficultie in the new Election appearing more and more, whilst more were to be chosen; (the fittest men to be substituted, having bene named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* entreated, and easily preuailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtlesse) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not only the People, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also, were governed by him: to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for sauing all their liues. Neither did the Senate faile after this, by all obsequiousnesse, to court the People; giuing the reines vnto their lawlesse Will, who else were likely to call them downe: All the Citie being thus of one minde; only feare of the *Romans*, kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battaille at *Cannæ*, this impediment was removed: and few there were, that would open their mouths to speake against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principall Gentlemen of the *Campans*, did then serue the *Romans* in the Isle of *Sicily*: the Parents and Kinmen of these preuailed so farre, that Embassadors were sent vnto *Tarentinus* the Consul; to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Feare. These, whereouer they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the seruice of their State; and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented vnto them, the greatest of the *Roman* misfortune: saying, that all was lost; and that the *Campans* must now,

not helpe the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themselves; but, make warre in their defence against the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had sometimes done for the *Campanians* against the *Saminites*. Hereunto hee is said to haue added a foolish Inuective, against *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*; telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carcasses, and to feede vpon mans flesh; with such other stiffe, as only bewraied his owne feare. As for the *Campanians* themselves, He put them in minde of their present strength: they hauing thirtie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; with monie, and all prouisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder than they came: and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in aduenturing to seeke their owne libertie. Hauing reported this at *Capua*: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they easily made Alliance, vpon these conditions; That the *Campanians* should be absolutely free, and ruled by their owne Lawes; That no Citizen of theirs should bee subiect vnto any *Carthaginian* Magistrate, in what case soeuer, whether in Warre, or Peace; and, That *Hannibal* should deliuer vnto the *Campanians* three hundred *Roman* prisoners, such as they themselves would choofe, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicily*.

Against all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius* an honorable Citizen opposed himselfe earnestly; vsing, in vaine, many perfwasions, to the wilfull and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in minde of *Pyrrihus* and the *Tarentines*, withing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadors to *Hannibal*: and this also did he, when the new Alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* Garrison was entering the Towne: at which time he gaue aduice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it, and cut it in peeces, that, by such a notable peece of seruice, they might make amends vnto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

Aduertisement hereof was giuen to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not farre off, sent for *Magius* to come speake with him in the campe. This *Magius* refused: alleaging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subiection vnto any *Carthaginian*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon basted himselfe towards *Capua*: forbearing to attempt any further vpon *Naples*; which he thought to haue taken in his way by *Scalade*, but found the walls too high, and was not well provided, to lay siege vnto it. At *Capua* hee was entertained with great solemnitie and pompe: all the people issuing forth of the Towne, to behold that great Commander, which had wonne so many noble victories. Hauing taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly Citie, and passed ouer his first Entertainments; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the *Roman* yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italy*, and *Rome* it selfe, should bee drinuen to acknowledge *Capua* as chiefe, and receiue Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly tooke part with the *Romans* their enemies; Hee prayed them, that they would not thinke him a *Campanian*, but a Traitor to the State; and vse him accordingly, giuing sentence out of hand vpon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and *Magius*, deliuered vnto *Hannibal*; who vnwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his first comming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his libertie, if hee kept him alieue, thought it best to send him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* settled his friendship with the *Campanians*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speake against him; being assisted by *Perolla* the sonne of *Paucius*. This *Perolla* would haue murdered *Hannibal*, whilest hee was at supper, the first night of his comming; had not his Fathers authoritie kept him from making any such attempt. All the Towne (besides) were so earnest in the loue of their new Societie, that they are said to haue murdered all the *Romans*, vpon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to haue smothered them to death in an hot Bathe.

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The same course of fortune; with those of *Capua*, ranne some other Townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-Citie. *Nola, Nuceria, Naples, Cassine, and Aversa*, were the Cities next adjoining, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to finde them weakly manned; as they were indeede, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Townes; but were faine to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. Rome it selfe was in extreme feare of *Hannibals* coming, at the first report of the overthrow at *Cannæ*; and the griefe of that losse was so generall, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the losse already received, or the feare of destruction presently threatening, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to stint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Courriers were sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went: whereof when letters from the Consul *Varro* had thoroughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ranne into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal bookes, buried aliue two men and women *Gauls* and *Greekes*, in their Ox-market. If the bookes of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions; we may iustly thinke, that *Sibyl* herselfe was instructed by the Devil. Yet is it not improbable, that extremitie of feare caused them to hearken to wicked Sooth-sayers; whose detestable counsailes they afterwards, for their owne honour, (as alhamed of such Authors) imputed to the bookes of *Sibyl*. An Embassadour was sent to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire, with what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the Gods, and obtaine an end of these calamities. This is enough to discouer the greatnesse of their feare, though not serving to giue remedie. At the sametime came letters out of *Sicily*, from the Pretor *Othacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to passe ouer into *Africke*. In these were contained newes, of one *Carthaginian* fleet, that walted the Kingdom of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the

Isles *Ægætes*, which was in readinesse to set vpon *Lilybæum*; and the rest of the *Roman* Province, if the Pretor stirred aside, to the rescue of *Hieron*.
In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needfull to call home *Terentius* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take soueraigne charge of the Weale publique, with absolute power, as necessitie required. It must needs seeme strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home, giuing him thanks for that he had not despised of the Weale publique. But this was done (as may seeme) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtlesse) provided wisely, for vp-holding the generall reputation. If his coming into the Citie, had renewed the lamentations and out-cries of the people: what else would haue followed, than a contempt of their wretchednesse, among those that were subject vnto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeede he gaue it not) of bestowing vpon him their welcome, and thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which came perhaps vnto the eares of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimitie and Confidence: that might seeme grounded on their remayning strength. This therefore was wisely done; But whereas *Lince* had to vse to thinke, that it was done generously, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleue him not. It was done fearefully, and to couer their griefe: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would haue struck off his head; as in few yeares after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being lesse blame-worthie, for a smaller offence. *M. Titius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised foure new Legions, and a thousand horse: though with much difficulty; as being faine to take vp some, that were very Boies. These foure Legions, are elsewhere forgotten, in accompt of the forces leuid by this Dictator; and

Lin. 1. 23.

two Legions only set downe, that had beene enrolled in the beginning of the yeare for custodie of the Citie. Wherefore it may be, that these two Legions being drawne into the field; foure new ones of *Prætoriani*, or Striplings, were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to bee reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding vnto them eight thousand sturdie slaues, that were put in hope of libertie, if they should deserue it by manfull seruice. This not sufficing; the Dictator proclaimed, that whosoever ought monie and could not pay it, or had committed any capitall offence, should forthwith bee discharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serue in the Warre. To arme these Companies, they were faine to take downe, out of their Temples and Porches, the spoiles of their enemies that had beene there set vp: among which, were fixe thousand Armour of the *Gauls*, that had beene carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this Warre. To such mockerie had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were faine to issue forth of their owne gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was readie to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman-like*.

About the same time it was, that *Carthalo*, with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Cannæ*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the Citie, but commanded, whilst he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territorie. To the Messengers of the captiues, audience was giuen by the Senate. They made earnest Petition, to be ransomed at the publike charge; not only the teares and lamentation of their poore kins-folke, but the great neede, wherein the Citie then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their suit; which yet they obtayned not. Besides the generall custome of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former warre) not to be too tender of such as had yielded to the Enemie; much was alleged against these who now craued ransome: but the speciall point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might haue saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not vnto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls: they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted monie: and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to auoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we finde recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the slaues which were armed for the warre, are said to haue cost more, than the summe did amount vnto, that would haue ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had beene seuerer; when as indeede they were futeable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggarly: Hereof it is no little prooffe, that *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaues, whom he had taken in the campe among their Masters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ransome: and likely it is, that hee offered them at that price, wherat he thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargaine for slaues might haue beene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with priuate men; yet must we withall consider, that these priuate men did only lend these slaues for a while vnto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forbeare the price of them (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchised) vntill the warre should bee ended. If *Hannibal* would haue giuen such long day of payment; it is likely that the *Romans* would haue beene his chapmen: but seeing he dealt only for readie monie, they chose rather to say, We will not giue, than, We cannot. The like aueritic, vpon the same reason, but contrarie pretence, was vsed toward the Souldiers that escaped from that great Battaille. These were charged, for hauing fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might haue done so. True it is, that in such cases (if cuer) that which they call *ragione dello Stato* may serue for an excuse: when the Common-wealth being driuen to a miserable Exigent, is faine to helpeit selfe, by doing injuries to priuate

Lin. 24.

integrity of sign

want of money forced
more from Exigent

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private men. And so dealt the *Romans* now; condemning all those that had served at *Canna*, to be transported into *Sicily*; and there to serve, not as others did vntill they had fulfilled twentie yeares in the warres, or elsé were fiftie yeares of age; but vntill this warre should bee ended, how long soeuer it lasted, and that without reuerence: The same thrifftie censure, was afterwards laid vpon others, for their misbehaviour: but neuer vpon any man of qualitie, saue only (agood while after this, as better kifsure) vpon *Cassius Metellus*, and a few other bare-brained fooles his companions; who being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of so great a losse, were deuiling, after the battaile, which way to runne out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one Towne within it. The inequalitye of this rigour grew shortly distastfull to the Commonaltie: and was openly blamed by a Tribune of the People; neuerthelesse it was quietly digested, the excuse being no lesse apparent than the fault.

M. Iunius the Dictator, hauing dispatched all needfull businesse within the Citie, tooke the field with fife and twentie thousand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot finde: nor more of him, than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater euill: for of any euill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans* in this their weake estate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Olusia* with a fleet, ready to set saile for *Sicily*, hauing one Legion aboard his ships, and fiftene hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp: with which forces he was to defend that Island, and doe what harme hee could in *Africa*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Canna*, hee sent these of his new Leuiée to *Rome*, for defence of the Citie; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Cannusum*: deliuering the fleet, emptie of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was hee called by the Magistrates, and chiefe Citizens of *Nola*, to help them: who were like to be forced by the Multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campanians*) to let in the *Carthaginians*; and knew not how to auoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberate about the Articles of this new Confederacie. Wherefore hee made great iournies thitherward; and arrived euen time enough to prevent the Enemie. Many idle walkes *Hannibal* made, betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: assaying by faire wordes, and terrible threats, the one and the other Citie. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyaltie: it had also a sure Haue; whereby it stood in the lesse feare, of sustayning much inconuenience, by spoile of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field: which if hee laid waste, all the poore people were vterly vndone. So thought the Multitude, that it concerned him in honour, that had little feare of their owne priuate wantor pueritie; but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginians*. Of these, one *L. Bantius* was chiefe: a stout yong Gentleman, and Souldier of especiall marke, well beloued in the Citie, and one that had done good seruice to the *Romans*: but was found by *Hannibal*, halfe dead at *Canna*, and after much gentie vltage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberall gifts. Hee therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greatest thanks hee could vnto so courteous an Enemie. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought vpon the same easie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had beene by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* state, had not repaired vnto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts; and louing entertainment, being himselfe also a man highly reputed for his personall valour, hee made this *Bantius* so farre in loue with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof hee had not presently aduertisement. At the comming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and assaied, as formerly hee had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; vpon confidence whereof they gaue him a preumptorie answer, to his discontent. Thence went hee to *Nuceria*: which hee tooke by composition; and so returned back againe

Lia Lia

Bantius

against *Nola*: Hee was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore vnto him: who although they durst not stirre in his quarrell, being ouer-
 awed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly bested, and forced
 to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him
 without, like enough it seemed, that they would not bee wanting vnto the accom-
 plishment of their owne desires. Hee therefore brought his Armie close to the
 Towne, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to doe much
 good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Towne; which hee sought
 in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night-time there passed messages
 betweene him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if
 once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could bee trained into the field, the Multitude
 within the Towne should presently rise, and seizing vpon the gates, exclude him as
 an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was aduertised: and fearing, lest the Con-
 spirators would shortly adventure, euen to finde him busied within the Citie, while
 the *Carthaginians* should scale the walls; he thought it the surest way, to cut off
 the enemies hope, and send him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in
 three Companies, within three severall gates looking towards the Enemy: He gaue
 a streight command, that all the Citizens should keepe their houses. Thus hee lay
 close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder against whom he had cu-
 stomarily issued forth before more early, every day, to skirmish. But when it was
 further noted; that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then
 thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discouraged, and *Marcellus* now busied with the
 Citizens. Whereupon hee bad his men bring ladders, and make readie for the as-
 sault; which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very
 walls, and thought nothing lesse, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the
 field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, wherat *Marcellus*, with the best and ol-
 dest of his Souldiers, brake forth vpon them, with a great noise, to make his vnex-
 pected fallie the more terrible. While the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were
 some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him: the other
 two gates opened, wherat in like sort issued they of the new-leued Companies, vpon
 the enemies backs. The sudden terrour was more auailable vnto the *Romans*,
 than their force: yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a
 victorie, and reputed one of the bravest Acts performed in all that warre; foras-
 much as hereby it was first proued, that *Hannibal* might be ouer-come. After this,
Marcellus, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a strict accompt
 of the Citizens of *Nola*: condemning aboue threescore and ten of high Treason,
 whose heads hee struck off; and so leaving the Towne in quiet obedience vnto their
 Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Suessula*. *Hannibal* in the meane season
 was gone to *Aserra*: where being excluded, he thought it no wisdom to loose time
 in perswasions, but laid siege vnto it, and beganne on all sides to close it vp. This ter-
 rified the People, who knew themselves vnable to hold out. Therefore, before his
 Workes were finished, and they quite surrounded; they stole out by night, and left
 him the Towne empty: which hee sacked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the
 Dictator, that he was about *Cassina*, thither went *Hannibal*: as being vnwilling, that
 an Enemy so neare should disquiet him at *Capua*; where hee meant to Winter. It
 seemed, or rather indeede it is plaine; that the late victorie of *Marcellus* had nothing
 abated the spirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durst vwith a small part of his Armie seeke
 out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Romans* strength. Wherefore
 the joy of his Enemies, vpon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thou-
 sand of his men, at the most, and those not slaine in plaine battaile, but by a sudden
 eruption; witnessed chiefly, in what great feare they stood of *Hannibal*, and how
 crest-fallen they were: that having three yeares since demanded at *Carthage*, the
 bodie of *Hannibal*, to be deliuered vnto their pleasure, by his owne Citizens; could
 now please themselves, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmish not farr
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from Rome he appeared to be a man, and not resistlesse. At *Capitulum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Towne, and held it. Five hundred of the *Prænestines* there were, and about foure hundred of *Persia*, with some of the *Latins*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the Battaille of *Cannæ*, being sent by their severall States to the campe: whither whilst they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountered them, and sent them back sorrowfull; for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, vnder whose gouernement they lived happily. So came they all, one after another, to *Capitulum*, where they met and staied. Neither had they staied there long, ere they heard newes from *Capua*. How that great Citie became the Ring-leader of all the *Campani* into rebellion. The people of *Capitulum* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore sought how to rid their hands of those *Prænestines* and their fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townesmen in a night, and fortified the Western part of the Towne (for it was diuided by the River *Vulturnus*) against the Enemy. If they had runne away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Capitulum* were, as the rest of the *Campani*, all Traitors; they themselves might haue been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancie in defence of the place witnesseth, vpon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to haue encountered with greater forces: but these few found him more worke than he expected. Diuers assaults hee gaue, but was still repelled with losse: and many sallies they made, with variable cunct. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much indutric to his force, that he was driven to close them vp, and seeke to winne them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the horse, lay with the *Roman* Armie higher vp the River: who saue would haue relieved *Capitulum*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had giuen him expresse charge not to fight till his returne. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come: his way being stopped by the ouer-flowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolani* also beseeching him not to leaue them, who were in dangor of the *Campani*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water staied his iourne, such entreaties were needlesse. Neither is it like, that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the Garrison in *Capitulum*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was lost, because the *Romans* durst not aduenture to raise the siege. Barrells of corne were sent by night, floating downe the River; and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of the water, stuck among the Willows on the banke, whereby this manner of reliefe was discovered and prevented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantitie of Nuts into the streame, which faintly sustained the poore besieged men. At length, when all food was spent, and whatsoever grew greene vnder the walls was gathered for sallies; the *Carthaginians* 40 ploughed vp the ground: whereon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seede. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired their patience; and said, That he meant not to stay at *Capitulum*, vntill the Rapes were growne. Wherefore, though hitherto hee had refused to hearken vnto any Composition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their obstinacie; yet now he was content, to grant them their liues at an indifferent ranome, which when they had paid, hee quietly dismissed them according to his promise. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* hee placed in *Capitulum*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campani*; vnto whom he restored it. To the *Prænestine* Souldiers great thanks were giuen, and louing rewards; among which, they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their present 50 condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were, in *Prænest*: which is no weake proof, of the good estate wherein the Citie flourished, that were subject to the *Roman* Gouernement. This siege of *Capitulum* was not a little beneficiall to the *Romans*; as hauing long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise haue bene better spent. For Winter ouer-tooke him,

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him, long before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honor he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Armie, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beate the *Romans* in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

§. X.

Of the great supply that was decreed at *Carthage* to be sent to *HANNIBAL* in *Italie*.
How by the malice of *HANNO*, and sloath or parsimonie of the *Carthaginians*,
the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the *Carthaginians*
grew faster, than of the *Romans*. Of *FABIVS* and other
old *Roman* Historians, how partiall they were in
their writings.



When *Mago*, the sonne of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battaile at *Cannes*, his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyfull message of Victorie.
He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generalls his brother had fought; what Consuls he had chased, wounded, or slaine; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former warre neuer shunned any occasion of fight, were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Capitaine, because he neuer durst adventure to come to battaile; that, not without reason, their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slaine of them about two hundred thousand, and taken aboue fiftie thousand prisoners.
He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italie*, that following the fortune of those great victories, had revolted vnto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly Citie, and fit to be not only (as alreadie it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chiefe seat of their Dominion in *Italie*: and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had bene entertained, where he cuen at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not giue the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselves, and repaire their broken forces. Hee willed them to consider, that the warre was farre from home, in the Enemies Countrey; that so many Battailes had much diminished his brothers Armie; that the Souldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberrall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of monie, corne, and other necessaries; but that these things must bee sent from *Carthage*, which the victorie would requite with large amends. Finally hee caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were slaine, to bee poured out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels, or (as others would rather haue it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatnesse of the *Roman* calamitie, forasmuch as none but the * principall of that Order, were accustomed to weare that ornament.

* Thus *Luit* reports it: and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poore, the brutaerie of private men was not altogether so great, as the Law would haue permitted; though otherwise *Ant. Anals.* the wearing of the Ring, was the generall privilege of the *Roman* Equites.

Who so considers the former *Punicke* Warre, may easily finde, that the State of *Carthage* neuer did receiue, in all the durance thereof, any such hopefull aduertisements from their Captaines abroad. Wherefore it is no meruaile, if the Errand of *Mago* aduer extraordinary be welcome. In the vehemencie of this joy, *Hemiteus*, a Senator aduerse to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to haue demanded of that great perswader vnto peace with *Rome*, Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should bee yielded vp vnto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to giue thanks vnto the Gods, for this their good successe. Hereunto though it bee not likely that

Hanno

Hanno made the same formall answer, which *Linie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senator's *Patres conscripti*, by a terme proper to the *Romans*, and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull overthrow received at the Ilands *Agates*: yet the summe of his speech appears to have bene no lesse malicious, than it is set downe, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himselfe, at his departure out of *Italie*, exclaimed against the wickednesse of this *Hanno*, saying, that his hatred against the *Barbines*, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported; saying, It ill befecmed him, who had vanquished the *Romans*, to call for more helpe, as if he had bene beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled forth with spoile, to make request for meat and monie. To these cautils, if answer were needfull, it might be said, That other bootie than of horses and slaves, little was to be found in the *Roman* campe: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any maine conveyoy of monie and provisions, going to supply all wants of a great Armie in some other Province, (as the two *Scipio's* are afterwards said to have done, when they wanne the campe of *Ardubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spaine*, in his jounie towards *Italie*) then might such an objection more justly have bene made vnto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno's* his Oration, and wherein hee best might hope to prevaile, contained a perswasion to vse their fortune with moderation; and now to seeke peace, whilst they had so much the better in warre.

What would have bene the issue of this counsaile, if it had bene followed, it were not easie to say. For though it bee likely, that the *Romans* pride would have brooked much indignitie, in freeing *Italie* from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely, that the faith, so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would have bene kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for reuenge of so many shamefull overthrowes; since after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no submissiue behaviour could preserue *Carthage* from ruine, longer than vntill such time, as *Rome* was at leisure from all other warres. This counsaile therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seeme temperate, was indeede very pelltent; and serued only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine consent of the Senate, that fortie thousand *Numidians*, fortie Elephants, and great abundance of siuer, should bee sent ouer to *Hannibal*: and that, besides these, twentie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, should be leuied in *Spaine*; not only to supply, as need should require, the Armies in that Province, but to be transported into *Italie*.

This great aide, had it bene as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Historians would not have found cause, to taxe the reckless improuidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannæ* to *Rome*, or in refreshing his Armie among the delights of *Capua*: the next yeares worke would have finished his businesse, with lesse dangerous aduenture; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campanians*, would have bene commended, as rewards by him well thought vpon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be employed in the following warre. But either the too much carelesse of those, that were loth to make haile in laying out their monie, before extreme necessitie required it; or the craftie malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working vpon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commoditie, than sense of the publike need; vtterly peruered, and made vnprofitable in the performance, the order that had bene so well set downe. The Elephants were sent: and some monie peraduenture; vncertaine it is, how long after. But those great forces of three score thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, came not into *Italie*, till much was lost of that which already had bene gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Armie, was first consumed by time, and sundrie accidents of warre. Only

b Lu. l. 26.

some small numbers, no way answering vnto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spaine*; and the iourne of *Asinubal* thence through *France* into *Italie* much talked of, but he not enabled therevnto, till many yeares were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Here wee may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their Citie, both by the Tributes from their subiects, and by their wealthie Trade of merchandize. For it is not long, since the warre of the Mercinaries; and the perfidious tyrannic of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessitie twelue hundred talents; had exceedingly impoueriſhed *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, euen by the expence of so much monie, as was to be disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the losse at *Agates*. Yet wee see, what great Armies of *Nu-*
midians, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the seruice in *Italie*, and how little the *Carthaginians* feare the want of monie in these chargeable vndertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, having three or foure yeares together bene forced to some extraordinarie cost, are faine to goe vpon credit, euen for the price of those slaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such aduantage, in meane to enrich their Treasurie, had the wealthie merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterran Sea*, euen from *Tyrus* their Mother Citie in the bottome of the strights vnto the great Ocean, about the *Romans*: who liued on the fruits of their ground; and received their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of *Carthage*, the impudence of *Roman* fallhood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shad-
 ow the intended breach of faith, discovered plainly whence the jealousy was bred, that this mightie Citie would againe rebel. For the *Carthaginians*, having giuen vp hostages, euen before the *Roman* Armie did set forth, to performe whatsoever should be enioyned them, with condition that their Citie might not be destroyed; and hauing accordingly, when they were so required, yeelded vp all their weapons, and engines of warre; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the Citie of *Carthage*, which was the Bodie of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Towne must needs be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelue miles distant from the Sea. For (saide the *Romans*) this Trade of merchandize, by which yee now liue, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as yee promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of husbandrie; an wholesome kinde of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conseruation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glosing wordes, plainly shewes, what good obseruation the elder *Cato* had made of the haſtie growth of *Carthage* in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, added still this conclusion, *Thus I thinke; and that Carthage should be destroyed*; He may seeme, not only to haue had regard vnto that present wealth, which at his being there hee had found in the Citie, but much more vnto these times, and the great height wherunto it rose, euen suddenly as wee see, out of many calamities, whilst the *Romans* thought, that it had not bene in case to dare so terrible a warre.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skillfull than the *Romans*; so came they farre short of them, in the honourable care of the publike good: hauing euery one, or moſt of them, a more principall regard of his owne priuate benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in Victors) when the first heat of their affection, wherein they concluded to pursue the warre strongly, was ouer-past, goe more leisurely to worke, than had bene requisite in the execution. It was ealie for *Hanno* to perswade couetous men, that they should first of all defend their owne in *Spaine*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Prouince was secured, they might send an Armie into *Italie*; so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom, to commit

all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the Enemies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the Government of an ambitious man, and his brethern; who having once (if they could so doe) finished the warre, might easily make *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that free had given them to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their owne slacknesse, incredulitie, dulnesse, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perswaded rather to make small disturbances in *Spain*, than to set vp all their rest at once in *Italie*. Yet was it indeede impossible, to hold a Countrie of so large extent, and so open a coast, as that of *Spain*, free from all incursion of the Enemy: especially the affection of the *Naturalls* being (as in a new Conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had been to make a running warre, by which the *Romans* might have bene found occupied, even with the ordinarie *Carthaginian* Garrisons, or some little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to deferre the prosecution of their maine intendment against *Rome* it selfe, untill such time as every little thorne were pulled out of the sides of so great a Province, then must *Emporia* have been besieged and forced: which by reason of alliance with the *Masilians*, gave vnto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a readie and secure Harbour. But the Towne of *Emporia* was too strong to be wonne in haste: it had long defended it selfe against the *Barbarians*; having not above foure hundred paces of wall to the maine Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great *Spanish* Towne of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compasse, very strong likewise, and friend vnto the *Gracians*, though not over-much trusted. Wherefore to force this Towne of *Emporia*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Masilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*, would have bene a worke of little lesse difficultie, than was the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battaile at *Canna*: yea it had bene in effect none other, than to alter the seat of the warre; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgement, neare vnto the gates of *Rome*. The difficultie of this attempt being such, as caused it altogether to be forborne; great follie it was, to bee much troubled about expelling the *Romans* vtterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more easily haue diuerted thence, and drawne hometo their owne doores, by making strong warre vpon their Citie. For euen so the *Roman* afterwards remoued *Hannibal* into *Affrick*, by sending an Armie to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeouored to change the seat of the warre, transferring it out of *Italie* into *Spain*. But the priuate affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is accessarie to their owne purposes, did make them easily winke at opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it selfe, though they let not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken vnto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keepe the purse full. In the meane while they suffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to wearie themselves in triuall for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in generall highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the indutrie of these *Barbines* had bene somewhat more than needfull. Sutely the *Carthaginians*, in generall, were farre lesse honorable than the People of *Rome*: not only in government of their subiect Provinces, but in administration of their owne Estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publicke about their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimonious toward their owne Mercenaries, when the former *Roman* warre was finished: so the conclusion of this warre present, will make them complaine, with feeling sighes, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal*, after the victorie at *Canna*; when gladly they would giue all their Treasures, to redeeme the opportunity, that now they let passe, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfulls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spanish* businesse, and the state of *Affrick* it selfe, depended wholly,

* Offuscation
bition *Hanno*
directly accus-
ing *Hannibal*,
saying, that he
made warre
vpon waite,
that so hee
might haue
compassed
with Legions,
as knowing no
other way to
make himselfe
a King. *Liv. lib. 21.*

Carthaginian
vnto

475
Carthaginian
vnto
126
105

Polyb. 11.

ly, or for the most part, vpon successe of things in *Italie*, the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly how matters were ordered in *Spaine* by the *Carthaginian* Gouvernours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe. For though we must not reprehend, in that worthe Historian *Linie*, the tender loue of his owne Countrey, which made him giue credit vnto *Fabius* and others: yet must we not, for his sake, belceue those lies, which the vnpartiall judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gaue them originall. It were needlesse to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the vntruth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. Hec saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former warre, T hat hauing cleane spent their strength, and being euen broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves vnto the *Romans*. Contrarie hereunto we finde in the *Life* of *Amilcar*, set downe by *Emilius Probus*, T hat *Eryx* was in such sort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to bee in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not bene any warre. These wordes, being referred to the braue resolution of the *Carthaginian* Souldiers, and the singular vertue of their Generall in insuling such spirit into them; may be taken as not overliberall. For in the Treatie of peace betweene *Amilcar* and *Catalus*, when the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay downe their Armes, and forsake *Sicily*, threatening, that otherwise he would not take of any composition: *Amilcar* boldly bad him chooe, whether he would talke of it, or no; for that the Armes, which his Countrey had put into his hands to vse against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to yeeld vp vnto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrarie to their custome vpon like aduantages, were content to let *Amilcar* haue his will, and not to stand with him vpon point of honour, whilest otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would haue him seeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with vntruth; saying, that howsoeuer *Amilcar*, and his Souldiers, had endured all extremitie, yet they behaued themselves as men that had no sensethereof; and were as farre from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference betweene *Fabius* (as also perhapps betweene other old Writers of the *Roman* storie) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mightie Citie of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoeuer *Linie* introduceth *Hanno* in one place, joyning very foolishly his owne shamefull ouerthrow at the Islands * *Agates*, with the great seruices of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet * elsewhere he forbearth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his owne vnhappie conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, T hat the affaires of *Carthage* went neuer better, than a little before the losse of their fleet in that battaile at Sea: wherein himselfe was General. Now concerning the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spaine*, there is cause to wisht, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like flampe, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Linie* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to thinke too well of their relations: which are such as follow.

* Agates Insulæ Erycem, exie sculos pro-petit, &c. Lin. lib. xi.

a Luc. lib. x3.

Romans

§. XI.

Stranger sports of the Roman victories in Spain, before ASDRUBAL the sonne of ANILCAR followed thence his brother HANNIBAL into Italie.



T hath beene hewed alreadie, how P. Cornelius Scipio the Consul, returning from Gaule into Italie, to encounter with Hannibal at his descent from the Alpes, sent before him his brother Cneus, with part of his Fleet and Armie, into Spain. Two Roman Legions, with foure-
 10 threene thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelue hundred horse, had beene allotted vnto this Consul, threewith to make warre in Spain against Han-
 10 nibal: who since he was marching into Italie with the strength of his Armie, P. Scipio beleued, that a good part of these his owne forces might well be spared from the Spanishe Expedition; and therefore made bold to carrie some of the number back with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. Publius himselfe remayned in Italie all the time of his Consulship: which being expired, He was sent Proconsul into Spain by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thousand men, and a fleet of thirthe Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Prouince, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat meruallous. For they continually prevailed in Spain, against the Carthaginians: whom they vanquished in so many battailes, and with-drew from their Alliance so many of the Spaniards their Confederates; that wee haue cause to wonder, how the Enemie could so often finde meanes to repaire his forces, and re-
 20 turne strong into the field. But as the Romans, by pretending to deliuer the Countrie from the tyrannic of Carthage, might easily winne vnto their Confederacie, as many as were galled with the African yoke, and durst aduenture to break it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerours, might serue to arme the Naturalls against these Invaders; and to reclaime those, that had revolted vnto the Romans, were it only by the memorie of such ill successe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the Carthaginian treasure: which easily raised
 30 souldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) poore, and gold-thirstie Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the Spaniards had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with Hannibal in his Italian warres; or seruing the Carthaginians in Africk. And peraduenture, if we durst be bold to say it, the victo-
 40 ries of the Scipios were neither so many, nor so great, as they are set out by Linie. This we may be bold to say, That the great Captaine Fabius, or Linie in his person, maketh an objection vnto Scipio, which neither Scipio, nor Linie for him, doth answer; That if ASDRUBAL were vanquished, as Scipio would say, by him in Spain: as
 40 strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should invade Italie. And it is indeede an incredible narra-
 50 tion, That ASDRUBAL being closed in on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of a battaile, saue only by the sleepe descent of Rocks, ouer a great River that lay at his back, ranne away with all his monie, Elephants, and broken troups, ouer Tagus, directly toward the Pyrenees, and so toward Italie; vpon which hee fell with more than threescore thousand armed souldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs
 50 well together, That he chose a peece of ground very defensible, but most incommo-
 60 dious for his retreat, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his monie and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the Enemie: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the Romans (for so are they said to haue done in the last battaile betweene him and Scipio) from breaking into his camp. Wherefore we can no more than be forrie, that
 50 all Carthaginian records of this warre, and Spanishe, (if there were any) being vterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the Romans to tell vs: vnto whom it were no wisdom to giue too much credit. In this regard, I will sum-
 60 marily runne ouer the doings of the Scipio in Spain; not greatly insisting on parti-
 60 culars, whereof there is no great certaintie.

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Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporia*, an Haven-towne not farre within the *Pyrenes*, retaining till the same name with little inflexion: That by the fame of his clemencie heallured many Nations to become subiect vnto *Rome*, as the storie beginnes of him, I could easily beleuee, if I vnderstood by what occasion they had neede to vie his clemencie, or he to giue such famous example thereof, being a meere stranger, and hauing no iurisdiction in the Countrey. Yet is it certaine, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himselfe into the loue of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his dexteritie in practise had the better successe, for that hee seemed to haue none other grand, than setting them at libertie. This pretext assailed with some: others were to be hired with monie: and some hee compelled to yeld by force or feare; especially, when he had wonne a battaile against *Hanno*. In to all T reaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is that hee remembred to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances neuer forgate, vnlesse in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Maisie* statem Pop. *Rom.* comiter conferunt, which is, as *Tullie* interprets it, That they should gently (or kindly) vphold the Maiestie of the People of *Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implied it indeede an obscure couenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *ditionis Romanae*; of the *Roman iurisdiction*; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Countrey wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italie*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Bargatians*, *Hannibal* had found, at his comming among them, such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Gouernour ouer them, as ouer the rest of the Prouince betwene *Iberus* and the *Pyrenes*, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceiue it; for I doe not thinke he gaue the Principalltie of their Countrey vnto *Hanno* and his Heires.) He made him not only Licutenant generall ouer them, in matters of warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but tooke from them all inferiour Officers of their owne, leauing them to be gouerned by *Hanno*, at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to reioyce at the comming of *Scipio*: with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to ioyne; it being the custome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times proue worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanais*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, wearie by turnes of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more sensible still of the present euill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, wherinto they ranne by seeking to auoide it. This bad affection of his Prouince, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left vnto him: besides which it is like, that some forces hee was able to raise out of his Prouince. Therefore hee aduentured a battaile with *Scipio*; wherein hee was overthrowne and taken. Following this victorie, *Scipio* besieged *Sisium*, a Townehard by, and wanne it. But *Asdrubal* hauing passed *Iberus*, and comming too late to the reliefe of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, fell vpon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not farre about *Tarraco*n, whom he found carelesse, as after a victorie, rousing abroad in the Countrey; and with great slaughter draue them aboard their ships. This done, he ranne vp into the Countrey, where he with-drew the *Ilgeretes* from the *Roman* partie, though they had giuen hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the meane season was gone to visit and aide his fleet: where hauing set things in order, he returned back, and made toward *Asdrubal*; who durst not abide his comming, but with-drew himselfe againe ouer *Iberus*. So the *Ilgeretes* were compelled by force, hauing lost *Athanasia* their chiefe Citie, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of their hostages. The *Ausetani* likewise, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirte daies;

raft of 800 in 1640

Orat. pro Cn. Balio.

Liu. l. 21.

Polib. 3.

Golden Thread

DSO Bureau, 24 May 2008

daies; hoping in vaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would haue made the *Romans* to dislodge. But they were faine at length to yeld: and for this their obstinacie, they were amerced twentie talents of siluer. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came to helpe their distressed Neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leauing twelue thousand of their companie dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these *Lacetani*, that are said to bee the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should, without any cause remembered, become *Carthaginians* on the sudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of *Iberus*, hauing lately become voluntarily *ditiois Romane*; subiect vnto Rome, should, in continuance of the storie, after a few lines, hold warre against *Scipio*, without any assistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I beleue, that *Asdrubal*, as it were by charme, stirred vp the *Illergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take armes in his quarrell; whilst himselfe had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ranne away, and flied himselfe beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* Writer, would haue told it thus: That *Scipio* aduenturing too farre into the Countrey, was beaten by *Asdrubal* back to his ships, whence hee durst not stirre, untill Winter came on: at what time this *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Prouince, leauing some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* wanne, by returning vpon them, vnlooked for, through a deepe snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Illergetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably thinke, that they fought their owne benefit: helping themselves one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwise, vpon sense of injuries receiued, or apprehension of more grieuous tyrannie, vnder which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, hearkening againe vnto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to liue vnder their owne Countrey Lawes, and not vnder Gouernours sent from Rome or *Carthage*, their demanour in all Ages following may testifie: euen from henceforth vnto the dayes of *Augustus Caesar*; still when they were neuer thoroughly conquered.

30 The yeare following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victorie against the *Carthaginians*, in fight at Sea; or rather came vpon them vnlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ranne not too far on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended. After this victorie, about one hundred and twentie Nations, or pettie Estates, in *Spaine*, are said to haue submitted themselves vnto the *Romans*, and giuen Hostages: whereby *Asdrubal* was compelled to flie into the vtmost corners of the Land, and hide himselfe in *Lusitania*. Yet it followes; that the *Illergetes* did againe rebell; that *Asdrubal* hereupon came ouer *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though hauing easily vanquished the *Illergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but stirred vp against him the *Celiberians*, that lately were become his subiects and had giuen him Hostages. These tooke from the *Carthaginian* three Townes, and vanquished him in two battailes; wherein they slue fifteen thousand of his men, and tooke foure thousand prisoners. Then arriued *P. Scipio*, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren jointly administred the businesse in *Spaine*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celiberian Warre*; the two *Scipios* did, hand conuenter, without feare or doubt, passe ouer *Iberus*, and besiege *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already subdued many Nations beyond it, and, among many others, the same *Celiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish *Asdrubal*. *Boissar*, the Gouernour of *Saguntum*, a simple man, suffered himselfe to be perswaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the fauour and heartie good will of the Countrey, was by freely restoring vnto them their Hostages; as resling, without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the craftie *Spaniard*, being trusted with this message and restitution of the Hostages, carried them

all to the *Roman* Generalls: perswading them, as hee had done *Bellerophon*, to make the Liberallitie their owne. Herby the *Romans* purchased much loue: if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward ere this we finde, that all the *Spanish* Hoillages were left in new *Carthage*. I am wearie of rehearsing so many particularities, whereof I can beleuee so few. But since wee finde no better certainties, we must content our selues with these.

The yeare following was like vnto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten againe. The two *Scipio's* diuide their forces: *Cn.* makes warre by Land; *P.* by Sea. *Asdrubal*, with much labour and entreatie, hath gotten foure thousand foot, and hie hundred horse, out of *Africk*: Hee repaires his fleet; and provides euery way to make resistance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Matters of his ships, reuolt vnto the *Romans*: because they had bene chidden the last yeare for their negligence, which had betrayed the Naue. The reuolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpetanians*, or *Carpetanians*, an In-land people about *Toledo* in the very Center of *Spain*. These doe much mischief, so that *Asdrubal* is faine to make a iournee to them. His sudden comming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, so valiantly assaile him, that they driue him, for very feare, to incampe himselfe strongly on an high peece of ground; whence hee dares not come forth to giue them battaile. So they take a Towne by force, wherein hee had laid vp all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Countrie round about. This good successe breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes vpon them, takes them vnprepared, beates them, kills the most of them, and disperleth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* should leade his Armie forth-into *Italie*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to doe, if they had bene informed by his letters in what hard case he was; and had so weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus wee finde it reported; and that vpon the very rumour of this his iournee, almost all *Spain* was readie to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore sends word presently to *Carthage*, That this must not be so: or, if they will needes haue it so, that then they must send him a Successor, and well attended with a strong Armie, which to employ they should finde worke more than enough; such notable men were the *Roman* Generalls. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moued with this excuse: *Asdrubal* must needes bee gone; and *Himilco*, with such forces as are thought expedient for that seruice, both by Land and Sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath new no more to doe, than to furnish himselfe with store of monie, that hee might haue wherewithall to winne the friendship of the *Gauls*; through whose Countreies hee must passe, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly too blame, for not remembering to ease him of this care. But since it can be no better, he laies great Impositions vpon all the *Spaniards* his subjects; and hauing gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio's* hearing these newes, are carefull how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so called of the Riuer name running by it) the richest towne in all those quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*: who thereupon steps aside to relieue it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battaile with him: which they winne the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather bee vanquished at home; than get the victorie, and afterwards be haled into *Italie*. Great numbers are slaine: and few should haue escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ranne away, ere the battailes were throughly joyned. Their campe the *Romans* take, and spoile: whereby (questionlesse) they are meruailously enriched; all the monie that could be raked together in *Spain*, being carried along in this *Italian* Expedition. This dayes euent joynes all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Countrie stood in doubt before; and puts *Asdrubal* so farre from all thought of trauiailing into *Italie*, that it leaues him small hope of keeping himselfe safe in *Spain*. Of these exploits aduertisement is sent to

Rome:

Rome: and Letters to the Senate, from *P. and Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are; That they haue neither monie, apparrell, nor bread, wherewith to sustaine their Armie and Fleet; That all is wanting; so as vnlesse they may bee supplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarrie any longer in the Province. These Letters come to *Rome* in an euill season; for the State being scarcely able, after the loss at *Canna*, to helpe it selfe at home. Yet reliefe is sent; how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that Ioue and care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* beare vnto the Common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhere, into the Relation of things whereof the truth is lesse questionable. At the coming of this supply, the two *Scipio's* pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we thinke; that remember the last newes of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his owne safetie? They finde him, and *Mago*, and *Amilcar* the sonne of *Bomilcar*, with an Armie of three score thousand men, besieging *Iliturgi*: (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others, probably conjecture to haue stood, where *Cannus* is now, in the Kingdome of *Aragon*; for there was *Iliturgi*, afterward called *Forum Iulij*, quite another way) a Towne of the *Ibergetes* their nearest Neighbours, for hauing revolted vnto the *Romans*. The Towne is greatly distressed; but most of all, with want of victualles. The *Romans* therefore breake through betweene the Enemies camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them: and hauing victualled the place, encourage the townsmen to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should vnbohold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalfe. So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against three score thousand: and killing more of the enemies, than themselves were in number, driue all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, euery one, out of his quarter; and take that day, besides prisoners and other bootie, fiftie and eight Ensignes. The *Carthaginian* Armie, being thus beaten from *Iliturgi*, fall vpon *Inchibi*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of the *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning monie by warre, for thus re-enforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondered, whence the *Carthaginians* had monie to pay them: since *Asdrubal* was lately driuen to poll the Countrie, wanting monie of his owne; and being beaten in this iourne, had lost his wealthie carriages, when his campe was taken after the battaile by *Ibera*. Howsoeuer it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custome) are beaten againe at *Inchibi*: where there are of them about thirtene thousand slain, and about three thousand taken; besides two and fortie Ensignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* tell from them vnto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antias*, or some other Historian, to whom *Luius* gaue credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one yeare, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captaines, *P. and Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their owne side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next yeare, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are ouerthrowne by him. *P. Scipio*, to helpe these his friends, is forced to make great haste ouer the Riuier. At *Casturn altum*, a place in the mid-way betwene new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *P. Scipio* incampeth: and stores the place with victualles, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Countrie round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse haue charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off cleare; falling also vpon some straglers, or such as lagged behinde their fellowes in march, they haue cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behouefull, to retire vnto some place more assured. So *Publius* withdraws him selfe vnto *Monti Victoria*: that rising somewhat Eastward from *Inchibi*, ouer-looks the Southerne Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repaires vnto him; and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesco*, with a full Armie, arrives to helpe his Companions. As they lie thus neare incamped together, *P. Scipio*, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places therabouts,

is discovered by the enemies : who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himselfe to an high peece of ground ; where they besiege him , vntill his brother *Cn.* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Casula*, a great citie of *Spaine*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife , joyneth with the *Romans* ; though being late distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Batis*. Neuertheless the *Carthaginians* passe ouer *Iberni*, to besiege *Illiturgi* againe, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison ; hoping to winne it by famine. Wee may iustly wonder, what should moue them to neglect the rebellion of *Casula*, yea and the *Roman* Armie lying so close by them, and to seeke adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had bene so grievously beaten the yeare before. But thither they goe : and thither folloes them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion : who enters the Towne by force , breakes out vpon them the next day, and in two battailes kills aboute twelue thousand , and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with fixe and thirtie Ensignes. This victorie (doubtlesse) is remakable : considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than fise thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra* : but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Munda* ; where the *Romans* are loone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lasteth foure houres, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victorie ; and a more notable would haue gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* bene wounded. Thirtie nine Elephants are killed ; and twelue thousand men ; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fiftie Ensignes. The *Carthaginians* flee to *Auriges* ; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquisheth the *Carthaginians* againe : but kills not halfe so many of them, as before ; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these ouertowes, the *Spaniards*, a people framed euen by nature to set warre on foot, quickly fill vp the broken troups of *Asdrubal* : who hauing also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to trie his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten againe, and loofeth eight thousand of his men ; besides Prisoners , Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the *Romans* are euen alhamed, to leaue *Saguntum* enthralled vnto the *Carthaginians* ; since, in behalfe of that Citie, they had at first entered into this watre. And well may wee thinke it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since wee may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Countrie once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum* ; and were faine (as appears) to goe their way without it : so as they neede not to bluth, for hauing so long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe. At the present they winne *Saguntum* : and restore the possession thereof vnto such of the poore dispersed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the Countrie of the *Turdetani*, that had ministred vnto *Hannibal* matter of quarrell against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour ; and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would haue disturbed them, if they had bene able.

But ouer-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* haue gotten in *Spaine*, other print or token of all their braue exploits, wee can perceiue none, than this recouerie of *Saguntum* : excepting the stopping of *Asdrubals* iourne ; which was indeede of greatest importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they haue landed at *Emporia*, an Hauen-towne, built and peopled by a Colonie of the *Phoenians*, kinne to the *Masilians*, friends to the *Romans* ; They haue easily wonne to their partie, lost, recouered, and lost againe, some petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perswasion, other whiles by force, and sometimes by their owne vnletted passions ; and now finally they haue wonne a Towne, where of the *Carthaginians* held entire possession ; who had rooted out the old Inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily beleue, that when they tooke *Saguntum* (if they tooke it not by surprife ; which is to be suspected, since

in this Action we finde no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*, they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembered, after cutting one of which *Asdrubal* fare downe before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed readie to rebell, were prosperous vnto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carrie the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their owne places of strength, and therein to attend the leuie and arriuall of new supplies. And surely if the *Romans* had bene absolute Masters of the field, when they wanne *Seguntum*, they would not haue consumed a whole yeare following in praefising only with the *Celiberians* the next adioyning people. Yet made they this, little lesse than two yeares businesse. Of these *Celiberians* we heare before, That they haue yielded vp themselves vnto the *Romans*; for securitie of their faith, giuen Hostages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made warre against the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, notwithstanding expresse condition of a great summe, hired to seruice in the *Roman* Campe. How this may hold together I cannot perceiue; vnlesse perhaps in those dayes it were the *Roman* custome, or rather the custome of some bad Author, whom *Lucius* follows, to call euery Messenger, or stragler, that entred their campe, an Hostage of 20 that people from whom he came.

The *Celiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, send an Armie of thirtie thousand to helpe the *Romans*; out of which, three hundred the fittest men are chosen, and carried into *Italie*, there to deale with their Countreimen that follow *Hannibal* in his warres: But if any of these three hundred returne back into *Spaine*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such newes of the riches and welfare of *Hannibal*'s men, that all his fellowes at home are the lesse vnwilling to follow *Asdrubal*, when he shall next haue a desire to leade them into *Italie*. Hereof wee finde more than probabilitie, when these Mercinarie *Celiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Armie in the field. The two *Scipio*'s, presuming on this access of strength, diuide their forces, and secke out the Enemies; who lie not farre off with three Armies. *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Amilcar*, is nearest at hand; euen among the *Celiberians*, at *Antiochus*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the feare is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, hearing the newes, will make vse of their distance, which is five daies march, and, by running into the furthest parts of the Countrey, saue themselves from being ouertaken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Armie; leauing the third part, and all the *Celiberians*, to his brother. Hee that hath the longer iourne to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his liues end. *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, are not studying how to runne away: they finde no such necessitie. They joyne their forces together; meet with *P. Scipio*; and lay at him so hardly, that hee is driuen to keepe himselfe close within his Trenches: wherein he thinks himselfe not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masaniassa*, Prince of the *Masafish*, *Numidian*; bordering vpon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chiefe honour of this cruize is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis*, a *Spanish* Prince, is comming with seven thousand and five hundred of the *Suesetani*, to joyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be streight shut vp, and besieged, He issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* vpon the way; leauing *T. Fonteus* his Lieutenant, with a small companie, to defend the campe. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the *Numidian* horse appeare (whom he thought to haue been ignorant of his departure) and fall vpon the *Romans* on all sides: neither are the *Carthaginians* farre behinde; but come so fast vpon him in Rear, that *P. Scipio*, vncertaine

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taine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where neede most requireth, is struck through with a lance, and layne: very few of his Armie escaping the same destinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twentie dayes after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal*, the *Celiberian* Mercenaries all forsake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Countrie. If *Antiochus*, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Orelus* following *Beuterus* takes it; a *Celiberian* Towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly beleuee, that they were wonne by *Asdrubal*, and easily perswaded to take as much monie for not fighting, as they should haue had for hazarding their liues. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being vnable to stay them; and no lesse vnable, without their helpe, either to resist the Enemy, or to joyne with his Brother, makes a very violent retrait; herein only differing from plaine flight, that hee keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard vpon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gefso*, hauing made an end of *Publius*, halten to dispatch his brother after him. *Scipio* steals from them all, by night; but is ouer-taken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stonie ground, where growes not so much as a shrub, vnfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill hee findes, of easie ascent on euery side, which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Palliade. These weake defences the *Carthaginians* soone teare in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leaue very few of them aliue; that sauing themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoyning, escape vnto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on euery side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to couer them, could breake out, and shrow themselves within woods adjoyning, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio*'s campe, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearefull (as may be supposed) of his owne life; since his Generall, with two parts of the *Roman* Armie, had little hope to remaine long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a yong *Roman* Gentleman of a notable spirit: who hauing gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawne some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretie Armie. The Souldiers, being to choose a Generall by most voices, preferre this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant; as well they may. For *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gefso*, comming vpon them; this *L. Martius* so encourageth his men, (soudly weeping when hee led them forth, vpon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately slaine) and admonisheth them of their present necessitie, that he beates the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victorie perhaps he might haue gotten, but that hee wisely founds the retrait, reseruing the surie of his Souldiers to a greater ocation. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse growes, in enemies lately vanquished, and now againe little better than taken: but when they see, that the *Romans* dares not follow his aduantage, they returne to their former securitie; and vterly despising him, set neither *Corps du garde*, nor Sentinell, but rest secure, as if no enemy were neare. *Martius* therefore animates his souldiers with liuely wordes; and tells them, That there is no aduantage more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being vnder-taken. They are soone perswaded to follow him, in any desperate pece of seruice. So he leads them forth by night, and steals vpon the campe of *Asdrubal*: where finding no guard, but the enemies fast a-sleepe, or very drowzie, He enters without resistance, fires their Cabbins, and giues a terrible alarme; so that all the afrighted, the *Carthaginians* runne head-long one vpon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their campe *Martius* hath prepossest, so that there is no way to escape, saue by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke vpon it, and runne away toward the campe of *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, that lay fixe miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley be-
twene

Romans in Rome
are many more
to act in 1505

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twelve their two camps he hath belovved a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in peeces. But lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarme before his coming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soone as they. By which diligent speede, He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe: which with no great difficulty he enters; and partly by force, partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* shields, foule, and blondd with their former execution, He drives head-long into flight, all that can save themselves from the furie of the sword. Thirtie seven thousand of the enemies perish in this
 10 nights worke; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirtie, that are taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* addes, that the campe of *Mago* was also taken, and seven thousand slaine: and that in another battaile with *Asdrubal*, there were slaine ten thousand more; besides foure thousand three hundred and thirtie, taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Liue* therefore hath else where well observed, That there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battailes. That, whilst *Martius* was making an Oration to his souldiers, a flame of fire thone about his head, *Liue* reporteth as a common tale, not giuing thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captaine
 20 *Martius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if with so small forces, and in such distresse, He could clearly get off from the Enemies, and giue them any paring blow, though it were farre lesse than that which is here set downe.

Of these occurrents *L. Martius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his owne good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might judge him worthie to hold the place of their Vicerent in *Spaine*: which the better to intimate vnto them, He stiled himselfe Propretor. The *Fathers* were no lesse moued with the tidings, than the case required: and therefore tooke such carefull order, for supplying their forces in *Spaine*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies, leuied to serue in that Prouince, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for defence of the Citie it selfe, but shipped them in all haste for
 30 *Spaine*. As for that title of Propretor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in vsurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to haue the souldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Prouinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was dispatched away, with all conuenient haste, into *Spaine*: carrying with him about sixethousand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* Horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the affaires of *Rome* beganne to prosper in *Italie*, and afforded means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise, the victories of *Martius* would ill haue serued, either to keepe footing in *Spaine*, or to
 40 stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alpes*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Armie, which was vnder *Martius* and *Fonteus*; he found surer tokens of the ouerthrowes receiued, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts vnto the Senate. The *Roman* partie was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends: whom how to reclaim, it could not easily be deuised. Yet *Claudius* aduanced boldly towards
 50 *Asdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Auseiani*, neare enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no issue, but only through a streight, whereon the *Roman* seized at his first coming. What should haue tempted any man of vnderstanding to incamp in such a place, I do not finde: and as little reason can I finde in that which followed. For it is said, That *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe thus lockt vp, made offer to depart forth-with out of all *Spaine*, and quit the Prouince to the *Romans*, vpon condition, that he and his Armie might be thence dismissed; That he spent many daies, in enterpayning parlee with *Claudius* about this businesse, That night by night hee conceiued his foot-men

(a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a milkie day, Hee stole away with all his Horle and Elephants, leauing his campe empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generalls in *Spaine*; wee shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicitie of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Countrey, with one of these three Chieftaines, than at the strange nature of those passages: through which the foot-men could hardly creepe out by night; the Horle and Elephants easily following them in a darke milkie day. Wherefore in giuing beliefe to such a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to haue bene of farre lesse value. Howsoeuer it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could doe, serued to purchase any new friends in *Spaine*, or to recouer the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, tooke it not well, that the Senate, regardlesse of their good deserts, had repealed their Election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may haue moued them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) yong *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignitie, were needfull to worke regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloued memorie of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to doe good, were it reuied in one of the same Familie. Whether vpon theke, or vpon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Prouince; and *Publius* the son of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsul into *Spaine*.

This is that *P. Scipio*, who afterward transferred the warre into *Africk*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Countrey. He was a man of goodly preface, and singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continencie, Bountie; and other Vertues that purchaselloue; of which qualities what great vse he made, I shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, fauouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanitie; How he vsed to walke alone in the Capitall, as one that had some secret conference with *Iupiter*; How a Dragon (which must haue bene one of the Gods; and, in likelihood, *Iupiter* himselfe) was thought to haue conuersed with his Mother, entering her chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtfull answers; I hold them no better than meere fables, deuised by Historians, who sought thereby to adde vnto the glorie of *Rome*: that this noble Citie might seeme, not only to haue surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generalitie, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serue to adorne this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as a matter of vnquestionable truth, That when a Proconsul was to be chosen for *Spaine*, there durst not any Capitaine of the principall Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the People of *Rome* were much astonished therat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie stood looking one another in the face, not one of them hauing the heart, to aduenture himselfe in such a desperate seruice; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about foure and twentie yeares of age, getting vp on an high place where hee might be seene of all the Multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vpon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dregmes: and either very vnreasonable was the feare of all the *Roman* Capitaines, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spaine* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Prouince, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard euen now, was readie to abandon. But vpon these incoherences, which I finde in the too partiall *Roman* Historians, I doe not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsul into *Spaine*; and with him was joyned *M. Iunius Silanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot, and

and a thousand horse, in thirtie *Quinquere Gallies*. With these they landed at *Emperia*; and marched from thence to *Tarracoe* alongst the Sea-coast. At the same of *Scipio's* arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province: which he entertained with such a majestic, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the Enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and so much the greater was their feare, by how much the lesse they could giue any reason of it. If wee must beleue this, then must wee needes beleue, that their feare was euen as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the winter following (or, as some thinke, all the next yeare) hee did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprise was against new *Carthage*: vpon which he came vnexpected, with five and twentie thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; his Sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. Hee assailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wanne it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it, by their too much confidence vpon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might haue bene well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of *Tarracoe* had not discovered vnto *Scipio*, a secret passage vnto the walls; whereof the Townsmen themselues were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could haue no notice. This Citie of new *Carthage*, resembled the old and great *Carthage* in situation; standing vpon a demi-Island, betwene an Haven and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher men of *Tarracoe* had founded; and finding in some part thereof a shelfe, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deepe, or (at most) wading vp to the Naui, *Scipio* thrust threinto some Companies of his men; who recovered the top of the wals without resistance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend itselfe by the naturall strength. These falling suddenly vpon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the Citie; easily forced a gate, and gaue free entrance to the *Roman* Armie. What bootie was found within the Towne, *Liue* himselfe cannot certainly affirme; but is faine to say, That some *Roman* Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treasurie, we may easily perceiue, how great a vanitie it was to say, That all the wealth of *Africke* and *Spaine*, was heaped vp in that one Towne. But therein whom *Scipio* entreated with singular courtesie; restoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celiberians*, and two pettie Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lacianis*, nearest Neighbours to *Tarracoe*, and dwelling on the North side of *Iberus*, forsooke the *Carthaginian* partie; and joyined with the *Romans*. The speech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended; for that he did not want himselfe, as commonly fugitiues vse, of the pleasure which he did vnto the *Romans*, in reuolting from their Enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and inuite d by the honorable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeede no vnwise token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we haue heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* partie, and stoutly held themselues as friends to *Scipio*; then could nothing haue bene deuised more vaine, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when he should haue rather craued pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vnde. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoeuer the two eldest *Scipio's* had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* neuer Masters of the Countrey, till this worthie Commander, by recouering their Hostages from the *Carthaginians*, and

by his great munificence in sending them home, wanne vnto himselfe the assured loue and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generalls, when they heard of this losse, were very forrie: yet neuertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a yong man, hauing holne a Towne by surprize, was too farre transported, and ouer-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more conuenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne conjecture; I should be bold to say, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time bulie, in setting forth towards *Italie*; and that *Scipio*, to diuert them, vnder-tooke new *Carthage*, as his Father and Vncle, vpon the like occasion, fate downe before *Ihera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not beene much amisse, if the passage ouer the Lake had beene vndiscovered, and the Towne held out some longer while. For howsoeuer that particular Action was the more fortunate, in comming to such good issue vpon the first day: yet in the generalitie of the businesse, betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should bee staied from going into *Italie*, than that halfe of *Spaine* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to doe, that should hinder his iourney, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* worke, in that lingering warre of taking and retaking Townes, whilst the maine of the *Carthaginian* forces, vnder *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprize: euen to fight in triall of the Empire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italie*: whither hee ranne for feare, as thinking himselfe ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might beeare the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, comming vpon *Asdrubal*; his Vantcoursers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* horle, that they draue them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, euen by that small peece of seruice, how full of spirit the *Roman* Armie was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that euen ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with a Riuer, very steepe of ascent, and not calie of access on the fore side; by which himselfe got vp; and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he strongly incamped himselfe: and in the mid-way, betweene the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine; into which he descended, more vpon brauerie, than he might not seeme to hide himselfe within his Trenches, than for that he durst aduenture his Armie to the hazard of a battaile, for which this was no equall ground. But such aduantage of place could not saue him from the *Romans*. They climbed vp the Hill to him; they recovered euen footing with him; droue him out of this lower Plaine, vp into his Campe on the Hill-top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got vp before them, they draue both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to flee. Out of such a battaile, wherein he lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to haue escaped; and gathering together his disperfed troupes, to haue marched towards the *Pyrenees*, hauing sent away his Elephants ere the fight beganne. Neuertheless *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, are reported after this, to haue consulted with him about this warre; and finally to haue concluded, that goe hee needs must, were it but to carrie all the *Spaniards* as farre as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to haue been true, it shall appeare at his comming into *Italie*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affaires, haue too long detained vs.

§. XII.

The great troubles that HANNIBAL raised in all quarters, to the Citie of Rome.
POSTHUMIVS the Roman General, with his whole Armie, is slaine by the Gauls.
PHILIP King of Macedon, enters into a League with HANNIBAL, against the
Romans. The Romans, ioyning with the Italians, make warre vpon PHILIP
in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him; the better to intend their busi-
nesse against the Carthaginians.

10



He left Hannibal wintering at Capua: where hee and his new Confed-
rates rejoiced (as may bee thought) not a little, to heare the good
newes from Carthage of such mightie aide, as was decreed to bee sent
thence vnto him. In former times hee had found worke enough, to
carrie the Romans corne into his owne barnes, and to driue away their
Cattaille to Geryon: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance
for his Armie; by making him Master of the open field. Hee might perhaps haue
fore'd some walled Townes, in like sort as he did Geryon, and the Castle of Cannæ:
but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the
hunger, that his Armie must haue endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill
corne were ripe, would haue grievously punished him for such imployment of the
Sommer. This may haue beene the reason, why hee forbore to aduerture vpon
Rome after his victorie at Cannæ. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certaintie)
to carrie the Citie at his first comming; want of vittualles would haue compelled
him to quit the enterprife. Yea many of the people that opened so hastily their
gates vnto him, vpon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe, would haue taken time
of deliberation, and waited perhaps the euent of another battaile: if being, either
for want of meanes to force the Citie, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it,
repelled (as might seeme) from the walls of Rome, hee had presented himselfe vnto
30 them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the year; when time to force
their obedience was wanting, vnlesse they would freely yeld it. But this great part
of the care and trauaile was past, when so many States of Italie were become his: the
year following, the Samnites, and other old enemies of Rome, were like to receive a
notable pleasure of their new alliance with Carthage, by helping to lay siege vnto
that proud Citie, which so long had held them in subjection. Thus the Winter was
passed ouer joyfully, sauing that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to
second the welcome report of those mightie forces, that were decreed and expected.
The Spring drew on: and of the promised supply there arriued no more, than only
the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I finde not: only we finde, that af-
ter this he had about thirtie of them; whereas all, save one, that hee brought ouer
40 the Alpes, had beene lost in his iourne through the marishes of Helvetia. Very bad
excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make
vnto Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the
persuasion of Hanno wrought among the too niggardly Carthaginians. Otherwile,
they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way
about, to passe along through Spaine and Gaule, as hee himselfe had done; and in-
crease the Armie, by hyring the Barbarians in the iourne; than to commit the maine
strength of their Citie, to the hazard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious
Hauen, to receive the fleet that should carrie such a number of Men, Horses, and
50 Elephants, with all needfull provisions. With these allegations Hannibal must rest
content; and seeke, as well as he can, to satisfie his Italian Confederates. Therefore
when time of the year serued, He tooke the field: and hauing finished what rest
to be done at Casinum, sought to make himselfe Master of some good Hauen-towne
thereabout; that might serue to entertaine the Carthaginian fleet, or take from his

Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same purpose, and to doe what else was needfull, He sent *Himiles* vnto the *Laerians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucanis*: not forgetting at once to assay all quarters of *Italie*, yea the Iles of *Sicil* and *Sardinia*; since the siege of *Rome* must needes bee deferred vnto another yeare, *Hanno* made an ill iourne of it, being met, or ouer-taken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who slue about two thousand of his men; with the losse of fewer, than three hundred *Romans*. But *Himiles* sped faire better. By helpe of the *Brutians*, his good friends, hee wanne *Petelia* or *Petilia* by force; after it had held out some moneths. Hee wanne likewise *Consentia*; and *Croton*, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Also the Citie of *Laeri*, which was of great importance, yielded vnto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Towne of *Rhegium*, ouer against *Sicil*.

The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthe to be recorded, as a notable testimonie of the good gouernement, vnder which the *Roman* Subjects liued. As for the *Samnites*, *Campanis*, and others; whose earnestnesse in rebellion may seeme to proue the contrarie; we are to consider, That they had lately contended with *Rome* for Soueraignetic, and were now transported with ambition: which Reason can hardly moderate, or Benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to *Rome* for helpe: where their Messengers received answer from the Senate, That the publike misfortunes had not left means, to relieue their Associates that were so farre distant. The *Petilian* Messengers (Embassadours they are termed, as were all others, publicly sent from Cities of the *Roman* subjection, that had a private iurisdiction within themselves) fell downe to the ground, and humbly besought the *Fathers*, not to giue them away: promising to doe and suffer whatsoever was possible, in defence of their Towne against the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to consultation againe: and hauing thoroughly considered all their forces remaining, plainly confessed, that it was not in their power to giue any reliefe. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their owne safetie; as hauing already discharged their faith to the yrmolt. All this notwithstanding, the *Petilians* (as was said) held out some moneths: and hauing striven in vaine to defend themselves, when there was no apparant possibilitie, gaue to the *Carthaginians* a bloudie victorie ouer them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeede in such ill case, that *Hannibal*, with a little helpe from *Carthage*, might haue reduced them into termes of great extremitie. For whereas, in a great brauerie, before their losse at *Cannae*; they had shewed their high mindes, by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithstanding the great warre that lay vpon them so neare at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. *L. Posthumius Albinus* their Pretor they had sent, with an Armie of fife and twentie thousand, into *Gauls*; to the *Illyrian* King *Pinus* they had sent for their Tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliuer hostages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had sent, to require, that he should deliuer vp vnto them *Demetrius Pharius*, their Subject and Rebelle, whom he had receiued. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little suteable to their former glorious conceits. *Posthumius* with all his Armie was cut in peeces by the *Gauls*, in such sort that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gauls*, *Litana*; through which he was to passe. Against his coming, the Enemies had sawed the Trees so farre, that a little force would serue to cast them downe. When therefore *Posthumius*, with his whole Armie, was entred into this dangerous passage, the *Gauls*, that lay about the Wood, beganne to cast downe the Trees: which falling one against another, bore all downe so fast, that the *Romans* were ouerwhelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before.

How

How this tedious worke, of sawing so many Trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might haue blowne all downe before the *Romans* entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the deuce was subject; I doe not well conceiue. Yet some such thing may haue bene done; and what failed in the stratageme, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthe to be omitted, as a monument of the fassage condition, wherewith *Lombardie*, a Countrie now so ciuill, was infected in elder times, That of *Posthumius* his skull, being cleafed, and trimmed vp with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy vessell, for the vse of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow when word was brought to *Rome*; the amazement was no lesse than the calamitie. But sorrow could giue no remedie to the mischiefe; and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to reuenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none: neither doe I finde, that any was a second time demanded; this we finde, That with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdileus* *Illyrian* Kings, as also with *Gentius*, who reigned within a few yeares following, the *Romans* dealt vpon euén termes; entreating their assistance against *Philip* and *Peisens*; not commanding their dutie, as Vassalls. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For hauing assured his affaires in *Greece*, and enjoying leisure to looke into the doings abroad, Hee sent Embassadours to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a league, vpon these conditions; That the King in person should come into *Italie*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, assist the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* warre, vntill it were finished; That *Rome*, and all *Italie*, together with all the spoile therein to be gotten, should be left entire vnto the State of *Carthage*; And that afterwards *Hannibal* with his Armie should passe into *Greece*, and there assist *Philip*, vntill he had subdued all his Enemies: (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leaving semblably vnto him the full possession of that Countrie, and the Isles adjoining. But such predispotion of Kingdomes and Provinces, is lightly controlled by the diuine Providence, which therein shewes it selfe not (as *Hierodotus* falsely termes it, and like an *Atheist*) enuious or malicious; but very iust and majesticall; in vp-holding that vnspakable greatnesse of Soueraignerie, by which *It* rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadours that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their iourne towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, aduentured vpon a bold lie, saying, That they were sent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great needfullie. These newes were so wellcome, that the joy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquirie. So they were louingly feasted; and friendly dismissed, with guides that should leade them the way, and shew them how to auoid the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their iourne, fell wilfully into the 40 Campe of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better fashion; and concluded the businesse, about which they came, vpon the points before remembred. In their returne homeward, they happened againe vnluckily to be descried by the *Roman* fleet; which, mistrusting them to be of the *Carthaginian* partie, gaue them chase. They did their best to haue escaped; but being ouer-taken, they suffered the *Romans* to come aboard; and trusting to the lie that once had serued them, laid it againe. That hauing bene sent from King *Philip*, to make a League with the People of *Rome*, they were not able, by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying betwene, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius* the Pretor, vnto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now lesse credible than before: 50 and (which marred all) *Gisco*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparant. Wherefore a little inquisition serued to finde all out: so that at length *Hannibal*'s owne letters to King *Philip* were deliuered vp, and the whole businesse confessed. The Embassadours and their followers were sent

close prisoners to Rome: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest sold for bond-slaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon a new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speede; concluding, as was agreed before; only with some losse of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heauie waight this *Macedonian* warre, in an euill houre, was likely to fall vpon them; when their shoulers were ouer burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they tooke a noble resolution; and suteable vnto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would haue beaten vpon them from *Spaine*. They iudged it more easie, with small forces to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their strength to resist him in *Italie*. And herein they were in the right. For that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joyning with *Hannibal* in such a time, would haue sufficed to shake the allegiance not only of the *Latines*, and other their most faithfull Subjects, but euen of the *Roman* Colonies that held all priuiledges of the Citie, it will appeare by the following successe of things. *M. Valerius* the Pretor, with twentie *Quinquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend vpon the *Macedonian*: and to set on foot some commotion in *Greece*; or to nourish the troubles already therein begunne. *Philip* was busie about the Sea-townes, that looked towards *Italie*, setting vpon *Apollonia*; and thence sailing vpon *Oricum*; which he wanne, and so returned to *Apollonia* againe. The *Epirits* craued helpe of *M. Valerius*: or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other businesse to doe. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Townsmen in good order; but not to keepe out the *Romans*: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspition. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Towne, and sent thence a thousand men, vnder *Namius Crispus* an vnder-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into *Apollonia*. These made a notable sallie; and brake into *Philips* Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his camp, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to haue departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, comming with his fleet from *Oricum*, stopped vp the mouth of the Riuer; so that hee was faine to burne his ships, (which belike were no better than long botes) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this, *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwaies enemie to the Crowne of *Macedon*: and easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath elsewhere bene shewed) to make strong warre on *Philip*; wherein he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moued the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the *Roman* was as liberall in making promise, as if already it had bene his owne. So a league was made betwene them: and afterward solemnely published at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*; and by the *Romans*, in their *Capitoll*. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Coreyra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Countrie should bee subdued, and left vnto the *Ætolians*; the pillage only to bee giuen to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should be with Provision, to hold no longer, than whilst hee abained from doing iniurie to the *Romans*, or their Associates. This was indeede the only point, whereat *Valerius* aimed: who promised as much on the *Romans* behalfe, That they should not make peace with the *Macedonian*, vnlesse it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this League was place referred for the *Lacedemonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or fauoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Sceurdileus*: the first of which reigned at *Pergamus*, in *Asia* the lesse, a Prince hereafter much to bee spoken of; the other two held some part of *Myria*, about which the *Romans* were so farre from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates, are thrust into the Treatie; rather to giue it countenance, than for any readinesse

- readiness which they disclosed so enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Pretor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet awhile the only men, of whom the *Roman* Generalls must make much; as the late *French* King, *Henric* the fourth, when he had only the title of *Nicarve*, was said to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard whereunto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Armie; made a countenance of warre vpon the *Ilyrians*; and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to inuest the Kingdome of *Macedon*; wasted the Countrie about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*; and ouer-running the *Pelagians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held suspected, came downe into *Thesalie*, whence hee made shew as if he would inuade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to stirre vp all the *Greekes* adjoyning, against the *Ætolians*; whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Countrie. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, He left *Perseus* his sonne and heire, with foure thousand men, vpon their borders; with the rest of his Armie, before greater buinesse should ouer-take and entangle him. He made a long iourne into *Thrace*, against a people called the *Medes*; that were wont to fall vpon *Macedon*, whensoever the King was absent. The *Ætolians*, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the *Acarnanians*; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrie, ere hee should bee able to returne. Hereto it much auailed, that the *Romans* had alreadie taken *Oeniade* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Townes, conveniently situated to let in an Armie, and consigned them vnto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we say) euery Mothers sonne of them, in defence of their Countrie; together with the great haile of the *Macedonian* (who laied aside all other buinesse) to succour these his friends; caused the *Ætolians* to forsake their enterprife. When this Expedition was giuen ouer, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell vpon *Anticyra*, which they tooke: the *Romans* assailing it by Sea; the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Towne; and the *Romans* the spoile.
- For these good seruices *M. Valerius* was chosen Consul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpicius* sent in his flect, to keepe the warre on foot in *Greece*. But besides the *Roman* helpe, *Attalus* out of *Asia* came ouer to assist the *Ætolians*. Hee was chiefly moued, by his owne jealousie of *Philips* greatnesse: though somewhat also tickled with the vanitie, of being chosen by the *Ætolians* their principall Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titularie, he tooke in very louing part. Against the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had sent, being joyned with the maine power of *Ætolia*. *Philip* tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hercupon; these his troublesome Neighbour desired peace of him; and vsed their best meanes to get it. But when the day, appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: their Embassadors, in stead of making submission, proposed vnto him such intollerable conditions, as ill befemed vanquished men to offer; and might therefore well testifie, that their mindes were altered. It was not any loue of peace, but feare of being besieged in their owne Townes, that had made them desirous of composition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as euer: and thrust a Garrison of their owne, and some *Roman* friends, into *Eliu*; which threatned *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut ouer the streight from *Naupactis*, wasted the Countrie in a terrible brauerie: wherein *Philip* requited them; comming vpon them in haste from the *Nemman* Games (which hee was then celebrating) and sending them faster away, but nothing richer, than they came.
- In the heat of this contention, *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no lesse than *Attalus* held suspected the power of *Philip*; sent a Naue into *Greece*, to assist the *Macedonian* partie. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and vpon greater reason; as being more interested in the successe of his affaires. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and thought he could man some two hundred ships; yet the Vessells were

were such, as could not hold out against the *Roman Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it be-
 hewed him, to vse the helpe of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aide
 came somewhat too late: which might better at first haue kept those Enemies from
 salting vpon any part of *Greece*; than afterwards it could serue to driue them out,
 when they had pierced into the bowells of that Countrie. Ere *Philip* could attempt
 any thing by Sea; it was needfull that he should correct the *Eleans*, bad Neighbours
 to the *Achaians* his principall Confederates. But in assailing their Towne, hee was
 encountered by the *Aetolian* and *Roman* Garrison; which draue him back with some
 losse. In such cases, especially where God intends a great conuerſion of Empire,
 Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had receiued no great detriment, in
 his retreat from *Elis*: rather he had giuen testimonie of his personall valour, in fight-
 ing well on foot, when his horse was slaine vnder him. He had also soone after ta-
 ken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of foure thousand; with some
 twentie thousand head of Cattle, which they had brought together into a place of
 safety, as they thought, when their Countrie was invaded. But it had happened,
 that in his pursuit of the *Roman* forragers about *Sieyon*, his horse running hastily vn-
 der a low tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the fashion of those
 times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered vp by an *Aetolian*; who car-
 ried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philips* death. The horne was well known;
 and the tale believed. All *Macedon* therefore was in an vpror: and not only the
 Borderers, readie to fall vpon the Countrie, but some Captaines of *Philip*, easily cor-
 rupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that change of things, ranne
 into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereup-
 on the King returned home; leaving not three thousand men, to assist his friends
 the *Achaians*. Hee also tooke order, to haue Beacons erected; that might giue him
 notice of the Enemies doings; vpon whom hee meant shortly to returne. The af-
 faires of *Macedon*, his preference quickly established. But in *Greece* all went ill-faou-
 redly: especially in the Ile of *Euboea*, where one *Plater* betrayed to *Attalus*, and the
Romans, the Towne of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to helpe it; where also the
 strong Citie of *Chalcis* was likely to haue bene lost, if hee had not come the sooner.
 He made such hastie marches, that he had almost taken *Attalus* in the Citie of *Opus*.
 This Citie, lying ouer against *Euboea*, *Attalus* had wonne, more through the cowar-
 dize of the people, than any great force that he had vsed. Now because the *Roman*
 souldiers had defrauded him in the sack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themselves: it was
 agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*; without admitting
 the *Romans* to be his sharers. But whilst he was busie, in drawing as much monie as
 he could out of the Citizens: the sudden tidings of *Philips* arriual, made him leaue
 all behinde him, and runne away to the Sea-side, where he got aboard his ships, find-
 ing the *Romans* gone before, vpon the like feare. Either the indignitie of this mis-
 aduenture; or tidings of *Prusias* the *Bithynian* his inuasion vpon the Kingdome of
Pergamus; made *Attalus* returne home, without staying to take leaue of his friends.
 So *Philip* recovered *Opus*; wonne *Torone*, *Tritones*, *Drymus*, and many small townes
 in those parts; performing likewise some Actions, of more brauerie than impor-
 tance, against the *Aetolians*. In the meane season, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lace-
 daemon*, had bene busie in *Peloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philips* arriual, was returne
 home.

The *Lacedaemonians*, hearing certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Aegypt*,
 went about to choose two new Kings; and to conformance themselves to their old
 manner of Gouvernement. But their estate was so farre out of tune, that their hope
 of redressing things within the Citie, proued no lesse vnfortunate; than had bene
 their attempts of recovering a large Dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a Tyrant rose vp
 among them: vnto whom succeeded this *Machanidas*; and shortly after came *Nabis*,
 that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Aetolian* and *Roman* side, for
 feare of the *Achaians*; that were the chiefe Confederats of *Philip*, and hated ex-
 tremely

trremely the name both of *Tyrant*, and of *Lacedæmonian*. But of these wee shall speake more hereafter.

Philip entering into *Achaia*, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that Countrey; spake braue wordes to the Assembly of their States, saying, That he had to doe with an Enemie, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcu*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*: but could no where finde them; such haste they made, for feare of being ouer-taken. But flight, He said, was not alwaies prosperous: He should one day light vpon them; as ere this hee fundric times had done, and still to their losse. The *Achaians* were glad to heare these wordes; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deedes accompanying them. For he restored vnto their Nation some Townes, that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, He rendred *Asphera*. The *Dymeans*, that had bene taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaues, He sought out, ranomed, and put in quiet possession of their owne Citie. Further, passing ouer the *Corinthian Gulfe*, Hee fell vpon the *Ætolians*: whom hee drane into the mountaines and woods, or other their strongest holds; and wasted their Countrey. This done, Hee tooke leaue of the *Achaians*: and returning home by Sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or dependants; and animated them so well, that they rested fearelesse of any threatening danger. Then had hee leisure to make warre vpon the *Dardanians*, ill Neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom neuerthelesse he was not so farre occupied, but that hee could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himselfe Master of the Sea; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attalus*) hauing not dared to meet or pursue him, when hee lately ranne along the coast of *Greece*, fast by them where they lay.

This good successe added much reputation to the *Macedonians*; and emboldened him to make strong warre vpon the *Ætolians*, at their owne doores. As for the *Romans*; either some displeasure, conceined against their Confederates; or some feare of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was readie to fall vpon *Italie*; caused them to giue over the care of things in *Greece*, and leaue their friends there to their owne fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore, being driven to great extremitie, were faine to sue for peace vnto *Philip*; and accept it, vpon what euer conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirtie fise Gallies, came ouer in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, hee turned aside to *Dyrachium*, and *Apollonia*; making a great noise, as if with these his owne forces hee would worke wonders. But it was not long, ere *Philip* came to visit him; and found him tame enough. The King presented him battaile: but he refused it; and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the Countrey round a bout, before his eies, kept himselfe close with in the walls of *Apollonia*; making some Ouertures of peace: which caused *Philip* to returne home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philip*, to take in cuill part the demeanour of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the Royall offer that hee made them, to serue their turne in *Italie*, and assist them in getting their hearts desire, before hee would expect any requital: they had not sent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation of his Arme, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Pyracies. Only once they came to his helpe, which was, at his last iourne into *Achaia*. But they were gone againe before his arriuall: hauing done nothing; and pretending feare of being taken by the *Romans*, even at such time as *Philip*, with his owne Name, durst boldly passe by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This recklesse dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seeme to haue bene one of *Hanno* his tricks; whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieue this malicious man exceedingly; to heare, that so great a King made offer to serue in person vnder *Hannibal*,

Hannibal, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the World at his pleasure. Therefore hee had reason, such as *Enuic* could suggest, to perswade the *Carthaginians* vnto a safe and thrifitie course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* warres so mightie a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection vnto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their libertie. Rather they should doe well to faue charges; and feede the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet, and some other succours. This would cost nothing: yet would it serue to terrifie the *Romans*, and compell them to send part of their forces from home; that might finde this *Enemie* worke abroad. So should 10 the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italie*; and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the warre, be vrged vnto the prosecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea scarce to the labour of giving him thanks. Now if it might come to passe, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italie*, should within a while bee at the deuotion of *Carthage*: better it were that the Citie should be free, so as the troublesome *Greekes* might adresse their complaints vnto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Iudges betwene them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Affrick*, should wait vpon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hatefull in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no lesse impudent, in ful- 20 filling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsaile of *Hanno* and his fellows, were such as this; or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their owne disposition without his aduice, were too sparing, and carelesse, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; even in that little courtlesse which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why hee beguene the building of an hundred Gallies, as if hee would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would haue reached, had he not vainly giuen credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the *Aetolians* had submitted themselves alreadie: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very feare of him; with reputation enough, and 30 not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to haue succoured them in their necessitie, He might giue over the warre, and, without reprehension, leaue them to themselves. For hee had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrell were meerey his owne, and hee vnable to manage it. The vanitie of which their conceits would appeare vnto them: when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeare following it was agreed, by mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retaine three or foure Townes of *Illyria*, which they had recouered in this warre, being part of their old 40 *Illyrian* Conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*, and therefore perhaps inserted into the couenants, that somewhat might seeme to haue been gotten. On the other side, the *Atinians* were appointed to returne vnder the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Countie about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not giue peace, as they would seeme to haue done, but accepted it, vpon conditions somewhat to their losse.

The Confederates and Dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achaens*, *Boeotians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the People of *Ilium*, as an honorable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Per- 50 gamus*; *Pleuratus*, an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis*, the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messenians*, and *Athenians*. The *Aetolians* were omitted, belike, as hauing agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Aetolians*, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with *Philip*) were

were also inserted by the *Romans*; that were neuer slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*: they stood much vpon their old honour; and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great Actions. Yet the setting downe of their name in this Treatie, serued the *Romans* to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a busie people; and ministred occasion to renew the Warre, when means did better serue to follow it.

§. XIII.

How the Romans beganne to recouer their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieuing the publike necessities of their Common-wealth.



- T was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the hailes: and wasted more men and monie to no purpose, than would haue serued (if good order had bene taken) to finish the whole warre, in farre shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This error
- 20 had bene the lesse harmefull, if their care of *Italie* had bene such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal*, to wearie himselfe with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yeare to yeare, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could haue desired. The death of *Posthumus*, and destruction of his whole Armie in *Gaulle*; the begonne rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Phers* their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole Ile of *Sicill*; as also that Warre, of which we last spake, threatned from *Macedon*; happening all at one time; and that so nearely after their terrible ouerthrow at *Canna*, among so many recuols of their *Italian* Confederates, would vnterly haue sunke the *Roman* State, had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first yeare, yet
- 30 at least the second, sent ouer to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that euen this diuersitie of great hopes, appearing from all parts, admitted matter vnto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whereupon to worke. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to performe all that was decreed for *Italie*: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their severall Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had ben thoroughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperitie of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* warre, should haue bene strengthened; whatsoeuer had become of the rest. But the slender troups, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the warre in *Spain*; the lingring aide
- 40 which they sent, to vp-hold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was alreadie well neare beaten downe; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hastie catching at *Sicill*: little deserued to be thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, wherto all the rest had reference. Rather euery one of these Actions, considered apart by it selfe, was no otherwise to be allowed as discreetly vnder-taken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of *Italie*, made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serue to content *Hannibal*; then must he patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were jealous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with
- 50 so much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.
- Whatsoeuer he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himselfe to Necessitie, to feede his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Naples*, *Naples*, *Cume*, and other places: being loth to spend his Armie in an hard siege, that was to be referred for a worke of more importance. Many offers hee made vpon

vpon *Nola*; but alwaies with bad successe. Once *Marcellus* fought a battaile with him there: yet vnder the very walls of the Towne; hauing the assistance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the *Roman* side, since the Heads, that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight loit: which was no great meruaile; his forces being then diuided, and imploied in fundric parts of *Italie* at once. *Naples* was, euen in those daies, a strong Citie; and required a yeares worke to haue taken it by force. Wherefore the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwaies frustrate. Vpon the Towne of *Cuma* they of *Capua* had their plot; and were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chiefe Magistrates of the *Cumans*, desiring them (as being also *Campans*) to be present at a solemne sacrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their generall good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly, from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made shew to entertaine; but priuily sent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the *Roman* Consul.

Gracchus was a very good man of warre; and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should haue beene *Posthumius Albinus*, that was lately slaine by the *Gauls*: after whose death *Marcellus* was chosen; as being judged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman* *Augures* either found some religious impediment, that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at least they layned so to haue done: because this was the first time, that euer two *Plebeian* Consuls were chosen together. *Marcellus* therefore gaue ouer the place: and *Q. Fabius Maximus* the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the Citie, about matters of Religion, or Superstition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Consular Armie, waited vpon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the Enemy in field; yet intentue to all occasions, that should be presented. The *Volones*, or *Slaves*, that lately had beene armed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, Hee continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Armie skilfull in the exercises of warre; than to keepe it from quarrells, that might arise by vpbraiding one another with their base condition.

Whilest the Consul was thus busied at *Linternum*; the Senators of *Cuma* sent him word, of all that had passed betweene them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himselfe into *Cuma*: whence he issued at such time, as the Magistrates of that Citie were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hama*, three miles from *Cuma*. There lay *Marius Alpius* the chiefe Magistrate of *Capua*, with foureene thousand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather desiring how to surprize others, than fearing himselfe to be assailed. The Consul therefore, suffering none to goe forth of *Cuma*, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, issued out of the Towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreshed with meat and sleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights seruice. So he came vpon the *Capuans* vnawares: and slew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander; loosing not aboue an hundred of his owne men. Their campe he tooke: but taried not long to rife it, for feare of *Hannibal*; who lay not farre off. By this his providence, Hee escaped a greater losse, than he had brought vpon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hama*; forthwith he marched thither: hoping to finde those yong souldiers, and slaues, busied in making spoile, and loading themselves with the booty. But they were all gotten safe within *Cuma*; which partly for anger, partly for desire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent entreatie of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* assailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill successe, the

the *Carthaginians* and their fellows spent about this Towne. They raised a wooden Tower against it: which they brought close vnto the walls; thinking thereby to force an Entric. But the Defendants, on the inside of the wall, raised against this an higher Tower: whence they made resistance; and found means at length, to consume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were busie in quenching the fire; the *Romans*, falling out of the Towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and draue them to their Trenches, with the slaughter of about foure hundred. The Consul wisely sounded the Retreat; ere his men were too farre engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readinesse to requite their seruice. Neither would He, in the pride of this good successe, adventure forth against the Enemie; who presented him battaile the day following, neare vnto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore, seeing no likelihood to preuaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake vp the siege; and returned to his old Campe at *Tisita*. About these times, and shortly after, when *Fabius* the other Consul had taken the field; some small Townes were recouered by the *Romans*, and the people leuerely punished for their reuolt.

The *Carthaginian* Armie was too small, to fill with Garrison all places that had yielded; and withall to abide (as it must doe) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supplie from home; that should enable him to strike at *Rome* it selfe, was driuen in the meane time to alter his course of warre; and, in stead of making (as formerly he had done) a generall inuasion vpon the whole Country, to passe from place to place; and wait vpon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemie, than to him. The Country of the *Hirpini* and *Sannites* was grieuouly wasted by *Marcellus* in the absence of *Hannibal*; as also was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Consul; when *Hannibal* hauing followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the losse before mentioned, was gone to Winter in *Apulia*. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the *Romans*, in their owne behalfe, to get the Souerainty. They held it reason, that they should be protected, by such as thought to haue dominion ouer them: whereby at once they

30 overburdened their new Lords; and gaue vnto their old the more easie means, to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intentiue, as necessitie constrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Consulship; and ioyned with him *M. Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed vnto that honour the year before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*; and *Marcellus*, the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and vpon iust reason, commended, that being himselfe Consul, and holding the Election, he did not stand vpon nice points of formalitie, or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but caused himselfe to be chosen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the Citie stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made; serued to put the *Campanians* in feare, that *Capua* it selfe should be besieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal* at their earnest entreatie came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, hearkening after newes from *Tarentum*) and, hauing with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the fudden vpon *Puteoli*, a Sea towne of *Campania*; about which he spent three dayes in vaine, hoping to haue wonne it. The Garrison in *Puteoli* was fixe thousand strong: and did their duetie so well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good successe, could onely shew his anger vpon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which hauing done, and once more (with as ill successe as before) assailed *Nola*, he bent his course to *Tarentum*: wherein he had verie great intelligence.

50 Whilest he was in his progresse thither, *Hanno* made a iourne against *Benuentum*; and *T. Gracchus* the last yeares Consul, halting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battaile. *Hanno* had with him about seuentene thousand Foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the most part: besides twelue hundred Horse; verie few of

which were *Italians*, all the rest, *Numidians* and *Moors*. He held the *Roman* vantage four hours; ere it could be perceived, to which side the victorie would incline. But *Gracchus* his souldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed slaues, had received from their Generall a peremptorie denunciation; That this day, or neuer, they must purchase their libertie, bringing euery man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The sweet reward of libertie was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vaine labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the slaine Enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the service, by employment of so many hands, in a worke so little concerning the victorie. *Gracchus* therefore finding his owne error, wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting of any more; for that all should haue libertie immediately after the battaile, if they wanne the day. This encouragement made them run headlong vpon the Enemy; whom their desperate furie had soone ouerthrowne, if the *Roman* Horle could haue made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanniball* did what hee could, and pressed so hard vpon the *Roman* battaile, that foure thousand of the slaues, (for feare either of him, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the battaile, vnto those that should not valiantly beaue themselves) retired vnto a ground of strength: yet was he glad at length to saue himselfe by flight, when the Grosse of his Armie was broken; being vnable to remedie the losse. Leaving the field, hee was accompanied by no more than two thousand: most of which were Horle; all the rest were either slaine or taken. The *Roman* Generall gaue vnto all his souldiers that reward of libertie, which hee had promised: but vnto those foure thousand, which had recoiled vnto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they serued in the warres, they should neither eate nor drinke otherwise than standing, vnlesse sicknesse forced them to breake his Order. So the victorious Armie returned to *Beneuentum*: where the newly enfranchised souldiers were feasted in publicke by the towshmen; some sitting, some standing, & all of them hauing their heads couered (as was the custome of slaues manumised) with Caps, or white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthe of remembrance) was afterward hung vp in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of *Libertie*; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeede the first Battaille, worthe of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the comming of *Hanniball* into *Italie*: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hama*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans* through industrie, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Estate, which *Hanniball* had made at *Canna*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasurie was so poore, that no industrie nor art could serue to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) serue, to feede their Townes and Armies; without any surplusage, that might be exchanged for other needfull commodities. Few they were in *Italie*, that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse doe than before; as liuing vpon the same Trade, and subiect to the same inconueniences, which enfeebled *Rome* it selfe. *Sicill* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yeld great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* Armies, that lay in those Prouinces, to hold them safe and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, euery one of them suffered his parte of the detriment, which the Commonwealth sustained, and could now doe least for his Countrey, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised vpon them by the poll, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently considering the greatnes of the war within the bowels of *Italie*, that could not be thence expelled without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein *Sicill* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the Naturals declining from the friendship or subiection of *Rome*; the threats

of the Macedonian, readie to land in the Easterne parts of *Italie*, if they were not at the cost to finde him worke at home; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his brother our the *Alpes*, as soone as he could rid himselfe of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; and the povertrie of the Common-wealth, which had not monie for any one of these mortall dangers: were driven almost even to extreme want of counsaile. But being vrged by the violence of swift necessity, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from *Spain*; they resolu'd vpon the only course, without which the Citie could not haue subsisted.

- They called the people to Assembly: wherein *Q. Fulvius* the Pretor laide open the publique wants; and plainly said, That in this Exigent, there must be no taking of monie for victuaille, weapons, apparrell, or the like things needfull to the Souldiers; but that such as had busse, or were artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities, and labours, untill the Warre were ended. Hereunto hee so effectually exhorted all men, especially the *Publicans* or *Customers*, and those which in former times had liued vpon their dealing in the common Reuenues, that the charge was vnder-taken by priuate men; and the Armie in *Spain* as well supplied, as if the Treasurie had bene full. Shortly after this, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *P. Furius Philus* the Roman Censors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intenu'd to the correction of those, that had mis-behaued themselves in this present warre. They beganne with *L. Caelius Metellus*: who, after the battaile at *Canna*, had held discourse with some of his companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italie*, had bene no better than lost. After him they tooke in hand those, that hauing brought to *Rome* the message of their fellowes made prisoners at *Canna*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had lepped once back into his campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captiues names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; even whosoever had not serued in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appointed. Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as other wise it had vied to bee) hurtfull only in reputation: but greater weight was added therevnto, by this Decree of the Senate following; That all such as were noted with infamie by these Censors, should bee transported into *Sicily*, there to serue untill the end of the Warre, vnder the same hard conditions, that were imposed vpon the Remainder of the Armie beaten at *Canna*. The Office of the Censors was, to take the List and accompt of the Citizens; to chooseth or displace the Senators; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) vpon those, whose vnholitt or vnseemely behaviour fell not within compasse of the Law. They tooke also an accompt of the *Roman* Gentlemen: among whom they distributed the publique Horles of seruice, vnto such as they thought meet; or tooke them away for their misbehaviour. Generally, they had the ouer-sight of mens liues and manners: and their censure was much reuerenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of ranke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasurie, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Morallitie, they had the charge of all publique Workes; as mending of high waies, bridges, and water-courses, the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man encroched vpon the streets, high-waies, or other places that ought to bee common, the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customes, and other publique Reuenues, to farme: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding vnto this Office; as maintayning themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conserue the dignitie of the Senate: the

commonaltie being obnoxious vnto the Censors; which were alwaies of that Order, and carefull to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weale being now impoverished by warre, and hauing small store of Lands to let, or of Customes that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perverting the Temples, or other decayed Places, that needed reparations: or if they tooke a view of what was requisite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to let any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generositie of the *Romans*. They that had bene accustom'd, in more happie times, to vndertake such peeces of worke, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had bene no such want: promising liberally their cost and trauaile; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the warre. In like sort, the Masters of those slaves, that lately had bene enfranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forebare the price of them, vntill the Cite were in better case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre forth as euery one was able, the common necessitie; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widdowes liuing vnder Patronage, were brought into the Treasurie; and there the Quæstor kept a booke, of all that was laied out for the sustenance of these Widdowes and Orphans: whilst the whole stock was vsed by the Cite. This good example of those which remained in the Towne, preuailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercinaries*, that did accept it, when their countrie was in so great want.

calamities of warre The these hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride; yielded halfe so much commoditie, as might bee laied in balance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Neuertheless if wee consider things aright; the calamities of this Warre did rather enable *Rome*, to deale with those Enemies, whom shee forth-with vnder-tooke, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto shee attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names wee haue already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* metall grew more hard and solide: and by paring the branches of priuate fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Cite of *Athens*; when *Xerxes* had burnt the Towne to ashes, and taken from euery particular Citizen all hope of other felicitie, than that which rested in the common happinesse of the vniuersalitie. Certaine it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath judiciously obserued) That a State whose dimension or stемme is small, may aptly serue to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comes to passe, where all regard of domestically prosperitie is laied aside; and euery mans care addressed to the benefit of his countrie. Hereof I might say, that our Age hath scene a great example, in the vniuersal Prouinces in the *Netherlands*; whose present riches and strength, grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Townes, or almost of their Families, perceiued it selfe to hold, whilst the Generalitie was oppressed by the Duke of *Ava*; were it so, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme indurie, and straining themselves to fill their publike Treasurie, they are all growne wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their seruices by Land. Wherefore if wee valew at such a rate as we ought, the patient Resolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and, aboue all other, the great loue of the Common-weale, which was found in *Rome* in these dangerous times: we may truly say, That the Cite was neuer in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, should in all reason haue been more deare vnto them, if the riches and delicacies of *Asia* had not infected,

infected them with sensuality, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens, and Subjects of Rome, could have believed their owne interest to be as great, in those wars which these latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded vpon so great vertue, could not have beene throwne downe by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they neuer so many. But vnto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though hee hath giuen vnto Man the knowledge of those waies, by which Kingdomes rise and fall; yet hath left him subject vnto the affections, which draw on these fatall changes, in their
10 times appointed.

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p. XIII.

The Romans winne some Townes back from HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL winnes Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of HANNIBAL. The Iournie of HANNIBAL to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.



30 S the People of Rome strained themselves to the vtmost, for maintayning the warre: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industrie, in seeking to recover what had beene lost. The Towne of *Castine*, *Fabius* belieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and likely to have beene relieved by those of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola* had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Neuertheless the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to giue it ouer: saying, that the enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrarie opinion. He said, That many such things, as were not at first
30 haue beene vnder-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to bee prosecuted vnto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the Towne was pressed so hard, that the *campes* dwelling therein grew fearefull, and craved parlee; offering to giue it vp, so as all might haue leaue to depart in safetie, whither they pleased. Whilest they were thus treating of conditions: or whilest they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diuerly reported) *Marcellus*, seizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fiftie of those that were first gotten out, ranne to *Fabius* the Consul: wo saued them, and sent them to *Capua* in safetie; all the rest were either slaine, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deserued commendations, by holding his word good vnto these fiftie; I know not how the laughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as scaped the heat of execution, could bee excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the Roman fashion, with some
40 equiuocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was *Mount Marsam* in *Gallioigne* taken by the Marshall *Momius*, when I was a yong man in France. For whilest he entertained parlee about composition; the belieged ranne all from their severall guards, vpon hastie desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The Marshall therefore discouering a part of the walls vnguarded, entred by *Scalado*; and put all saue the Gouverneur vnto the sword. Herein that Gouverneur of *Mount Marsam* committed two grosse errors; the one, in that hee gaue no order for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee, without pledges for assurance giuen and receiued. Some such oversight, the Gouverneur of *Castine* seemeth to haue committed; yet neither the aduantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Momius*, was very honourable. When this worke was ended, many small Townes of the *Samnites*, and some of the

Lucans and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken, or slaine, about five and twentie thousand of the Enemies; and the Countrey grievously waited by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sick at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the meane while was about *Tarentum*; waiting to heare from those, that had promised to give vp the Towne. But *M. Valerius*, the *Roman* Propretor, had thrust so many men into it, that the Traitors durst not stirre. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was faine to depart; hauing wearied himselfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he wasted not the Countrey; but contented himselfe with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*: which he chose for his wintering place; and beganne to victualle it, when Sommer was but halfe past. It is said, that he was in loue with a yong Wench in that towne: in which regard if he beganne his Winter more timely, than otherwise neede required, He did not like the *Romans*; whom necessity enforced, to make their Sommer last as long, as they were able to trauaile vp and downe the Countrey.

About this time beganne great troubles in *Sicill*; whither *Marcellus* the Consul was sent, to take such order for the Prouince, as neede should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Consulship, we will speake hereafter.

The new Consuls, chosen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the sonne of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The *Romans* found it needfull for the publike seruice, to imploy often-times their best able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the warre, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant vnto his sonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne vnto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the campe, and his sonne rode forth to meet him: eleuen of the twelue *Lictors*, which carried each an axe with a bundle of rods before the Consul, suffered him, in regard of due reuerence, to passe by them on horse back; which was against the custome. But the sonne perceiuing this, commanded the last of his *Lictors* to note it: who thereupon bad the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Consul on his feet. The father chearefully did so; saying, *It was my minde, sonne, to make triall, whether thou diddest understand by selfe to bee Consul*. *Cassius Albinus* a wealthie Citizen of *Arpi*, who, after the battaile at *Canna*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Towne, seeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend; came priuily to this Consul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back vnto him, if he might bee therefore well rewarded. The Consul purposed to follow old examples: and to make this *Albinus* patterne to all Traitors; vying him, as *Camillus* and *Fabrizius* had done those, that offered their vnfaithfull seruice against the *Falisci*, and King *Pyrrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to reuolt from the *Romans*, than to turne vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee should be sent to the Towne of *Gales*, and there kept as prisoner; vntill they could better resolue, what to doe with him, or what vse to make of him. *Hannibal*, vnderstanding that *Albinus* was gone, and among the *Romans*, tooke it not sorrowfully; but thought this a good occasion, to seize vpon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet, that he might seeme rather seuer, than couctous, He sent for the wife and children of *Albinus* into his campe: where hauing examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitiue, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay. He condemned them, as partakers of the Treason, to be burnt alive; and tooke all their goods vnto himselfe. *Fabius* the Consul shortly after came to *Arpi*: which he wanne by *Scalado*, in a stormie and rainie night. Five thousand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the Towne; and of the *Arpines* themselves, there were about three thousand. These were thrust formost by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; when it was vnder stood, that the *Romans* had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the souldiers held the townsmen suspected;

- suspected; and therefore thought it no wisdom, to trust them at their backs. But
 after some little resistance, the *Arpines* gave over fight, and entertained parlee with
 the *Romans*: protesting, that they had beene betrayed by their Princes; and were be-
 come subject to the *Carthaginians*, against their wills. In proesse of this discourse,
 the *Arpine* Pretor went vnto the *Roman* Consul: and receiving his faith for securitie
 of the Towne, presently made head against the Garrison. This notwithstanding;
 like it is, that *Hannibals* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a
 thousand of them, that were *Spaniards*, offered to leaue their companions, and serue
 on the *Roman* side; it was yet couenanted, That the *Carthaginians* should be suffered
 10 to passe forth quietly, and returne to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so *Arpi*
 became *Roman* againe; with little other losse, than of him that had betrayed it. A-
 bout the same time, *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tudubus*, one of the Pre-
 tors: and vnto *Cneius Fuluius*, another of the Pretors, an hundred and twelue Gentle-
 men of *Capua* offered their seruice; vpon no other condition, than to haue their
 goods restored vnto them, when their Citie should be recouered by the *Romans*.
 This was a thing of small importance: but considering the generall hatred of the
Campans toward *Rome*, it serued to discouer the inclination of the *Italians* in those
 times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*; when there was no appea-
 rance of those mightie succours, that had beene promised from *Carthage*. The
 20 *Consentines* also, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, that had yielded them-
 selues to *Hannibal*; returned againe to their old allegiance. Others would haue fol-
 lowed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a *Publican* had made himselfe
 a Captaine, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in forraging the countrie,
 was slaine by *Hanno*, with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal*
 in the meane while had all his care bent vpon *Tarentum*; which if hee could take, it
 seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing out that helpe out of
Macedon, which his *Carthaginians* failed to send. Long he waited, ere he could bring
 his desire to passe: and being loth to hazard his forces, where hee hoped to preuaile
 by intelligence; He contented himselfe, with taking in some poore Townes of the
 30 *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum* found meanes to accomplish
 their purpose, and his wish. One *Phileas*, that was of their conspiracie, who lay at
Rome as Ambassador, practising with the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, and such as had
 the keeping of them, conueighed them by night out of the Citie. But hee and his
 companie were the next day so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and
 brought back to *Rome*; where they suffered death, as Traitors. By reason of this
 crueltie, or securitie, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans*, more general-
 ly and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their businesse
 the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention
 should happen to be discouered. Wherefore they sent againe to *Hannibal*: and ac-
 40 quainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him
 for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nice* and *Philomenes*, two
 the chiefe among them, vsed much to goe forth of the Towne on hunting by night,
 as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for feare of the *Carthaginians*. Seldome
 or neuer they missed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it readie for their
 handes, that they might not seeme to haue been abroad vpon other occasion. From
 the campe of *Hannibal*, it was about three daies iourne to *Tarentum*, if hee should
 haue marched thither with his whole Armie. This caused his long abode in one
 place the lesse to be suspected: as also to make his Enemies the more secure. He cau-
 sed it to be giuen out, that he was sick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were
 50 growne carelesse of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their bu-
 sinesse in order; He tooke with him ten thousand, the most expedite of his horse and
 foot; and long before breake of day, made all speede thitherward. Fourescore light
 horse of the *Numidians* ranne a great way before him, beating all the waies, and kil-
 ling any that they met, for feare lest he, and his troupe following him, should be dis-
 couered.

covered. It had bene often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Gouvernour, when he heard tell in the evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a signe, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dillogged; and gaue order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their bootie, and send them gone. But when it grew darke night; *Hannibal*, guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the towne; where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to shew his arriual; *Nico*, that was within the Towne, answered him with another light, in signe that he was readie. Presently *Nico* beganne to set vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called vp the Porter; bidding him make haste, for that hee had killed a great Bore, so heauie, that scarce two men could stand vnder it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith cntred two yong men, loaden with the Bore; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to bee worthie the looking on. While the Porter stood wondering at the largenesse of the beast, *Philomenes* ranne him through with his Bore-speare: and letting in some thirtie armed men, fell vpon all the watch; whom when he had slaine, he entred the great gate. So the Armie of *Hannibal*, entring *Tarentum* at two gates, went directly toward the Market-place; where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and sent into all quarters of the Citie, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*; and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance herof *Hannibal* willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in sight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the Towne was in an vprore: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was vnskillfully founded by a *Greeke* in the Theater: which helped the suspicion, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoile the Towne; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Gouvernour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadell, that stood in the mouth of the Hauen; whence hee might easily perceiue the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal*, assembling the *Tarentines*, gaue them to vnderstand, what good affection hee bore them; inueighed bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressors; and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This done: and hauing gotten such spoile as was to bee had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, He addressed himselfe against the Citadell; hoping that if the Garrison would fallie out, he might giue them such a blow, as should make them vnable to defend the Peeces. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he beganne to make his approches, the *Romans* in a braverie falling forth, gaue charge vpon his men: who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and so farre from their strength, as they durst aduerture. Then gaue *Hannibal* a signe to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared readie for the purpose: and fiercely setting vpon the Enemie, draue him back with great slaughter, as fast as he could runne; so that after wards he durst not issue forth. The Citadell stood vpon a Demi-Iland, that was plaine ground; and fortified only with a ditch and wall against the Towne, whereunto it was ioyned by a cawley. This cawley *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like sort against the Citadell; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his helpe, to keepe themselves from all danger thence. His worke in few daies went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceived hope of winning the Peeces it selfe, by taking a little more paines. Wherefore he made readie all sorts of engines, to force the place. But whilst he was busied in his workes, there came by Sea a strong supply from *Metapontum*: which tooke away all hope of preuailling; and made him returne to his former counsaile. Now forasmuch as the *Tarentine* licet lay within the Hauen, and could not passe forth, whilst the *Romans* held the Citadell: it seemed likely, that the Towne would suffer want, being debared of accustomed trade and prouisions by Sea; whilst the *Roman* Garrison, by helpe of their shipping, might easily be relieue.

Bore
Tarentine Port

lieued, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconvenience, it was rather wished by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the Haven; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Towne standing in plaine grounds, and their streets being faire and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over Land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he undertooke and effected: whereby the *Roman* Garrison was reduced into great needfullie; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* often-times otherwise busied, than his affaires required.

- 10 Thus with mutuall losse on both sides, the time passed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily stronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great Citie of *Capua*. Three and twentie Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and hastic growth from that want of men, and of all necessaries, whereinto the losse at *Canna* had reduced them. But to fill vp these Legions, they were faine to take vp young *Boyes*, that were vnder seuen-ene yeares of age: and to send Commissioners aboute fittie miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appeare serviceable, and pressing them to the warres, making yet a Law, That their yeares of service, whereunto they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning so young, as if they had bene of lawfull age. Before the *Roman* Armie drew neare, 20 the *Campans* felt great want of victualles, as if they had alreadye bene besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoile, which the *Romans* had in foregoing yeares made vpon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadors to *Hannibal*; desiring him to succour them ere they were closed vp, as they feared to bee shortly. Hee gaue them comfortable wordes: and sent *Hanno* with an Armie to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; against which they should be readie with all manner of carriages, to store themselves with victualles, that he would provide. Neither did he promise more, than he performed. For hee caused great quantitie of graine, that had bene laied vp in Cities round about, to be brought into his campe, three miles from *Beneuentum*. Thither 30 at the time appointed came no more than fortie Cartes or Wagons, with a few pack-horses; as if this had bene enough to victualle *Capua*. Such was the rechelesness of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry herat: and told them they were worse than very beasts; since hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore hee gaue them a longer day; against which hee made provision to store them thoroughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the *Roman* Consuls, from the Citizens of *Beneuentum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, taking with him such strength as hee thought needfull for the service, came into *Beneuentum* by night; where with diligence he made inquirie into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Armie was gone abroad to make provisions; that 40 sometwo thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets; lay among the *Carthaginians* in their campe; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set vpon a great Haruel. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselves, to assaile the Enemies campe: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneuentum*, He marched thitherward so early in the morning, that hee was there with the first breake of day. By coming so vnexpected, Hee had well-nere forced the campe on the sudden. But it was very strong, and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the less desire had *Fulvius* to loose more of his men in the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing 50 good. Therefore hee said, that it were better to goe more leisurely and substantially to worke; to send for his fellow-Consul with the rest of their Armie; and to lie betweene *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* should depart thence, nor the *Carthaginian* be able to relieue them. Being thus discouraging, and about to found the retrait; hee saw, that some of his men had gotten ouer the Enemies Rampart.

There

There was great bootie; or (which was all one to the souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that campe. Wherefore some Ensigne-bearers threw their Ensignes ouer the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, vnlesse they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Feare of such ignominie, than which none could bee greater, made the Souldiers aduenture so desperately; that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed purpose, and encouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them, that had alreadie gotten ouer the Trenches. Thus the campe was wonne: in which were slaine above fixe thousand; and taken, about seuen thousand; besides all the store of victualles, and carriages, with abundance of bootie, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This misadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Consuls, made them of *Capua* send a pittifull Embassage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the loue, that he was wont to protest vnto their Citie; and how he had made the way, to affect it no lesse than *Carthage*. But now, they said, it would be lost, as *Aspi* was lately, if he gaue not strong and speedie succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words: and sent away two thousand horse, to keepe their grounds from spoile; whilst hee himselfe was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many townes adjoining, to yeeld vnto him. Among the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and, being ouer-taken, suffered death for their attempt; were some of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greekes*, inhabiting that Easterne part of *Italy*, which was called old *Magna Græcia*. These people tooke to heart the death of their Hostages; and thought the punishment greater, than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as soone as the *Roman* Garrison was taken from them, to defend the citadell of *Tarentum*, made no more ado, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurmes* would haue done the like, vpon the like reason: had not some companies laine in their Towne; which they feared that they should not be able to master. Neuertheless they helped themselves by cunning: inuiting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were neare at hand: against whom whilst they proffered their seruice to *Atinius*, the *Roman* capitaine, they drew him forth to fight; and re-
coyling from him, closed vp their gates. A little formalitie they vsed, in pretending feare, lest the Enemy should breake in together with the *Romans*; in saving *Atinius* himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practise) whether they should yeeld to the *Carthaginian*, or no. But this disputation lasted not long: for they that had removed the chiefe impediment, easily preuailed in the rest; and deliuered vp the Towne to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters; whilst the Consuls, fortifying *Beneuentum* to secure their backs, addrest themselves vnto the siege of *Capua*.

Many disaithers befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterprise. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of warre, that had of late bene twice Consul, was slaine either by trecherie of some *Lucans*, that drew him into an ambush; or by some *Carthaginian* straglers, among whom he fell vnawares. His bodie, or his head, was very honorably interred, either by *Hannibal* himselfe, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* sent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneuentum*, there to secure the back of the Armie that should besiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time; to the great hindrance of that businesse. The *Volones*, or *Slaves* lately manumised, forooke their Ensignes, and went euery one whither hee thought good, as if they had bene discharged by the decease of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seeke them out, and bring them back into their campe. Neuertheless the Consuls went forward with their worke: and drawing neare to *Capua*, did all acts of hostilitie which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua*, receiued them an hard welcome; wherein aboute fiftene hundred *Romans* were lost. Neither was it long, ere *Hannibal* came thither: who fought with the Consuls, and

and had the better; in so much that he caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went severall waies; *Fulvius* toward *Cume*; *Claudius*, into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*: who having led him a great walke, lechth a compass about, and returned to *Capua*. It so fell out, that one *M. Centenius Penula* a stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a *Centurion*, lay with an Armie not farre from thence, where *Hannibal* relted, when hee was wearie of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vants to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be trusted with the leading of five thousand men. The *Fathers* were vnwilling in such a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier; how meane soever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thousand; and he himselfe, being a proper man, and talking brauely, gathered vp so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gaue prooffe of the difference, betwene a stout *Centurion*, and one able to command in chiefe. Hee and his fellows were all (in a manner) flaine; scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soone after this *Hannibal* had word, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Pretor with eightene thousand men, was in *Apulia*, very carelesse, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither he therefore hasted, to visit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he should haue cut off those forces, that lay in the Provinces about vnder men of small abilitie. Comming vpon *Fulvius*, He found him and his men so jollie, that needs they would haue fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So hee bellowed *Mago* with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battaile to *Fulvius*, Hee soone had him in the trap; whence hee made him glad to escape aliue; leaving all, saue two thousand of his followers, dead behind him.

These two great blowes, receiued one presently after the other, much astonished the *Romans*. Neuertheless all care was taken, to gather vp the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls should goe substantially forwards with the siege of *Capua*; which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls late downe before the towne: and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Pretors, came with his Armie from *Suessula* to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That whosoever would issue forth of *Capua* before a certaine day prefixed, should haue his pardon, and be suffered to enjoy all that vnto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their owne strength, and the succours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the citie was closed vp, they sent Messengers to the *Carthaginian*; which found him at *Brundisium*. He had made a long iourne, in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* citidell: of which expectation failing, He turned to *Brundisium*; vpon aduertisement that he should bele in. There the *Capuans* met him; told him of their danger with earnest wordes; and were with wordes as braue recomforted. He had them consider, how a few daies since he had chased the Consuls out of their fields; and told them, that we would presently come thither againe, and send the *Romans* going as fast as before. With this good answer the Messengers returned: and hardly could get back into the citie; which the *Romans* had almost entrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himselfe; He was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily deuoted vnto his friendship, would hold out a long time; and thereby giue him leisure, to doe what he thought requisite among the *Tarentines*, and in those Easterne parts of *Italie*; whilst the *Roman* armie spent it selfe in a tedious siege. Thus he lingered: and thereby gaue the Consuls time, both to fortifie themselues at *Capua*; and to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in *Rome*; whilst he himselfe pursued hopes, that neuer found successe.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their terme of Office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at *Capua*; retaining the same Armies, as Proconsuls. The towne men

men often sallied out: rather in a brauerie, than likelihood to worke any matter of effect; the Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the *Campani* horse (for their foot was easily beaten) the *Romans* vied to thrust out some troupes, that should hold them skirmish. In these exercises the *Campani* usually had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemy; who scorned to take foile at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore deuised, that some active and courageous yong men, should learne to ride behinde the *Roman* men at armes; leaping vp, and againe dismounting lightly, as occasion serued. These were furnished like the *Velites*, hauing each of them three or foure small darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thick vpon the Enemies horse; whom vanquishing in this kinde of seruice, they much disheartened in the maine. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the Citie, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*; and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell vpon their campe. At the same time the *Capuani* issued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deuise: setting all their multitude of vnseruicable people on the walls; which, with a loud noise of Pannes and Bassons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* opposing himselfe to the *Campani*, easily defended his Trenches against them; and so well repelled them, that he draue them at length back into their Citie. Neuertheless, in pursuing them to their gates, He receiued a wound, that accompanied him in short space after to his graue. *Q. Fuluius* was held harder to his taske, by *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginian* Armie. The *Roman* campe was euen at point to haue bene lost: and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought with him three and thirtie, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slaine vpon it, fell into the ditch; and filled it vp in such sort, that their bodies serued as a bridge vnto the Assailants. It is said, that *Hannibal* in this tumult caused some fugitives, that could speake *Latine* well, to proclaime aloud, as it were in the Consuls name, That euerie one of the Souldiers should shift for himselfe, and flie betimes vnto the next Hills, forasmuch as the campe was already lost. But all would not serue. The fraud was detected: and the Armie, hauing sitten there so long, had at good leisure strongly entrenched it selfe; so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplexe the *Carthaginian*. The purchase of *Capua* had (as was thought) with-held him from taking *Rome* it selfe: and now his desire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadell, had well-near lost *Capua*; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor Citie of *Tarentum*, were to haue bene much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater vse: on the sudden he entertained an haughty resolution, cuen to set vpon *Rome*; and carrie to the walls of that proud Citie, the danger of ware that threatned *Capua*. This he thought would be a meane, to draw the *Roman* Generalls, or one of them at least, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Armie; then had he his desire: If they diuided their forces; then was it likely, that either he, or the *Campani*, should well enough deale with them apart. Neither did he despair, that the terror of his coming might so astonish the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter some part or other of the Citie. His only feare was, lest the *Campani*, being ignorant of his purpose, should thinke he had forsaken them; and therupon forthwith yeeld themselves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, He sent letters to *Capua* by a subtle *Namidian*: who running as a fugitiue into the *Roman* campe, conueighed himselfe thence ouer the innermost Trenches into the Citie. The iourne to *Rome*, was to be performed with great celeritie: no small hope of good successe, resting in the suddenesse of his arrivall there. Wherefore he caused his men, to haue in a readinesse ten daies victualles; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night transport his Armie ouer the Riuer of *Vulturnus*. This could not be done so closely, but that

that the *Roman* Generalls by some fugitiues had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate: which was therewith affected, according to the diuersitie of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gave counsaile to let alone *Capua*, yea and all places else, rather then to put the Towne of *Rome* into perill of being taken by the Enemie. Others were so farre from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could thinke, that *Hannibal*, being vnable to relieue *Capua*, should iudge him selfe strong enough to winne *Rome*; and therefore stoutly said, That, those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the Citie, would serue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and send him thence; if he were so vnwise, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that letters should be sent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in *Rome*: who, since they knew best, what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to iudge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred vnto the discretion of these Generalls at *Capua*, to doe as they thought behouefull: and if it might conueniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the Citie of *Rome* into much aduenture. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* tooke fiftene thousand foote, and a thousand horse, the choice of his whole Armie: with which he hastned toward *Rome*, leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not trauell by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at *Capua*.

Hannibal, having passed ouer *Fulturnus*, burnt vp all his boats; and left nothing that might serue to transport the Enemie, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hastned he away toward *Rome*; staying no longer in any one place, then he needs must. Yet found he the bridges ouer *Liris* broken downe; by the people of *Fregelle*: which as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more grieuously to spoile their lands, whiles the bridges were in mending. The peares that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waste he made: his *Numidians* running before him; driving the Countrey, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of the newes came apace, one after another, into the Citie; some few bringing true aduertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the streets, and Temples in *Rome*, were pestered with women, crying and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Assemblie, readie to giue their aduice, if it were asked, or to take directions giuen by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being vncertaine, vpon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came newes that *Q. Fulvius*, with part of the Armie from *Capua*, was halting to defence of the Citie. The Office of a Protector did expire, at his returne home, and entrie into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might lose nothing by coming into the Citie in time of such need, an Act was passed, That He should haue equall power with the Consuls, during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one foone after another: *Fulvius* having bene long held occupied in passing ouer *Fulturnus*; and *Hannibal* relieuing impediment in his journey, as much as the Countrey was able to giue. The Consuls, and *Fulvius*, incamped without the Gates of *Rome*: attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; so tooke they more carefull and especiall order, against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the Towne: whence He aduanced with two thousand Horse, and rode along a great way vnder the walls; viewing the site thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But He either went, or (as the *Roman* Storick faith) was driuen away; without doing, or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by care and diligence of the Senators. About the rest, one accident was both troublesome, and not without perill. Of *Numidians* that had shifted side, and fallen vpon

some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were some twelue hundred then in *Rome*: which were appointed by the Consuls, to passe through the Towne, from the Mount *Auentine* to the Gate *Collina*, where it was thought that their seruice might be vifull, among broken wayes, and Garden walls lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, bred such mistaking, as caused a great vprore among the people: all crying out, that *Auentine* was taken, and the enemy gotten within the walls. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streetes were full of cartails, and husbandmen, which were fledde thither out of the Villages adioyning, that the passage was flopt vp: and the poore *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the house-toppes, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would haue run out at the gates, had it not bene certaine who lay vnder the walls. To remedie the like inconueniences, it was ordained, That all which had bene Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should haue authoritie as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed. The day following, *Hannibal* passed ouer *Anien*, and presented battaile to the *Romans*, who did not wisely if they vndertooke it. It is said, that a terrible shewre of raine, caused both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to returne into their seuerall Camps: and that this happened two daies together, the weather breaking vp, and clearing, as soone as they were departed asunder. Certaine it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten daies prouision, could not endure to stay there, vntill his victuals were all spent. In which regard, the *Romans*, if they suffered him to wast his time and prouisions, knowing that hee could not abide there long, did as became well-aduiled men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather; the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terrour of *Hannibals* comming to the Citie, how great soeuer it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of his forces, which appeared lesse than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soone abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the same time, the supplie appointed for *Spaine*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, was sent out of the towne, & went forth at one gate, whilst the *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Panick* terrour, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known or no cause answerable to the greatnesse of the sudden conformation; it is a good remedie, to doe somewhat quite contrarie to that which the danger would require, were it such, as men haue falshoned in their amaled conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his souldiers to disarme themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great feare of they knew not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a foolish vprore in his Armie, by proclaiming a reward vnto him, that could tell who had sent the Asse into the Campe. But in this present example of the *Romans*, appeares withall a great magnanimitie: whereby they sustained their reputation, and augmented it no lesse, than by this bolde attempt of *Hannibal* it might seeme to haue bene diminished. Neither could they more finely haue checked the glorious conceits of their Enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that feare, which clouded their valour at his first comming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recouered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that verie piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay incamped, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing vnder the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had bene in time of peace. This indignitie comming to his care incensed *Hannibal* so much, that he made Port-sale of the Silver-smithes hobs, which were neare about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his owne title to the houses within the Towne, were no whit worse, then any *Roman Citizens* could be vnto that piece of ground, whereon he raised his Tent. But this counter-practise was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seeke to manifest that assurance, which they iustly had conceiued; *Hannibal*, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had propoosed vnto himselfe, this journey had brought forth

forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore hee brake vp his campe: and doing what spoile he could in the *Roman* Territorie, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, He passed like a T^{em}pelt over the Countrey; and ranne toward the *Easterne* Sea so fast that hee had almost taken the Citie of *Rhegium* before his arrivall was feared or suspected. As for *Capua* hee gaue it lolt: and is likely to haue curled the whole faction of *Hanne*, which thus disabled him to relieue that faire Citie; since he had no other way to vent his grieie.

- Q. Fulvius* returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that who so would yeeld, before a certaine day, might safely doe it. This, and the very returne of
 40 *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gaue the *Capuans* to vnderstand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To truit the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, euery mans conscience of his owne euill defects, told him that it was a vanitie: and some faint hope was giuen, by *Hanno* and *Boissar*, Captaines of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Towne, that *Hannibal* should come againe; if meanes could only be found, how to conuey such letters vnto him, as they would write. The carriage of the letters was vnderaken, by some *Numidians*: who running, as fugitiues, out of the Towne into the *Roman* campe, waited fit oportunitie to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned, ere they could conueigh themselves away, that one of them was detected by an Harlot following him: out of the
 20 Towne; and the letters of *Boissar* and *Hanno*, were taken and opened; containing a vehement entreatie vnto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make warre against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions wheresoeuer they lie, there also should the *Carthaginian* Armie be readie to attend them; and by taking of such course, haue we gotten those victories at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Canna*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himselfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning an other way; as if it were his only care, that the Citie should not be taken in his full view: promising, to make a desperate sallie, if he would once more aduenture to set vpon the *Roman* camp. Such were the hopes of *Boissar* and his fellow. But *Hannibal* had alreadye done his best: and now beganne to faint vnder the
 30 burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partisans in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were belieged in *Capua*, had beene sent out by the *Hannonians*, to obserue the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so; justly might they curse their owne malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessitie. How focuser it were, the letters directed vnto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitiues, as carried such messages, whipt them back into the Towne. This miserable spectacle brake
 40 the hearts of the *Capuans*: so that the Multitude crying out vpon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble, and consult, about the yeelding vp of *Capua* vnto the *Romans*. The brauest of the Senators, and such as a few yeares since had beene most forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, vnderstood well enough where vnto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drinke to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruell reuenge, which the *Enemie* sought vpon their bodies. About seuen and twentie of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their liues together, by drinking poison. All the rest, hoping for more mercie than they had deserued, yeelded simply to discretion.
 50 So one of the Towne gates was set open: whereat a *Roman* Legion with some other companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to goe forth into the *Roman* campe. At their comming thither, the Proconsuls laid yrons vpon them all: and commanding them to tell what store of gold and siluer they had at home, sent them into safe

custodie; some to *Cales*; others to *Theanum*. Touching the generall Multitude; they were referred vnto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly vided by *Fulsius* in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this adueritie. *Ap. Claudius* was brought euen to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received: yet was hee not inexorable to the *Campanis*; as hauing loued them well in former times, and hauing giuen his daughter in marriage to that *Facervius*, of whom we spake before. But this facilitie of his Colleague, made *Fulsius* the more haitie in taking vengeance: for feare, lest, vpon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might proue more gentle, than he thought behoufull to the common safetie, and honour of their state. Wherefore he tooke the paines, to ride by night vnto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where hee caused all the *Campan* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all *Townes of Italie* the lesse apt to follow the vaine hope of the *Campanis*; and bred a generall inclination, to returne vpon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Atellens*, *Calatines*, and *Sabatinens*, people of the *Campanis*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submission, for very feare, and want of abilitie to resist. They were therefore veld with the like rigour, by *Fulsius*: who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their yong Gentlemen, burning with fire of vengeance, got into *Rome*: where they found meanes by night-time, to set on fire so many houses, that a great part of the Citie was like to haue bene consumed. The beginning of the fire in diuers places at once, argued that it was no casualitie. Wherefore libertie was proclaimed vnto any slaue, and other sufficient reward vnto any free man, that should discouer who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out: and the *Campanis*, being detected by a slaue of their owne (to whom, aboue his libertie promised, was giuen about the summe of an hundred markes) had the punishment answerable to their delerts. *Fulsius* herby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their walls: and this extreme seueritie caused them at length to become Suppliants vnto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set vnto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Only two poore women in *Capua* (of which one had bene an Harlot) were found not guiltie of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wiues and children sold for slaues, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and referred to further desolation: but the generalltie of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certaine day; and confined vnto severall places, as best liked the angrie Victors. As for the Towne of *Capua*; it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beautie and commodious site: but no corporation, or forme of politie, was allowed to be therein; only a *Roman* Prouest was euerie year sent, to gouerne ouer those that should inhabit, and to doe iustice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*; after many great losses in the present warre. After this, the glorie of *Hannibal* beganne to shine with a more dimme light, than before: his oile being farre spent; and that, which should haue reuiued his flame, being vnfortunately shed; as shall be told in place conuenient.

p. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a partie in Sardinia and Sicill, held warre
against the Romans in those Islands; and were
overcome.

W Hilest things passed thus in *Italie*; the commotions raised in *Sardinia*
and *Sicill* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet
and happie end, by the industrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardi-*
nian rebellion was great and sudden: about thirtie thousand being vp
in armes, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to suppress it. One
10 *Hariscor* as with his sonne *Histius*, mightie men in that Island, were the Ring-leaders;
being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promised the assistance of his Countrie.
Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterprise so careless, as in the rest of their
mistake undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had beene better, if their care had
beene directed vnto the prosecution of that maine businesse in *Italie*; whereon this,
and all other hopes depended. For it would haue sufficed, if they could haue hin-
dered the *Romans* from sending an Armie into *Sardinia*. *Hariscor* as with his followers
might well enough haue serued to driue out *Q. Marcius* the Pretor; who lay sick
20 in the Province; and not more weake in his owne bodie, than in his traine. But
whilest they sought reuenge of that particular iniurie, whereof the sence was most
griuous: they neglected the opportunitie of requiting those that had done them
wrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their for-
tune also in this enterprise was such; as may seeme to haue discouraged them from
being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For where as they sent ouer
Asdrubal, surnamed *the bald*, with a competent fleet and armie; assisted in this Expe-
dition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Margo* a Gentleman of the *Ba-*
rtine house, and neare kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole fleet by ex-
tremitie of soule weather was cast vpon the *Baleares*; so beaten, and in such euill
30 plight, that the *Sardinians* had euen spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite
vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from *Rome* with two and twentie thousand foot, and
twelue hundred horse, to settle the citate of that Island, which he had taken in, and
annexed vnto the *Roman* Dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a
laudable custome of the *Romans*, to preserve and vp-hold in their feuerall Provinces,
the greatnesse and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Pro-
vince had beene first subdued vnto their Empire. If any iniurie were done vnto the
Provincials, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or whatsoeuer ac-
cident required the assistance of a Patron: the first Conqueror; and his race after
40 him, were the most readie and best approued meanes, to procure the benefit of
the people subdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very sure intelligence in euery Province,
and had alwaies in readinesse fit men to reclaime their Subjects, if they fell into any
such disorder, as would otherwise haue required a greater charge and trouble. The
comming of *Manlius*, retayned in obedience all that were not already broken too
farre out. Yet was *Hariscor* as so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arme
his Mariners: without whom he could not haue made vp that number of two and
twentie thousand, whereof we haue spoken before: He landed at *Calais* or *Carallis*,
where mooring his ships, he passed vp into the Countrie, and fought out the En-
emie. *Hystius*, the sonne of *Hariscor* as, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Ar-
mie left vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrie, to draw in
50 more friends to their side. This yong Gentleman would needes aduenture to get
honor, by giuing battaile to the *Romans* at his owne discretion. So hee rashly ad-
uentured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom he received a terrible overthrow,
and lost in one day about thirtie thousand of his followers. *Hystius* himselfe, with
V uuuu 3 the

the rest of his broken troups, got into *Cornus*, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soone after this defeature came *Asdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*: too late to winne all *Sardinia*, in such halle as he might haue done, if the tempeit had not hindred his voyage; yet soone enough, and strong enough to saue the Towne of *Cornus*, and to put a new spirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon with-drew himselfe back to *Calari*: where he had not staid long, ere the *Sardinians* (such of them as adhered to the *Roman* partie) craued his assistance; their Countie being waied by the *Carthaginians*, and the Rebels, with whom they had refused to ioyne. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calari*: where if he had staid a little longer, *Asdrubal* would haue fought him out with some blemish to his reputation. But the sum: of *Asdrubal* and his companie, appeares to haue been greater than was their strength. For after some triall made of them in a few skirmishes; *Manlius* aduentured all to the hazard of a battaile: wherein he slew twelue thousand of the enemies; and rooke of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thousand. Four houres the battaile lasted: and victorie at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Islanders; whose courages had bene broken in their vnprosperous fight, not many daies before. The death of yong *Hysime*, and of his father *Marston*, that slew himselfe for grieffe, together with the captiuitie of *Asdrubal* himselfe, with *Stago* and *Ilanno* the *Carthaginians*; made the victorie the more famous. The vanquished Armie fled into *Cornus*: whither *Manlius* followed them; and in short space wanne the Towne. All other Cities of the Ile that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*, and yielded vnto the *Roman*: who imposing vpon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best sortet with the nature of their seuerall offences, or their abilitie to pay, returned back to *Calari* with a great bootie, and from thence to *Rome*; leauing *Sardinia* in quiet.

The warre in *Sicill*: was of greater length, and euery way more burdesome to *Rome*: as also the victorie brought more honour and profit; for that the *Romans* became thereby not only saucts of their owne, as in *Sardinia*; but Lords of the whole Countie; by annexing the Citie and Dominion of *Syracuse*, to that which they enioyed before. Soone after the battaile of *Canna*, the old King of *Syracuse* died: who had continued long a stedfast friend vnto the *Romans*; and greatly relieved them in this present warre. He left his Kingdome to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fiftene yeares of age; *Gelo* his sonne, that should haue bene his heire, being dead before. To this yong King his successor, *Hiero* appointed fiftene tutors: of which the principall were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themistius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*: The rest were such, as he judged most likely to preferue the Kingdome, by the same arte, whereby himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a little while; *Andronodorus*, waxing wearie of so many Coadjutors, beganne to commend the sufficiencye of the yong Prince, as extraordinarie in one of his yeates; and said, that he was able to rule the Kingdome without helpe of any Protector. Thus by giuing ouer his owne charge, he caused others to doe the like: hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to passe in a fort as hee desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of gouernement, gaue himselfe wholly ouer to his pleasures; or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitie, it was only in matter of exterior shew, as wearing a Diademe with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people; that had neuer seene the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his sonne. But much more hee offended them, when by his insolent behaviour, futable to his outward pompe, he gaue proofe, that, in course of life, he would reuiue the memorie of *Tyrants* dead long since, from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. Hee grew proud, lustfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him: so that such of his late Tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to liue in banishment: the rest, being molt of them put to death by the *Tyrant*; many of them dying by their owne hands, to auoid the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it selfe.

Only

Only *Andragoras*, *Zelus*, and one *Thrase* continued in grace with him, and were his Counsaillers, but not of his Cabinet. These, howsoever they agreed in other points, were at some dissension about that maine point, of adhering either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleasures, which was set on change; but *Thrase*, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amitie with *Rome*. Whilst as yet it remained somewhat doubtfull, which way the King would incline: a conspiracie against his Person, was detected by a groom of his, to whom, one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby getting out of him the whole practise, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing; but yielding (as is formed) in the end, unto the extremities of the torture, he confessed, that he had beene keton by *Thrase* whom he approached of the treason, together with many more, that were now in love or place unto *Hieronymus*. All these therefore were put to death; being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streets, and never shrinkt for the matter: assisting themselves, that the resolution of *Theodorus* would yield to no extremity. Thus they all escaped, and soon after found means to execute their purpose. The King himselfe, when *Thrase* was taken out of the way, quickly resolved upon siding with the *Carthaginians*, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, love to seeme wiser than their fathers; by taking different courses. And the liberalitie of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great necessity, had of late beene such, as might have bene termed excessivus; were it not in regard of his providence; wherein hee tooke order for his owne estate, that depended upon theirs. But the young Nephew, taking little heed of dangers fire off, regarded only the things present; the weaknesse of *Rome*; the present fortunes of *Carthage*; and the much monie that his grand-father had laid out in vaine, to shoulder vp a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who feardly entred into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* & *Epiades*, *Carthaginians* borne, but grand-children of a banished *Syracusan*. These grew into such favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they listed. So that when *Appius Claudius* the Roman Pretor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betweene the People of *Rome* and the King of *Syracuse*; his Messengers were dismissed with an open scoffe. For *Hieronymus* would needs haue them tell him, the order of the fight at *Canna*; that hee might thereby learne how to accommodate himselfe: saying, That he could hardly beleve the *Carthaginians*; so wonderfull was the victorie as they reported it. Having thus dismissed the *Romans*, he sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, where hee concluded a league: with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that hee should reigne over all *Sicily*; and the *Carthaginians* reitarsified, with what they could get in *Italy*. At these doings *Ap. Claudius* did not greatly stirre: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoued not the *Romans*, to entertaine more quarrells, then were enforced vpon them by necessity; and partly (as may seeme) for that the reputation, both of himselfe, and of his Citie, had received such blemish, by that which hapned vnto him in his journey, as much discourtenanced him when he came into *Sicily*, and forbade him to looke big. The money that *Hiero* had bestowed vpon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieue them in their necessity, this *Appius* was to carrie back vnto him: it being refused by the Roman Senate, with greater brauerie than their present fortune would allow. But in stead of returning the monie with thanks, as he had beene directed, and as it had beene noised abroad that hee should doe: the warre against *Philip* King of *Macedon* (wherof we haue spoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aside their vaine glorie, and send word after him, that he should consign that monie over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whose voiage into *Greece*, the Citie had not otherwise wherewith to beare

Thrase was not
the only one who
was a part of the
conspiracy

Appianus Claudius
was not the only one
who was a part of the
conspiracy

bear the charge. This was done accordingly: and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the *Roman* magnanimitie; into such a pittefull tone of thanksgiving, as must needs have bred sorrow and commiseration, in so true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delusor after his death, matter of pailme and scorn, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whilst *Hieronymus* was more desirous of warre, than well resolved how to beginne it: his owne death changed the forme of things; and bred a great innovation in the state of *Syracuse*; which thereby might haue prospered more than euer, had it bene wisely gouerned. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we spake before, were sent about the Countrey with two thousand men; to sollicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himselfe with an Armie of fifteene thousand horse and foot, went to *Leontium*, a Citie of his owne Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haste, and accept him for Soueraigne. There the Conspirators tooke him on the sudden, as hee was passing through a narrow street; and rushing betwene him and his guard, strooke him dead: Forthwith libertie was proclaimed; and the sound of that word so joyfully answered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronymus*; had little courage to reuenge their Masters death. Yet for feare of the worst, a great largesse was promised vnto the Souldiers, with rewards vnto their 20 Captaines; which wrought so effectually; that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned vp; the Armie, as in detestation of his bad life, suffered his carcase to lie vnburied. These newes, came quickly to *Syracuse*: whither some of the Conspirators, taking the Kings horses, polled away; to signifie all that had passed; to stirre vp the people to libertie; and to preuent *Andronodorus*, if he, or his fellows would make offer to vsurpe a Tyrannie. The *Syracusians* hereupon presently tooke Armes; and made themselves masters of their owne Citie. *Andronodorus* on the other side fortified the Palace, and the Island: being yet vn certaine what to doe; betwene desire of making himselfe a soueraigne Lord, and feare of suffering punishment, as a Tyrant, if his enterprise miscarried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cherished him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that well knowne Prouerbe, which *Dionysius* had vsed; That a Tyrant should keepe his place, till he were haled out of it by the beeles, and not ride away from it on horse-back. But feare, and better counsaile preuailed so farre; that *Andronodorus*, hauing slept vpon the matter; dissembled his affections; and deferred his hope, vnto better opportunitie. The next day he came forth, and made a speech vnto the People: telling them; That hee was glad to see, how prudently they behaued themselves in so great a change; that he had stood in feare, lest they would not haue contained themselves within bounds of discretion; but rather haue sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to rauish their libertie perforce, but to wed it vnto 40 them for euer; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendered vp the charge, committed vnto him, by one that had bene an euill Master, both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made; and Pretors chosen (as in former times) to gouerne the Citie; of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chiefe. But such was his desire of Soueraignetie: and so vehement were the instigations of his wife; that shortly he beganne to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captaines of the Mercenaries: hoping to make himselfe strong, by their helpe, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, had bene with the *Syracusan* Pretors, and told them, that, being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they according to instructions of their Capitaine, had done him, whilst he liued, what seruice they could; and that now they were desirous to returne home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed: and with a conuoy; that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and set them safe at *Loari*. This was easily

easily granted: both for that the *Syracusan* Magistrates were well contented to earne
 thanks of *Hannibal*, with such a little curtell; and for that they thought it expedient,
 to rid their Towne quickly of this troublefome couple; which were good
 souldiers, and gracious with the Armie, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the
 desire of these two *Syilians*, to be gone so hastily as they made shew: they were more
 mindfull of the businesse, for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated
 themselves into the bosoms of such as were most likely to fill the armie with
 tumult: especially of the *Roman* fugitives, and those that had cause to mistrust what
 should become of themselves, when the *Romans* and *Syracusians* were come to agree-
 10 ment. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great neede of: as also of many
 other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. Hee found *Themistius*, that had
 married *Harmonia* the sister of *Hieronymus*; readie to take his part; as being carried
 with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the
 number of his adherents; he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the rest
 of the Pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themistius*, entering into the Se-
 20 nate, were slaine out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the cuill
 which they had done, whilst *Hieronymus* lived, as by his authoritie; and now since
 attempted, in seeking to usurpe the tyrannie themselves. It was also declared that
 the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo*, were accessarie to this dangerous treason: and that
 30 the vnquiet spirits of these women, would neuer cease to worke; until they had re-
 covered those Royall ornaments, and Soueraigne power, whereof their familie was
 now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo*, were also condem-
 ned to die: and executioners presently sent by the enraged people to take away their
 lives. *Demarata*, and *Harmonia*, had perhaps deserved this heauie sentence: but *He-
 racles*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sosippos*, being altogether innocent; was
 murdered together with her two yong daughters, in the hasty execution of this rash
 judgement. Her husband *Sosippos* was a lover of the Common-wealth; and in that
 respect so hated by *Hieronymus*, that being sent Embassadour to King *Ptolemeus*, &c. he
 durst not returne home; but staid in *Aegypt* as a banished man. This considera-
 40 tion, when it was too late, together with some other pittifull accidents accompa-
 nyng the slaughter, so affected the multitude; that (pardoning themselves) all cryed
 out vpon the authors of so foule a butcherie. Being thus incensed against the Se-
 nate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfithe their anger; they called for an elec-
 tion of new Pretors, in the roome of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately
 slaine: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should haue little
 cause to like. At the election were present a great rowt, not only of the poorer Ci-
 50 tizens, but of souldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named *Epicides*
 Pretor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the lesse that the old Pretors and Senators
 approued this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall
 crye forced them to be accepted. These being made Pretors; did what they could
 60 to hinder the agreement that was in hand, betweene the *Syracusians* and the *Romans*.
 But hauing striven in vaine, and seeing that the People stood in feare of *Ap. Claudius*
 and of *Marcellus*, that was lately come into *Siril*; they gave way vnto the time, and
 suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed; which afterward they purposed
 to dissolue by practise. The *Leontines* had some neede of a Garrison: and to them
 70 was sent *Hippocrates* the Pretor attended, by such fugitives, and mercinarie souldiers,
 as were most burdosome to *Syracuse*. Thither when he came, hee beganne to doe
 many acts of hostilitie against the *Romans*: first in secret, afterward more openly and
 boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly vnderstanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent
 word vnto the *Syracusians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the
 80 peace would neuer be kept sincerely, until this turbulent paire of brethren were ex-
 pelled the Island. *Epicides*, fearing to sustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings,
 and more desirous to set forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace;
 went himselte vnto the *Leontines*, whom he perswaded to rebell against the *Syracu-
 sians*.

sians. For he said, that since they had all of late serued one Master; there was little reason why the *Leontines* should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the *Syracusians*; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their streets the Tyrant was slaine, and libertie first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of *Syracuse* were not contented, to enjoy the freedome purchased among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reason, that they should beare Dominion ouer those that had broken the chains, wherwith both the one and the other were bound: his aduice was, that such their arrogancie should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was giuen by one article of the league, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracusians*. For it was agreed, That all which had been 10
 subject to *Hiero* and *Hieronymus*, should henceforth, be Passals vnto the state of *Syracuse*. Against this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; *Epicles* told them, that in this noueltie of change, they had fit opportunitie to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it vnreasonable, which this craftie *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had bene subdued by the same hand, which tooke libertie from the *Syracusians*. But seeing they had long since yeelded vnto *Syracuse*, and been subject vnto that Citie, by what forme soeuer it was gouerned; this claime of libertie was rather seasonable than iust. Neuerthelesse the motion of *Epicles* was highly approued: in so much that when messengers came soone after from *Syracuse*, 20
 to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done against the *Romans*; and to denounce vnto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, that they should get them gone, either to *Lauri*, or whither else they listed, so that they slaid not in *Sicil*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requelled the *Syracusians*, to make any bargaines for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themselves bound to obserue the couenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptorie answer, was forth-with reported vnto *Marcellus* by the *Syracusians*: who offered him their assistance in doing iustice vpon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition that when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forth-with tooke the businesse in hand; which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault, *Leontium* was taken: all saue the Castle, whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* fled; and scaling thence away by night conuied themselves into the Towne of *Herbesus*. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when hee had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other *Roman* Captaines vied after victorie; to seeke out the fugitiue *Roman* slaues and renegados, whom he caused all to die: the rest both of the Townsmen and Souldiers, he tooke to mercie; forbearing also to strip or spoile them. But the fame of his doings was bruted after a contrarie sort. It was said, that he had slaine, Man, Woman, and Child, and put the Towne to sack. These newes met the *Syracusan* Armie vpon the way, as it was going to ioyne with *Marcellus*, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were, that had bene sent forth of *Syracuse*, vnder *Sosis* and *Dinnemus* two of 40
 the Pretors, to serue against the *Leontines* and other Rebels. These Captaines were honest men, and well affected to their Countreie: but the souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They tooke the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-souldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had bene so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutinie; though what to demand, or with whom to be angrie, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it best, to turne their vnquiet thoughts another way, and let them awoke in some place else: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no neede of their seruice. So toward *Herbesus* they marched: where lay 50
Hippocrates and *Epicles*, the architects of all this mischiefe, deuiling what further harme they might doe; but now so weakely accompanied, that they seemed vnable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no lesse well aware: and therefore aduentured vpon a remedie little lesse desperate

deperate than their present case. They issued forth of *Herbesus* unarmed, with olive branches in their hands, in manner of suppliants; and so presented themselves to the Armie. Sixe hundred men of *Crete* were in the vanguard; that had been well vied by *Itieronymus*; and some of them greatly bound vnto *Hannibal*, who had taken them prisoners in the Italian warre, and louingly dismissed them. These *Cretans* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bad them be of good cheare; saying, that no man should doe them harme, as long as they could vse their weapons. Herewithall the Armie was at a stand; and the rumor of this accident, ranne swiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the matter by leuerities; which would not serue. For when they commanded these two Traitors to be laid in yrons: the exclamation was so violent against them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne, vncertaine what course to take, vnto *Megara*; where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deuised a trick; whereby to helpe himselfe, and better the vncertaine case wherein he stood. He caused letters of his owne penning; to be intercepted by some of his most trustie *Cretans*; directed (as they made shew) from the *Syracusian* Pretors, to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the sword among the *Leontines*; but that it farther behoued him, to make the like dispatch of all the Metcinaries belonging to *Syracuse*; which were offensive, all of them in generall, to the libertie of the Cite; and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epistle was openly reuealed: the vprore was such, that *Sofis* and his fellow Pretor, were glad to forsake the campe, and flie for their liues. All the *Syracusians* remainyng behinde, had been cut in peeces by the enraged souldiers, if the two artificers of the sedition had not saved their liues; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than for any good will. They perswaded also a mischieuous knaue that had serued among the *Leontines*, to iustifie the bruit of *Marcellus* his crueltie; and to carrie home the newest to *Syracuse*, as an eye-witnesse. This incensed not only the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole Towne with causelesse indignation. In good time (saide some) was the auarice and crueltie of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like sort gotten into *Syracuse*, would haue dealt much worse; where their greedie appetites might haue beene tempted with a farre greater bootie. Whilest they were thus discouraging, and deuising how to keepe out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Armie came to the gates; exhorting the Citizens to let him in, vnto for want of helpe, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Pretors with the best and wisest of the Senate, would faine haue kept him out: but the violence of the souldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-strong furie of those within the Towne; that laboured to breake it open. So he entered, and immediately fell vpon the Pretors; whom (being forsaken by all men) he put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers vntill night. The next day he went openly to worke: and after the common example of Tyrants, gauc libertie to all slaves and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himselfe and his brother Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuse*.

When *Marcellus* was aduertised of this great alteration, hee thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadors to *Syracuse*; that were not admitted into the Hauen, but chased out as enemies. Then drew hee neare with his Armie: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the Towne, sent before him, some to require a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Pretors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpose to doe hurt, but in fauour of the *Syracusians*, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those, that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthe men, their Confederates, which were chased out of the Towne, might be suffered to returne and enjoy

enjoy their owne; as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be deliuered vp. Hereto *Epicles* briefly answered, That if their errand had bene to him, he could haue told what to say to them: but since it was directed vnto others, they should doe well to returne, when those to whom they were sent, had the gouernment in their hands. As for the warre which they threatened; hee told them, they should finde by experience, that to besiege *Syracuse* was another manner of worke, than to take *Leontium*. Thus hee sent them gone; and returned back into the Citie. Immediately beganne the siege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quick and easie winning of *Leontium* did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a circuit of walls, as compassed *Syracuse*, being manned with no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom hee had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his best, both by Land and Sea. Neuthelesse all his labour was disappointed; and his hope of preuailling by open force, taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despaire of battie victorie. But there liued at that time in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the request of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of warre, as being in this extremitie put in vfe, did most mischiefe to the *Romans* than could haue bene wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age bene knowne. This *Archimedes* discoursing once with *Hiero*, maintained, That it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a man might stand. For proofe of this bold assertion, he performed some strange workes; which made the King entreat him to conuert his studie vnto things of vfe; that might preserue the Citie from danger of enemies. To such Mechanical workes, *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injurie done vnto the liberall Sciences, to submit learned Propositions, vnto the workmanship, and gaine, of base handicrafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians, that seemed vnto him to profane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we rashly taske a man so wise as *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious austeritie, or affected singularity in his reprehension. For it hath bene the vnhappie fate of great inuentions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were published: and being once made knowne, to bee vnder-valued; as falling within compasse of the meanest wits, and things, that euery one, could well haue performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his discouerie, with the much different sorts of neglect, which hee vnder-went before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent proofe. He that looks vpon our *English Brewers*, and their Seruants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one say, that the making of Malt, was an inuention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in naturall Philosophie. Yet is not the skill of the inuentors any whit the lesse, for that the labour of workmanship grows to be the Trade of ignorant men. The like may be said of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being deuised, and bettered, by great Scholars and wise men, grew after ward corrupted by those, to whom the practise fell; that is, by such, as could slubber things easily ouer, and feede their workemen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others, that haue, or would seeme to haue any secret skill, whereof the publication might doe good vnto mankind; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kinde of injustice, that the long trauels of an vnderstanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away vpon men of no worth; or yeld lesse benefit vnto the Author of a great worke, than to meere strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Enuie, haue in it any thing allowable and

and naturall, as haue Anger, Feare, and other the like Affections: it is in some such case as this; and serueth against those, which would vserpe the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to endue them. Neuerthelesse if we haue regard vnto common charitie, and the great affection that euery one ought to beare vnto the generalltie of mankind, after the example of him that suffereth his *Sonne to shine vpon the iust and vniust*: it will appeare more commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselves, and to publish vnto the world, those good things that lye buried in their own bosomes. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning; that may bee peruerued by euill men to a

10 mischievous vse. For if the secret of any rare *Antidot*, contained in it the skill of giuing some deadly and irrecoverable payson: better it were, that such a iewell remaine close in the hands of a wife and honest man; than being made common, bind all men to vse the remedie, by teaching the worst men how to doe mischiefe. But the workes which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended to vary commendable ends. They were engines, seruing vnto the defence of *Syracuse*; not fit for the *Syracuzans* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to vse them, but reserved so much to his own direction; that after his death more of the same kinde were not made, nor those of his owne making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed vnto this worthy man, 20 that hee had approued, euen vnto the vulgar, the dignitie of his Science; and done especiall benefit vnto his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

Marcellus had caused certaine of his *Quinquereme Gallies* to be fastened together, and Towers erected on them, to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these, *Archimedes* had sundrie deuices; of which any one sort might haue repelled the assailants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicitie of his great wit. He shot heauie stones and long peeces of timber, like vnto the yards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay farre off. They that were come nearer the walls, lay open to a continuall voly of shot, which 30 they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoisted vp; thaking out all the men; and afterward falling downe into the water. Some by strange engines were lifted vp into the ayre; where turning round a while; they were broken against the walls, or cast vpon the rocks: and all of them were so beaten; that they durst neuer come to any second assault. In like sort was the Land-armie handled. Stones and timber, falling vpon it like Haile; did not onely overwhelm the men, but brake downe the *Roman* engines of batterry; and forced *Marcellus* to giue ouer the assault. For remedie hercof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could earely before day get nere vnto the walls: they should be (as it were) vnder the point *blank*, and receiue no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which 40 were wound vp hard to shoote a great compass. But this vaine hope cost many of the assailants liues. For the shot came downe right vpon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were vnable to stay by it) euen till they were gotten very farre off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*; that if they perceived any peece of timber, or a ropes end, vpon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engines were readie to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to ouercome these difficulties; or to take away from his men, that feare; against the cause whereof he knew no remedie. If the engines had stood vpon the walls, subiect to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might haue holpen it by some deuice, to make them vn- 50 uiceable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight; being erected in the streets behinde the walls; where *Archimedes* gaue directions how to vse them. Wherefore the *Roman* had none other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all prouision of victualls, both by Land and by Sea. This was a desperate peece of worke.

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For

For the enemies hauing so goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely so soone to bee consumed with famine, as the besiegers to bee wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a Citie, hauing no probabilitie to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the meane while, *Himilco*, Admirall of a *Carthaginian* fleet, that had waited long about *Sicily*, being by *Hippocrates* aduertised of these passages, went hometo *Carthage*; and there so dealt with the Senate, that five and twentie thousand foot, threethousand horse, and twelue Elephants, were committed vnto his charge; wherewith to make warre vpon the *Romans* in *Sicily* by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many, that had anciently belonged vnto the *Carthaginians*, did yeld vnto him. To remedie this mischiefe, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of *Fortune*, beganne to turne vnto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Armie, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. Hee tooke *Pelorus* and *Herbessus*, which yelded vnto him. He tooke also *Megara* by force and sackt it: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*; or else because *Rome* was at this time poore, and his Armie must haue somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to haue saued *Agigentum*: whither hee came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for feare of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumspection that he vied, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead, against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leauing the charge of *Syracuse* vnto his brother, had lately issued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse; intending to joyne his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell vpon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easie victorie, against the disperd and halfe vnarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keepe the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joyning with *Hippocrates*, ranne ouer all the Island at his pleasure; and presented bataille to *Marcellus*, euen at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*; and victualled the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so againe; that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*; and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his campe: yet many places reuolted vnto the *Carthaginians*; and flue or betrayed the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath awhile: and *Marcellus* leauing some of his Armie before *Syracuse*, that he might not seeme to haue giuen ouer the siege, went vnto *Leontium*; where he lay inteniue to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt; whether it were better to continue the laborious worke of besieging *Syracuse*; or to turne all his forces to *Agigentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly haue impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as vnable to preuaile: and he himselfe was of an eager disposition, euer vnwilling to giue ground, or to quit, as not faillible, an enterprise, that he had once taken in hand. Hee came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his desire. Especially hee assayed to preuaile by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end, he dealt with the *Syracusian* Gentlemen that were in his campe, exhorting them to practise with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not calie for them to doe; because the towne would hearken to no parlee. At length a slave vnto one of these banished men, making shew to runne away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where

where he talked in priuate with some few, as he had bene instructed. Thus beganne *Marcellus* to haue intelligence within the Citie : whence the Conspirators vied to send him aduertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night. But when they were growne to the number of fourescore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance : all was discovered ; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while ; one *Damasippus* a *Lacedaemonian*, that had bene sent out of the Towne as an Embassadour to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very desirous to ransom him : and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, nor farr from the walls.

10 I here, one of the *Romans*, looking vpon the wall, and wanting the more compendious arte of Geometric, fell to numbring the stones ; and, making an estimate of the height, judged it lesse than it had bene formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus* : who causing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it ; made all things readie, and waited a conuenient time. It was the weakest part of the Towne, and therefore the most strongly garded : neither was there hope to preuaile by force against *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by surprize. But a fugitiue out of the Towne brought word, that a great feast was to be held vnto *Diana*, which was to last three dayes : and that, because other good cheare was not so plentifull within the Citie, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large distribution of wine. A better opportunitie could not bee wished. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the dead of the festiuall night, came vnto the walls ; which he rooke by *Sesludo*. *Syracuse* was diuided into foure parts (or fife, if *Eppole* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some peeces, he had the commoditie of a better and safe lodging, with good store of bootie ; and better opportunitie than before, to deale with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in *Acradina* and the Island, inner parts of the Towne, as of those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that beganne to hearken vnto composition ; as being much terrified by the losse of those parts, which the *Romans* had taken and sackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they did, vnto those, that were sheltered vnder strong houses : although it may seeme, that the inner walls were not altogether vnurnished of his helpe ; since they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitiues, and Renegados, were more carefull than euer to defend the rest of the Citie : being sure to be rewarded with a cruell death, if *Marcellus* could preuaile. *Hippocrates* and *Himileo*, were daily expected ; and *Bomilear* was sent away to *Carthage*, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himileo* came : who fell vpon the old camp of the *Romans*, whilst *Epicides* sallied out of *Acradina* vpon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made such defence in each part, that the *A* sailants were repelled. Neuertheless, they continued to beset *Marcellus* : whom they held in a manner as freightly besieged, as he himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two Capitaines, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to dislodge. The *Romans* were (though somewhat lesse) afflicted with the same pestilence, in so much that *Bomilear* did put the Citie of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilear* wanted no desire to doe his Countre service : but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachynus* with a strong fleet : where he staid ; being loath to double the Cape ; for that the windes did better serue the enimie than him. Thither sailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuse* : to acquaint him with the necessities of the Citie ; and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length he came forward :

50 but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was readie for him, he stood off into the deepe ; and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durst not *Epicides* returne into *Syracuse*, but went to *Agigentum* : where he expected the issue ; with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

Carthage is to be good will

The *Sicilian* souldiers, that remained alieue of *Hippocrates* his Armie, lay as neare as they could safely, vnto *Marcellus*; and some of them, in a strong Towne three miles off. These had done what good they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could vnto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the state of *Sicily* was giuen as desolate by the *Carthaginians*: they sent Embassadors to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Towne: Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gaue eare: for he had staied there long enough; and had cause to feare, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither strong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enjoying their libertie and proper lawes; yet suffering the *Romans* to possesse, whatsoeuer had belonged vnto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicles* had left his charge, were put to death; new Pretors chosen; and the gates euen readie to be opened vnto *Marcellus*: when suddenly the *Roman* fugitiues disturbed all. These perceiuing their owne condition to be desperate, perswaded the other Mercinarie souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained only for themselves, and betrayed the Armie to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently tooke armes, and fell vpon the new-chosen Pretors: whom they slue; and made election of fixe Captaines that should command ouer all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the souldiers; excepting only the fugitiues. The treatie therefore was againe set on foot, and wanted little of conclusion: which yet was delaied; either by some feare of the Citizens, that had seene (as they thought) proofe of the *Roman* auarice in the sack of *Epipola*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by some desire of *Marcellus* to get the Towne by force, that he might vse the libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subiect vnto *Rome*. *Mericus* a *Spaniard* was one of the fixe Captaines, that had bene chosen in the late commotion: a man of such faith, as visually is found in Mercinaries; holding his owne particular benefit aboue all other respects. With this Captaine, *Marcellus* dealt secretly: hauing a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one *Belligenes*; that went in companie with the *Roman* Embassadors, daily passing too and fro. This craftie Agent, perswaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spaine*: and that if euer he purposed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in *Spaine*, or any where else; it was now the only time to doe it; by conforming himselfe to the will of the *Roman* Generall. By such hopes the *Spanish* Captaine was easily wonne: and sent forth his owne brother among the *Syracusan* Embassadors, to ratifie the coucnant with *Marcellus*.

This vnder-hand dealing of *Marcellus* against the *Syracusians*, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards thoroughly approued at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had bene such, as deserved not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrey: much lesse, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Armie of Mercinaries, should minister vnto the people of *Rome*, an aduantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired souldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld vnto the time, and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Armie. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicles*: it had bene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of *Rome*. They had lately slaine many the principall of *Epicles* his followers; and many of themselves had also bene slaine, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascallitie, and some ill aduised Persons, joynt with the Souldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in those parts of their owne Citie which was taken? Ought therefore the *Roman* Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the *Syracusians*, to make a bargain vnder-hand against them, with a Captaine of the Mercinaries? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his returne

turne home. But the Senators, thought it a great deale better, to comfort the *Syraculians* with gentle wordes, and promises of good vſage in time to come; than to reſtore the bootie, and giue ouer the Dominion of a Citie, ſo great, wealthie, ſtrong, and many waies important. Neuertheleſſe if we conſider the many inconueniences and great miſchiefes, whereunto *Syracuſe* was obnoxious; both by euill neighbours, and by that very forme of politic, after which it was gouerned: we may truly affirme, That it receiued no ſmall benefit, by becoming ſubject vnto *Rome*. For thereby it was not only aſſured againſt all forraigne enemies, domeſticall conſpiracies, and ſuch Tyrants as of old had raigned therein: but freed from the neceſſitie of baniſhing, or murdering, the moſt worthie Citizens; as alſo from all factions, intestine ſeditions, and a thouland the like miſeries, that were wont to grow out of the iealouſie, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enjoyed that Citie, from her firſt foundation, any ſuch long time of happineſſe, as that wherein it flouriſhed, when it reſted ſecure vnder the protection of *Rome*; and was no more moleſted, by the diſeaſe of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his victorie it was thoroughly cured. But ſuch benefit, ariſing from wrongs done, ſerues not to make in iuſtice the more excuſable: vntleſſe we ſhould approve the anſwere of that Theefe, who being found to haue ſtoolen a ſiluer cup from a ſick man, ſaid, *He neuer leaues drinking*.

By the treaſon of *Mertius*, the *Roman* Armie was let into poſſeſſion of all *Syracuſe*: wherein the bootie that it found, was ſaid to haue bene no leſſe, than could haue bene hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it ſelfe; that maintained warre by Land and Sea againſt them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuſe* was maruailouſly adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left vntouched; ſaue only the houſes of thoſe baniſhed men, that had eſcaped from *ſcipporates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* campe. Among other pitifull accidents; the death of *Archimedes*, was greatly lamented, euen by *Marcellus* himſelfe. He was ſo buſie about his Geometrie, in drawing figures, that he hearkned not to the noiſe, and vprare in the Citie; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* tooke heauily the death of him; and cauſed his body to bee honourably buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his life time) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, with an inſcription of the proportion betwene them, which hee firſt found out. An Invention of ſolittle vſe, as this may ſeeme, pleaſed that great Artiſt better, than the deuſing of all thoſe engines, that made him ſo famous. Such difference is betwene the iudgement of learned men, and of the vulgar fort. For many an one would thinke the monie loſt, that had been ſpent vpon a ſonne, whole ſtudies, in the Vniuerſitie had brought forth ſuch fruit, as the proportion betwene a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuſe*, all the Townes in *Sicill* yeelded vnto the *Romans*; except *Aggrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Aggrigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately ſent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines*, by many good peeces of ſeruiſe, had added ſome credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* ſide; and withall made his owne name great. By his perſwaſions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* aduentured to meet *Marcellus* without the Towne, and not be haue themſelues as men expecting to be beſieged. Neither was hee more valiant in counſell, than in execution. Once and againe he ſet vpon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped; and droue them fearefully into their Trenches. This bred enuie in *Epicides* and *Hanno*: eſpecially in *Hanno*, that hauing been lately ſent from *Carthage*, with commiſſion and authoritie from the State, thought himſelfe wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had ſent vnto him this *Mutines*, to be his Companion, and to take vpon him, like as good a man as himſelfe. The indignitie ſeemed the greater, when *Mutines*, being to ſtep aſide vnto *Heraſcles*, for the pacifying of ſome troubles there among the *Numidians*; aduiſed (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemy, vntill his returne. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight; and offered battell vnto *Marcellus*, before he fought it. It is like, that a great

part of the *Roman* Armie was left behinde in *Syracuse*, as neede required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deale with those that came against them. But whatsoever disproportion was betwene the two Armies; farre greater were the odds betwene the Captaines. For howsoever the people of *Carthage* would giue authoritie by fauour; yet could they not giue worth, and abilitie, in matter of warre. The *Numidians*, hauing before conceiued some displeasure against their Captaines: and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclides*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vaine-glorious enuie of *Hanno* carried him vnto the fight, vpon a foolish desire to get victorie, without the helpe of *Mutines* their Countreiman. Wherefore they sent vnto the *Roman* Generall, and bad him be confident: for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day; but only looke on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had benee misused. They made good their promise; and had their desire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily set vpon the Enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, droue them back into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could haue benee contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of warre than himselfe, and not haue hazarded a battaile without neede; the *Romans* would shortly haue been reduced into termes of great difficultie in their *Sicilian* warre: For *Marcellus*, was shortly after to leaue the Province; and soone vpon his departure, there landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foot, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Armie drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Armie, consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Canna*, tooke it very hainously, that no good seruice done, could bring them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent farre from home, and not suffered to returne back to *Rome* with their Generall. *Mutines* had pacified his Countreimen the *Numidians*; and, like an honest man, did the best that he could for those whom he serued, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might haue benee, if the Armie lately ouerthrowne had benee entire. *M. Cornelius*, the *Roman* Pretor, vsed all diligence, both to pacifie his owne men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered those inland Townes that had rebelled; and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from reuolting vnto *Mutines*; yet hee hindred the Countreie from reuolting vnto *Mutines*. About three score Townes, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicill*: of which, *Agrigentum* was the principall; and farre bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as he pleased, in despite of the *Romans*: not only to the succour of his owne adherents; but to the great waste of those that followed the contrarie part. But *Hanno*, in stead of being pleased with all these good seruices, was filled more and more with enuie, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) receiued instructions from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*; not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to haue share in the honour of these *Sicilian* warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilest *Italie* was neglected, that should haue benee regarded more then all the rest. Wherefore, to shew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint vnto him an Assistant, or Director: Hee tooke away from *Mutines* his charge, and gaue it to his owne sonne; thinking thereby to discontentance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among his *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrarie: and this spightfull dealing, occasioned the losse of whatsoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicill*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignitie offered vnto their Countreiman, being such a braue Commander, that they offered him their seruice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. *M. Valerius Laevinus*, the *Roman* Consul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke these indignities: but being,

neither

neither a *Carthaginian*, nor fauoured by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage*; He thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his owne game, and for sake that Citie, which was likely to perish by the euill counsell that gouerned it. He did not therefore, as his Countreimen had lately done, content himselfe to see his Aduersaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious ouer-weening: and to suffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part; but conspired against them, to deliuer vp *Aggrigentum*, and to helpe to expell them vtterly out of *Sicil*. The Consul was glad of his friendship: and carefully followed his aduertisements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which *Mutines* 10 had vnder-taken. For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly seize vpon a gate; where-at they let in some *Roman* Companies, that lay neare in a readinesse for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noise, thought it had bene no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as hee had bene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among those discontented followers of *Mutines*, forth with he betooke himselfe to flight: and saving himselfe, with *Epicles*, in a small Barke, set saile for *Africke*; leaving all his Armie and Adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercie of the *Romans*; that hence- 15 ward continued masters of the whole Iland.

Laenus the Consul hauing taken *Aggrigentum*, did sharpe execution of justice vpon all the Citizens. The principall of them hee scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them he sold for slaves, and confiscated their goods; sending home to *Rome* the monie that was raised of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein *Rome* stood in no lesse necessitie of gold, than of Steele: which may haue bene the reason, why *Laenus* dealt so 20 cruelly with the *Aggrigentines*. Neuertheless the fame of such seueritie bred a terror among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*; so that in great haste they fought to make their peace. About fourtie Townes yielded themselves quickly vnto the *Romans*; twentie were deliuered vp by Treason; and sixe only staid to be wonne by force. These things done, *Laenus* returned home to *Rome*: carrying 30 with him about foure thousand men from *Agatirna*; that were a companie of out-laws, bankrouts, and banished men, accustomed to liue by spoile of others, in these troublefome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italie*, where they might exercise their occupation against the *Brutians*; a theeuish kinde of people, that were enemies vnto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, hee was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where hee liued in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipios* in their iourne against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is said) very especiall service. So by this enterprife of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might haue bene employed in *Italie*: leaving yet vnto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire possession 40 of this Iland; which they wanted when it beganne.

¶ XVI.

How the warre passed betweene the *Romans* and *HANNIBAL* in *Italie*,
 from the taking of *Capua* to the great victorie at
Metaurus.

10 Shortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where, for his good seruices done in the Iland of *Sicil*, hee had granted vnto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: because he had not finished the warre, but was faine to leaue his Armie behinde him in the Pro- uince. Hee staid not long in *Rome*; before hee was againe chosen Consul together 15 with

with *M. Valerius Latinus*, who succeeded him in the gouernement of *Sicill*, and was, at the time of his election, making warre against King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made against the Consul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracussians*, for that which he had done vnto them: they alledging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Thero*; and affirming, that their Citie did neuer willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that liued in *Syracuse*. The Consul, on the other side, reckoned vp the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoane themselves to the *Carthaginians*: that had holpen them in their necessitie; and not vnto the *Romans*: whom they had kept out. Thus each part hauing some good matter to alleage, the Senate made such an end of the controuersie, as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Commonwealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the boöte that he had taken, nor making the *Syracussians* free from their subiection; but comforting them, with gentle wordes, and hopefull promises, as hath bene shewed before. The two new Consuls, *Marcellus* and *Latinus*, were appointed to make warre, as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italie*; the other in *Sicill*. The Isle of *Sicill*, fell vnto *Marcellus*: which Prouince he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracussians* (whose cause had not as yet bene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindered by feare, from vttering their grieuances freely. Afterwards, when his businesse with them was dispatcht, hee gently vndertooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie; to the great benefit of their Countrie in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicill*, whose doings there haue bene already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employd against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of Souldiers to the warre; and moö of all, with getting Mariners for their Nauie. They were all of the poorer sort, that vsed to be employd in Sea-seruices; especially in rowing. These could not liue without present wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treasurie to giue them pay: Wherefore, it was ordained, that they should be let out at the expence of priuate men; who, in this necessitie of the state, were druen to sustaine all publike charges. Hereat the People murmured: and were readie to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter vnto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a case of such extremitie. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already endured so much, as well it could vnder-goe; and somewhat more, than could with honestie haue been imposed vpon it. Neuerthelesse it was impossible to maintaine the warre against the *Carthaginians*, or to keepe the *Macedonian* out of *Italie*, without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That, since the common Treasurie was so empty, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At last the Consuls beganne to say, That no perswasions would be so effectuall with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it was, that the People also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That euery one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasurie, all the monie that he had; and that no Senator should keepe any vessell of gold, or plate whatsoeuer; excepting one salt-seller, and a boule wherewith to make their offerings vnto the Gods: as also a Ring for himselfe, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as euery one did vse, and those of as small value as might be. This aduice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the readie performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded; and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonaltie refuse to doe that, which their betters had openly dooe before them. For since the publike necessitie could no otherwise be holpen; euery one was contented, that his private estate should runne the same fortune with the Common-wealth; which if it suffered wrack, in vaine could any particular man

man hope to enioy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimitie deferred well that greatnesse of Empire, wherof it was the foundation.

Conuenient order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the Cite against *Hannibal*; and *Launus* toward *Sicily*. The armie of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard seruice: neither did his *Carthaginians* seeme to remember him, and thinke vpon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his *Italian* friends, was much weakened, by the losse of *Capua*: which gaue them cause to looke vnto themselves; as if in his helpe there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in neede. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedie. Either he must thrust Garrisons into all Townes that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his armie, that he should not bee able to keepe the field: or else hee must leaue them to their owne fidelitie; which now beganne to wauer. At length his ieaousie grew so outrageous, that he sacked, and waited, those places that he was vnable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himselfe; and make vnprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before he had least cause to doubt. The towne of *Salapia* yielded vnto *Marcellus*: and betraied vnto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that serued vnder *Hannibal*; which was a greater losse, then the Towne it selfe. *Blasius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect; without getting the consent of one *Dalsus*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dalsus* in private; and was by him accused vnto *Hannibal*. But when he was conuened, and charged of Treason, he so stoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deuised out of mere malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not deale to presse his aduersarie anew, and vrge him from time to time, with such lively reasons; that hee who could not be belieued by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to winne the fauour of *Marcellus*. Presently after this, the Consul tooke by force, *Maronia* and *Meles*, Townes of the *Sannites*: wherein hee slew about three thousand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not looke to all at once: but was faine to catch aduantages, where he might get them; the *Romans* now being growne stronger in the field than hee. The best was, that his *Carthaginians*, hauing wearied themselves with ill speede in many pettie enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of *Italie*, to follow businesse of farre lesse importance; had now at length resolved, to send presently the great supply, that had bene so long promised and expected. This if they had done in better season; *Rome* it selfe might haue bene stricken downe, the next yeare after that great blow received at *Canna*. But since that which is past cannot be amended: *Hannibal* must force himselfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mightie succour would come time enough. For *Masaniissa* was at *Carthage* with fise thousand *Numidians*, readie to set saile for *Spain*: whither when he came, it was appointed, that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his iourne into *Italie*; of which there had bene so long talke. These newes did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their best: the *Romans* to prevent the threatening mischiefe, and winne as much as they could vpon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his owne, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fuluius*, a *Roman* Pretor, lay neare vnto *Herdenna* to get the Towne by practise. It was not long, since, neare vnto the same place; another *Cn. Fuluius* had lost his armie. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; and came to *Herdenna* ere *Fuluius* heard newes of his approach. As soone as he came, he offered battaile to the *Roman* Pretor: who accepted it with more haste than good speede. The

Roman

Roman Legions made good resistance awhile, till they were compassed round with the Carthaginian horse. Then fell they to rowt; and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himselfe, with twelue *Tribunes* or *Cornells*, were lost: of the common souldiers that were slaine, the number is vncertaine; some reporting seven, others thirteenth thousand. The Towne of *Herdones*, because it was at point to haue yielded vnto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire: and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom hee bestowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good cheare; for that he would shortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the Carthaginian apace; and ouer-taking him at *Nusistro* in the countrie of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battaile: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted vntill night; and ended, by reason of the darknesse, with vncertaine victorie. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* remoued often; and fought to bring the enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light and vpon faire ground.

Thus passed the time away, vntill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius*, considering how much the Roman affaires were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that yeare to besiege *Tarentum*: which if he could winne; like it was, that scarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that serued vnder him the yeare before) to presse the Carthaginian so hard, as he might haue no leisure to helpe *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge; for hee thought no Roman fitter than himselfe, to deale with *Hannibal* in open field. Hee followed him therefore to *Cannusium*, and thence from place to place: desiring euer to come to battaile, but vpon equall termes. The Carthaginian had not minde to hazard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keepe his Armie strong vntill the coming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not auoide the importunitie of *Marcellus*; nor brooke the indignitie of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men to be lustie, and to beat soundly this hot-spirited Roman Captaine, that would neuer suffer them to be at quiet; vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hercupon followed a battaile: wherein *Hannibal* had the victorie; tooke sixe Ensignes; and slue of the Romans almost three thousand, among which were some of marke. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men, as *Pesants*, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the Roman Legions, which had bene beaten by *Hannibal*, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumvented by any stratageme. With these, and many other the like wordes, which they were ashamed to heare, he did so vexed them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their Generall; they besought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once againe to fight. He did so; and placing those Companies forme first, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victorie; whereof the newes might be at *Rome*, before the report of their shamefull ouerthrow. *Hannibal* was angrie, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was readie to fight againe, since all other motives continued the same, and his men had bene heartned by the late victorie. But the Romans were stirred up with desire of reuenge, and of repairing their honour lost, which affections gaue a sharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the Carthaginians were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victorie, was readie to molest them as before. In this second battaile *Marcellus* got the victorie: which hee purchased at so deare

deare a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if eight thousand of the *Carthaginians* were slaine, and three thousand of the *Roman* side, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than euen to recompence the late receiued ouerthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*; who dislodged by night. Neuertheless it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consul hereby got leisure, to follow his business at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Q. Fulvius*, the other Consul, about the same time, tooke in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volscentes*, that willingly yeelded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Townes: whom *Fulvius* entertained in louing sort; gently rebuking them for their errors past, without punishing those that had been authors, or bulwicks in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* theues, which *Lauius* had lately brought from *Agaterra*, was then also set on worke to besiege *Caunonia*, a towne of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might serue to diuert *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Consul, hauing taken *Manduria* a Towne of the *Salentines*, late downe before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carrie it, either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Towne a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, vnder a Capitaine of their owne Nation: This Capitaine fell in loue with a *Tarentine* wench; whose brother serued vnder *Fabius*. Hereof, she gaue notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her lover was. But her brother made the Consul acquainted with these newes: and said, that if the *Brutian* were farre in loue, he might perhaps be wonne, by intreatie of his Mistress, to doe what shee would haue him. The Consul hearing this: and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his souldier to conuey himselfe into the Towne as a squire; and trie what good might be done. It fell out, according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Capitaine: and partly by his owne persuasions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his sister; wanne him to betray the Towne to the *Romans*. When they had agreed vpon the business, and resolved how to order it; the same souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him, in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conueniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gaue an alarme to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Capitaines in the Towne, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noyse did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himselfe, with the choise of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Capitaine, helped the *Romans* to get vp, and breake open the next gate; whereat the Armie was let in. The *Brutians*, and *Carthaginian* souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place; but (as hapneth in like cases, where the maine confidence is alreadye taken away) not very obstinately. *Nisus*, *Democritus*, and *Philomachus*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, vied now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*: *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner: hoping to be well vsed, because of hospitalitie that had passed betwene his Father and the Consul. But he was slaine by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*: The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword: in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutians*, was thought to haue bene made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seeme to haue wonne the Towne by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glorie which he expected, nor preferred his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities that were in the Citie, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and

being

being told of some Idoll; that legined worthe to be carried away, being very goodly peeces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, let vs leaue vnto the *Tarentines* their angrie Gods.

Hannibal being gotten cleare from *Marcellus*, fell vpon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming; but he was so neare, that they were faine to beake them to a Hill; which serued to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a litle while, and then they yielded. When this buisnesse was done, he halted away to relieue *Tarentum*. But when hee came within fiue miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this? *The Romans haue also their HANNIBAL*; wee haue lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seeme to turne back amased, or in any feare of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few daies together, so neare as he was vnto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himselfe how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the *Metapontines* to write vnto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgieue them all offences past. These letters were sent by two young men of the same Citie: who did their errand so well; that the Consul wrote back by them vnto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure, made readie his ambushes for the warie *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were giuen; or whether indeede (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the iourne to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed againe: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they discouered all.

This yeare was happie to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got every where; save only at *Caulonia*; where they lost a companie of such tedious fellows, that it may seeme good fortune, to haue so beene rid of them. But their common povertie, and disability to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before: Thirtie *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italie*: of which, twelue refused to contribute any longer to the warres. For it was considered; that the Legions of *Cunna*; and those unhappie Companies, that had beene beaten vnder the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*; were transported into *Sicily*; where they liued, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon vp the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeares together they had beene exhausted with leuies of men, and impositions of monie: in euery of which yeares, they had receiued some notable ouerthrow. In this case the least that they could feare; or rather the best which they could hope; was, to fall into the hands of the Enemie to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him; whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe with-in awhile, that they should be all consumed: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townies; and the old ones neuer did returne. Such talke was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicily*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Townes, to the number of twelue, That they should boldly denie vnto the *Romans*, their farther helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* liued. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these townes make such declaration, and protest their disability of giuing any further helpe; they were much amased. They willed the Embassadors to returne home; and bring a better answer. forasmuch as this, was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that their people were not *Campanians*, or *Tarentines*, but the off-spring of the *Romans*; and no lesse partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not serue: the Embassadors continuing to protest, that they

they had already done what they could; and that they had remayning, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eightene Colonies did not imitate these twelve; but shewed themselves willing to undergoe whatsoever should be layed vpon them, without shrinking vnder the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadors of those faithfull Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good seruices, this their present loue vnto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly bestowed vpon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelve Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to dismissthem, nor to take any notice of them at all; but leaue them to their owne consideration of their ill deserting.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve People would haue wrought, in those that were so willing to helpe the State, if *Asdrubal* had bene then comming into *Italie*. For then must the *Romans* haue betaken themselves wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subiects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italie*, with hopefull and fortunate successe. Neuertheless, they were faine to open their most priuie treasure; and thence take out the golde, that had bene layed vp to serue them in cases of greatest extremitie. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was deliuered to *Fabius* the Consul, to let him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest, was sent into *Spaine* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Armie; and to prouide, that *Asdrubal* might not passe from thence into *Italie*. It is like that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easie successe at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the iourney of *Asdrubal*, neither the money sent into *Spaine*, nor any victories wonne by *Scipio* could suffice. Neuertheless it fell out happily for the People of *Rome*, that this year, and the next, were spent, before his comming; and they better prepared, than at lesse warning they could haue bene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amisse to note, That since the *Romans*, being in so great necessitie of money, were driuen to furnish the Armie in *Spaine*, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left: it must needs be, that either the bootie taken in new *Carthage*, was farre lesse then fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet wonne it: howsoever *Lime* rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soone after his arrivall.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintius Crispinus*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fuluius*. In their year it was, that *Asdrubal* tooke his iourney out of *Spaine*, though he came not into *Italie* vntill the year following. After the great battaile at *Canna*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Cume* and *Naples*, in seeking to make himselfe Master of a good haven, for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turne his principall care to the Easterne parts of *Italie*; where he made readie a faire entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had bene readie to come. But since this hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though farre later than had bene expedient) readie to arriue: he began to deale with the people of *Hetruria*, through whose Countries his brother was to passe, that therein hee might make a partie against the *Romans*. The losse of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Townes, might haue terrified all other of the *Italian* Townes, from hearkening to any sollicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the pouertie of the *Romans*, and the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Armie comming, than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italie*; did embolden many of the *Hetrurians*, especially the *Aretines*, to take such counsell as they thought most expedient for themselves; without regard of their fidelitie to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senat, hearing the rumour of their conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into *Hetruria*: whose comming did so terrifie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the year following they were

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deniung how to breake out : as contrariwise the *Roman* Propretors ; partly by terror
 of severe judgements and inquisitions ; and partly by the force of two or three Le-
 gions ; with which they visited all suspected places , kept them honest against their
 wills ; and tooke many Hostages for better assurance . The two Consuls had an
 earnest desire , to make strong warre vpon *Hannibal* without more temporising ;
 perswading themselves , that in battaile they should bee too strong for him . *Crispi-
 nus* had further his particular desire ; to make his Consulship notable by the win-
 ning of some good Towne : as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and
Tarentum . Therefore he went about the siege of *Lori* ; one of the best Cities which
 the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italia* : and brought thither all sorts of engines ; send-
 ing for a fleet out of *Sicily* to helpe him . But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieue the
 Citie : the fame of whose approach , made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprize , and
 retire vnto his Colleague , that lay at *Venusia* . Thither followed *Hannibal* ; to whom
 the Consuls daily offered battaile . This great man of Warre had no need to stand
 vpon his reputation : which was already so confirmed , that his refusing to fight ,
 was not likely to be ascribed vnto feare ; but rather deemed as part of his wisdom .
 He contented the Consuls with many light skirmishes , and sought to take them at
 some advantage ; reseruing his owne numbers as full as he could , vnto a time of
 greater employment . In this lingering manner of Warre , *Marcellus* took no plea-
 sure ; but sought to compell the Enemy to battaile , whether he would or no . The
 Admirall of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily* *L. Cincius* , was commanded againe to assaile
 the Towne of *Lori* : which might well enough be forced , if *Hannibal* continued as
 he beganne ; to trifle away the time at *Venusia* . To the same purpose a part of
 the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum* , was appointed to goe by Land to the assistance of
Cincius . But *Hannibal* had an eye behinde him . He laid an ambush in the way , be-
 twene *Tarentum* and *Lori* , wherinto the *Roman* fell : and hauing lost aboue three
 thousand of their companie , were well glad , the rest of them , to quit their enter-
 prise , and saue their owne liues within *Tarentum* . As for the Consuls , it was the de-
 sire of *Hannibal* , to waste their Armie by little and little : which too doe , hee neg-
 lected no advantage . There lay betwene him and them an Hillock , ouer-growne
 with wood , that seemed fit to couer a number of men : who lying there vndis-
 cerned , might fall vpon such , as should straggle from the *Roman* campe ; and cut them
 off . Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians* : whom he
 willed to keepe themselves close , and attend their best advantage . To this peece
 of ground , the Consuls thought it fit to remove their campe : *Marcellus* thinking
 that he neuer lay neare enough vnto *Hannibal* . Thither therefore both of them
 rode , to view the place , accompanied with the sonne of *Marcellus* , a few Colonells ,
 and other principall men ; and not many more than two hundred horse , most of
 them *Hetrurians* . The *Numidian* Centinell gaue warning of their approach to his
 fellows ; who discouered not themselves , vntill they had surrounded the Consuls
 and their traine . The Consuls , as necessity compelled them , defended themselves :
 hoping to bee quickly relieved from their campe that was neare at hand . But the
Hetrurians ranne away from them , at the first : and left them in that great danger ,
 to the weak assistance of no more than fortie horse-men , that were of the Colo-
 nie of *Fregella* . These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls ; and did what they could
 to haue brought them safe off . But when *Marcellus* was stricken through with a
 Lance , and fell downe dead ; then beganne euery one to shift for himselfe , and
 escape as they might . *Crispinus* the other Consul , had his death wound , being
 stricken with two Darts ; and yong *Marcellus* was likewise wounded ; yet these
 two recovered their campe . The rest of the Colonells and Officers , together
 with the Lictors that carried the bundells of Rods and Axes before the Consuls ,
 were all slaine or taken . To the dead bodie of the Consul *Marcellus* , *Hannibal*
 gaue honourable Funerall , according to the custome of those times : and
 bestowing

bestowing his almes in a silver pot, couered it with a crowne of gold; and so sent
 them to yong *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, *Crispinus* beought himselfe, how that the lighter Ring of
Marcellus, was fallen into the custodie of *Hannibal*; who might vse it, to his owne
 purposes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore hee
 lent word vnto all the Townes about; that his Colleague was slaine, and that
Hannibal had gotten his Ring; wishing them in that regard, to giue no credit vnto
 any letters therewithall signed. This prouidence of *Crispinus*, was not more than
 requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another

- 10 Messenger arriued there sent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Attalus*
lus, and sealed with the captiue Ring: whereof the contents were, That it was his
 purpose to come the same night vnto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers
 of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such employment as hee should thinke
 needfull. The device was plaine: and no lesse plaine was the reuengefull minde,
 which he bare against that Citie; because of his braue *Numidian* companies, that
 had therein bene betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon beought themselues, how
 to take their Enemy in his owne snare. They sent back the Messenger which was
 a *Roman* fugitiue; without letting him perceiue any signe of distrust in them.
 This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainment of such
 20 a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of *Roman* fugitiues,
 armed *Roman* like, leading the way. T hefeall talking Latin together, called vnto the
 Watch, and bade open the gates; for the Consul was there. The gate was opened,
 faire and leisurely, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needes it must be,
 to let them enter. But when sixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the
 Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to haue taken others, were taken them-
 selues; being laied at on all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an end with
 them.

Hannibal being thus ouer reached with this stratageme, halted away to *Locri*;
 whereunto *Cincius* the Admirall of the *Roman* fleet about *Zeill*, did lay hard siege.

- 30 The first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrours, made the *Romans*,
 in all confused halte, runne to their ships: leauing all their engines, and whatsoeuer
 was in their campe, to the enemies disposition.

The *Roman* Senate, hearing of these accidents, sent vnto *Crispinus* the suruiuing
 Consul, and requested him to name a Dictator: that might take charge of the Com-
 monwealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other busineſſe;
 whereunto himselfe was disabled by his hurt. Hee did so: and soone after died.
 Then was it thought needfull, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand:
 forasmuch as two *Roman* Armies, lay so neare vnto the Enemy, without any Gene-
 rall. Especially it was desired, that election should be made of such men: as were

- 40 not only valiant, but well aduised: since the bell, and most fortunate of their great
 Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by loosing himselfe so strangely, had giuen them a faire warn-
 ing, not to commit their Armie vnto rash heads. Among those that stood for the
 Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero* was the most eminent. Hee was of great Nobilitie,
 a good Souldier, and one, whose many lectures in this present warre; did forcibly
 commend vnto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose tem-
 per needed the allay of a more staid wit. The *Fathers* therefore endeouored to
 joyne vnto him in the Consulship *M. Linius*: one that had borne the same Office,
 long before. This *M. Linius* had bene Consul with *L. Aemilius Paulus*, in the yeare
 foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Consulship, wherein they did
 50 good seruice, they had both of them been called into iudgement by the People: and
 this *Linius* condemned; *Aemilius* hardly escaping. Though it hath been once already
 noted, yet I cannot forbear to remember it againe: how it pleased God, to vpbraid
 the vnthankfull *Romans*, with the malicious iudgement, giuen by their multitude
 vpon honorable men. For in the battaile of *Canna*, it was apparant, what lamentable

effects, the memorie of their iniustice wrought: when *L. Amylius* rather chose to yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatt ouerthrow, that euer fell vpon the State of *Rome*, than by resisting the pernicious courses of *Terentius Varro*, to cast himselfe anew vpon the danger of the popular furie. As for *M. Linius*, he is euen now readie, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faults in a diuers manner. Eight yeares together after his condemnation had hee bene absent out of the Citie, and liued in his Countrie Grange; vexing himselfe with the indignitie of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Lauinius*, being Consuls two or three yeares agoe, had brought him into *Rome*: where he liued priuate, in discontented sort, as might appeare, both by his carelesse in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard; which in that age were the badges of men afflicted. Vry lately he was compelled by the Ceniors, to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where he vsed to sit silent, and signifie his assent or dilike to what was proposed; either in short formall wordes, or in passing from side to side, when the house was diuided. At length it hapned, that in some buisnesse weightily concerning one that was his kinsman, he stood vp, and made a set speech: whereby he drew all the *Fathers* to attention; and bade them inquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had bene. The Senate was much altered since he had lett it; many braue men were lost; new ones were chosen; such as rather serued to fill vp the number, than to answer to the dignitie of the place: and they that were left of ancient standing, had euen spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all beganne to say; that it was great pittie, so worthie and able a man, as this *Linius*, had bene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Commonwealth stood in great neede, yet had not vied, in this dangerous warre. Now seeing that the Consuls sought, one of them, to be chosen a *Patrician*, the other, of necessitie a *Plebeian*: and since, neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Lanius*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joyned with *Claudius Nero*: every one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Linius*. But *Linius* would not endure to heare of this. He said it was vnreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phraes hee resisted their desires: till by perswasions, and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested injuries done by the People, and repaid good for euill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: resembling himselfe to a Plane tree, the branches and boughes whereof men breake in faire weather, but runne vnder it for shelter in a storme. Such vnthankfulness, to well-deseruing men, is not rarely found in the outrageous multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much vnlike, of *Philip* the second King of *Spaine* his dealing with the Duke of *Alua*. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, vpon some small offence conceived, without all regard of his former deserts: yet when his intended conquest of *Portugal*, required the seruice of a man, more then ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer vpon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly disgraced. This is wisdom often taught by necessitie.

It was a dangerous yeare toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Linius* were chosen Consuls. *Asdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only, to haue the waies of the *Aper* thawed by warme weather, for his passage into *Italie*. The *Romans* vsed at this time the seruice of three and twentie Legions: and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had knowne how to leuie and maintaine them. Of these which they had, foure serued in *Spaine*, two in *Sicily*, and two in *Sardinia*: the rest were so disposed, in severall parts of *Italie*, where neede seemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Consuls. But the Consuls were men of execution,

a Plane tree

Defect of Justice

execution: and would not be tied to the punctuall obseruance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Linius* would not stirre out of *Rome*, against so mightie a power as followed *Asdrubal*; vntill hee had first obtained, that hee might carrie with him as many as could well be spared from other employments; and those, or the most of them, chosen Companies: It was true, that two Legions, appointed to serue vnder *Lucius Porcius* a Pretor of that year, among the *Cisalpine Gaules*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Linius*; to whom the warre against *Asdrubal* was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, neare vnto *Tarentum*, vnder another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Armie; that was sent against *Hannibal*. Neuertheless the Consuls, by the especiall instance of *Linius*, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne discretion. For newes came, that *Asdrubal* was alreadye passing the *Alpes*; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Countrie about *Genoa*, with their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to ioine with him; and *L. Porcius* sent word, that he would aduenture no further, than hee safely might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the Citie; each, his severall way. The People of *Rome* were now quite otherwise affected, than they had bene, when *L. Scipius Paulus*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take vpon them, to direct their Generalls; or bid them dispatch, and winne the victorie sometimes: but rather they stood in feare; least all diligence, wisdom, and valour, should proue too little. For since few years had passed, wherein some one of their Generalls had not bene slaine; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst, the two *Carthaginians* would forth with ioine, and make short worke with the other: it seemed a greater happinesse than could be expected, that each of them should returne home Victors; and come off with honour, from such mightie opposition, as he was like to finde. With extreme difficultie had *Rome* held vp her head, ever since the battaile of *Canna*: though it were so, that *Hannibal* alone, with little helpe from *Carthage*, had continued the warre in *Italy*. But there was now arriued another forme of *Amour*; and one, that in his present Expedition, had seemed, a man of more sufficiencie than *Hannibal* himselfe. For, whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, ouer great Rivers, and Mountains, that were thought vnpassable, *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Armie: this *Asdrubal*, in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the *Alpes* like a rowling Snow ball, farre greater than he came ouer the *Pyrenies* at his first setting out of *Spain*. These considerations and the like, of which feare presented many vnto them; caused the People of *Rome*, to wait vpon their Consuls out of the Towne; like a peniue traine of Mourners: thinking vpon *Marcus* and *Crispin*, vpon whom in the like sort they had giuen attendance the last year; but saw neither of them returne a liue, from a lesse dangerous warre. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gaue his accustomed aduise to *M. Linius*, that he should abstaine from giuing, or taking battaile, vntill he well vnderstood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a forward answer, and said, That he would fight the very first day; for that he thought it long, till he should either recouer his honour by victorie; or by seeing the overthrow of his owne vnjust Citizens, satisfie himselfe with the joy of a great, though not an honest, reuenge. But his meaning was better than his wordes.

Of the overthrow that *Asdrubal* receiued in *Spain*, by *Scipio*, a little before hee tooke his iourne into *Italy*, such mention hath alreadye bene made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Linius*. Yet I thinke it not amisse to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybins* his historie, concerning that accident. *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficultie in *Spain*; by reason of those Capitaines that were sent from the Citie of *Carthage*, to ioine with him in the administration of that Province: they being, as it may seeme, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to say, thus farre forth Traitors, that they preferred the ad-

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uantage of their owne side, before the good of their Commonwealt. In what particulars they wronged this worthy sonne of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his courses vnder taken, it can not be knowne: since of those bookes, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters; there are to vs remaining, only a few broken peeces. But by the spightfull dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicill* with *Mutines*, a better man of warre than himselfe, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Iland: we may conceiue, that against the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needfull, by these mischieuous Partisans of *Hanno*, to vse the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Neuertheless *Asdrubal* was a good *Patriot*: and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digest. His iourne into *Italie* being resolved vpon: he lay with part of the Armie at *Betula*, not farre from the mines of *Siluer*; whence he was to furnish his Expedition. Thither came *Scipio*: and draue him out of his Campe, though he were strongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captaines could, or would, come to his assistance. The ouerthrow seemes not to haue bene so great, as it must haue bene supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appears, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a prouident man: and seeing that his Campe was likely to bee forced, sent away all his monie, with his Elephants before him: but staid behinde himselfe to sustaine the *Romans* awhile, vntill his carriages might bee out of danger. Herein he had his desire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together: and retired in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him, and so passed ouer *Tagus*. Then taking vnto him the forces assigned for his Expedition, he marched away toward the *Pyrenes*: leauing the care of *Spaine* vnto his brother *Mago*, and to *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*; that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. Faine would *Scipio* haue stopp'd him on his iourne, by sending to defende against him the ordinarie way of the Mountaines. But whether *Asdrubal* tooke another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had set to keepe the *Pyrenes* (as the defence of hard passages commonly forts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Comming into *Gauls*, and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal*: hee found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his monie, that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made; but he, and his Armie, well entertained, and their numbers much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice: for that hee was drinen to Winter in their Countrie; whilst that the passages of the *Alpes* were closed vp with Ice and Snow. The Mountaines likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his iourne ouer the *Alpes*: were easily wonne to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he traualled through their Countrie. For these poore men, at the first comming of *Hannibal*, were verily perswaded, that it was his purpose to robbe them of their cattails; and to make spoile of that little wealth, which they had painfullly scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in proceesse of time, they were better informed. Therefore vnderstanding, that there were two mightie Cities, farre disioyned asunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land, and Sea; and that the *Alpes* did only lie in their way: they gladly condescended, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cause, was afterward found in the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The *Ligurians* also ioyined with *Asdrubal*: and so would the *Hetrurians* haue done; if he had arriued in their Countrie. There was no other *Roman* Armie neare, than *L. Porcius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set vpon *Placentia* a *Roman* Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible; by the destruction of that Towne. But therelike lost a great deale of time, and finally was drinen to quit the enterprise: by vnder taking which, he gaue the *Roman* Consuls leisure, to make readie for him; and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who vpon the first bruit of *Asdrubal* his so timely, and easily passing the *Alpes*, was about to leaue his wintering camps, and goe forth to meet with him) to sit still awhile, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius

C. Claudius Nero the Roman Consul, made what speed hee could, to meet with Hannibal, and stop him from ioyning with his brother. He had about fortie thousand foot, and five hundred horse: with which he daily offered battaile to the Carthaginian; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. Hannibal was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, into the Countrie of the *Brutians*, there to encrease his forces; which were otherwise too weak for the iourne intended. Afterward comming to *Grumentum*, a Towne of the *Lucans*; he there fought vnprosperously with Nero the Consul. Neuerthelesse he got off, and marched away to *Venusia*. But Nero followed him; and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore hee was driven to returne to *Metapontum*; where ioyning with *Hanno*, that had made readie a good Armie; hee assaied againe to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came againe to *Venusia*, having Nero still at his heeles. Thence went he ouer the Riuier *Ausidus* to *Canusium*, where he sate downe, not farre from the place in which he had obtained, his most memorable victorie. There also did Nero sit downe by him; and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps vnto Hannibal, who knew the Countrey very well; that his brother might, with little impediment, ouercome the way to *Canusium*: where if he could once againe deale with both the Consuls, and all the Roman forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victorie, as once he had gotten in the same open Countrey. If this had so fallen out, Rome would haue bene vndone for euer. But the Carthaginians should not haue needed to with any second victorie, in the naked Champains about *Canus*; if such an armie, as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second Hannibal, when hee was in his full strength; and the Romans not able to keepe the field. Wherefore this worthy Generall had good reason afterward to say, that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beat him out of *Italia*; which else no power of the Romans could haue done.

Whilest Nero waited vpon the Carthaginians, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Armie that was comming to their succour: he was aduertised of *Asdrubal* his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to Hannibal. These gaue notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being alreadie come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could bee made by *Linie* the Consul. Of these newes *Claudius Nero* was nothing ioyfull. For if Hannibal could once be ioynd as head, vnto that great bodie of an Armie, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparant, that how soeuer the fortune of Rome should auoid, for the present, any great calamitie; yet the very continuance of so long a warre at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithfull Associates, to faint vnder the burden; as twelue of the thirtie Roman Colonies had alreadie done. Wherefore he resolved, that it were better to make any desperate aduenture, than to suffer the conjunction of two such malevolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the suddaine, yet within few yeares, was like to worke most lamentable effect. It seemed apparant, that his Colleague was vnable to stay the progresse of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readinesse, that could doe seruice in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were alreadie employed vnder the two Consuls. Herevpon hee concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against Hannibal: but rather that it behoued him, to helpe where more necessitie required; and to carrie part of his forces vnto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two Carthaginian bretheren, was farre more dangerous to the Roman Common-wealth; it seemed the best way to put Fortune in truit, with that which was of the lesse importance. Sixe thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choice of his Armie: and making hew, as if he would only step aside, to doe some small peece of seruice neare at hand; away hee posted as fast as hee could, to assit

assist his fellow Consul. His Messengers ranne before him, to giue warning to all Townes by which he was to passe, that they should be readie to meet him, with victualls, and all other necessities for his Armie. *Linus* the other Consul, at that time, lay incamped, neare vnto *Sena Gallica*; and *Asdrubal* within halfe a mile of him. In fixe daies *Nero* had finished his iourne thither; and when he drew neare, sent Messengers before him, to giue notice of his comming. *Linus* thought it fittest that hee should stay in some place of couert vntill darke night, and then enter secretly into the campe: least the Enemies, perceiuing this acceffe of strength, should accordingly frame his counsailes. This was done: and a token giuen, that the Colonells, Captaines, and all Souldiers, aswell horse as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him; should bee lodged and entertained by men of their owne sort. Their Companie was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that joyned with them on the way. Neuerthelss, it was not needfull, that the Quarter which receiued them, should bee enlarged; since they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counsaile of warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arrived Companies, to refresh themselves a few daies after their wearie iourne, before they should be drawne forth to battaile. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make vse of him out of hand; that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere *Hannibal* should haue notice of his absence. The souldiers also of *Nero*, were full of spirit; perceiuing that the honour of the victorie was like to be theirs: inasmuch as the battaile would not haue beene vnderaken, without this their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counsaile brake vp, that the signe of battaile should be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate over the Generalls pavilion.

Asdrubal was no lesse willing than the *Romans* to come to battaile: hauing long desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more, than they had beene; and some of their armes and horses, looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long iourne. Hereupon he beganne to with-draw his Armie back into the Campe: and gaue order, that if no prisoners could bee taken, by whom he might bee certified of the truth; yet should there good obseruation be made, whether the enemies campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their forces to be increased. The campe, as hath beene said, was not extended: but the trumpet, that sounded only once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the Pretor, did now, contrarie to former custome, sound twice in the quarter of *Linus* the Consul. Hereat *Asdrubal* greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders; held this for a sure token, that the other Consul, was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were aliue, and in good case, he was not able to coniecture: but thought it the best way, to goe leisurely to worke; till he might be better informed. Vpon confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto, how neare hee lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himselfe perhaps with ouer-strongly fortifying his owne Campe. Yet when hee now perceiued, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation: he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remove a little further off. So he dislodged secretly by night: intending to get ouer the Riuier *Melours*; whereby to keepe himselfe as long as he could, from necessity of battaile. But whether it were so, that his guides did sleale away from him in the darke, so that he could not finde the way to the *Foords*; or whether his carrriages were too heauie, and hindred his speede: farre hee had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his heeles with all the *Roman* horse, and staid him from passing any further. Soone after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Consul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and readie for battaile. *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe over-taken with necessity to fight, omitted no care and circumspection. His *Gaules*, in whom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing vpon a Hill, which

which the Enemy should not, without much difficultie, bee able to climbe: in the right wing he stood himselfe, with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* hee placed in the midt; and his Elephants, he bestowed in the front of his battailes. On the *Roman* side, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing; *Linus* of the left; and *Porcius* of the battaile. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well understood, how much depended vpon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of safetie there was vnto the vanquished. Only the *Romans* herein seemed to haue had the better in conceipt, and opinion; That they were to fight with men, delirgus to haue fled from them. And, according to this presumption, came *Linus* the Consul with a proud brauerie, to giue charge on the *Africans*: by whom he was so sharply entertained, that the victorie seemed very doubtfull. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were stout souldiers; and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* also were a hardie Nation, and not accustomed to giue ground; which they needed the lesse, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midst. *Linus* therefore, and *Porcius*, found strong opposition: and with great slaughter on both sides, preuailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the *Roman* Ensignes were driuen to fall back. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vaine against a steepc Hill, was vnable to come to blowes with the *Gules*; that stood opposite vnto him, but out of danger. This made *Asdrubal* the more confident; who seeing his owne left wing safe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side, vpon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero*, perceiving that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; tooke a part of his forces, and led them round behinde the forces of *Porcius* and *Linus*: which hauing compassed, he fell vpon *Asdrubal*, and charged him in the flanke. Here beganne the victorie to be manifest on the *Roman* side. For *Nero*, finding none to resist him in front, ranne all along the depth of *Asdrubal* his battaile: and falling vpon the skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rowt. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every side, the greatest part was slaine. The *Ligurians* and *Gauls* escaped as they could; and saved themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken aliue: the rest were slaine; some by the Enemies weapons; others by their owne guides that rode them. For when any of them, being fore wounded, beganne to weke vnrlly, and rush back vpon their owne battailes following them: the guide had in readinesse a Mallet, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gaue them a stroke betwene the eares, in the ioynt of the neck, next vnto the head; wherewith hee killed the beast vpon the suddaine. This speedie way of preventing such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the squadrons following them; is said to haue bene the deuice of *Asdrubal* himselfe; who died in this battaile.

Great commendations are given to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Linus*. He is said at all times to haue shewed himselfe worthe of *Amilcar* his father, and *Hannibal* his brother; to haue striven with great patience, against many difficulties, wherinto he fell by the meanes of those Capitaines, that were sent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to haue performed in this last battaile all duties of a worthe Generall; and finally when hee saw the losse irreparable, to haue ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where fighting brauely, hee was slaine. Of the number that died with him in this battaile, the report of *Linus*, and of *Polybius*, doe very much disagree. For *Linus* saith, that the *Carthaginians* had no lesse an ouerthrow, than was that, which they gaue to the *Romans* at *Cannae*; that fiftie sixe thousand of them were slaine, fise thousand and foure hundred taken prisoners; and aboute four thousand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captiues with them, deliuered, and set at libertie. He saith also, that of the *Romans* and their Associates there were slaine eight thousand: and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kindes; but in gold and siluer. Concerning the bootie; *Polybius* hath no mention of it.

Likely

Likely it is to haue bene as rich as *Lutetia* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well stored with monie. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battaile of *Metaurus*, a paralel vnto that of *Cannae*) reports no more than about ten thousand of the *Carthaginian* side, and two thousand of the *Roman*, to haue bene slaine. The number of the prisoners he doeth not mention; but only saith, That some of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the rest died in the battaile. Whereby it may seeme, that they were all *Berchines*: forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their Countrey, aboue their liues.

The joy of this victorie, was no lesse in *Rome*, than had bene the feare of the euent. For euer since it was knowne in what sort *Nero* had left his Armie; the whole Citie was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal*, his coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consul should make such a great aduenture, as thus to put the one halfe of all the *Roman* forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to haue notice of this his departure; and either pursue him, or let vpon the Armie that staid behinde, much weakened, and without a Generall? Thus did they talke; yet reseruing their censure vnto the successe; with libertie to approve or condemne, according to the issue. In the meane while the People filled the Market-place; the Women ranne to the Temples; with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were dailie in counsaile, waiting still readie at hand vpon the Magistrates: as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would require euerie ones helpe. In briefe, they were all so full of melancholie, that when first newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleue it. Afterwards when Messengers arrived from the Consuls, with Letters contayning all that had passed: there was not only great and joyfull concourse of all sorts of men vnto the Temples, but the very face of the Citie was altered; and men from thenceforth beganne to follow their private businesse; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborne to doe) and attending their owne affaires in such wiselike as *Hannibal* were already driuen out of *Italie*.

Nero returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* prisoners bound; sent two of them loose to giue *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners, might haue serued well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of this misaduenture, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and farre different manner, had giuen buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea to all the *Roman* Generalls, whose carcases fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howsoeuer the People of *Carthage*, wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their loue vnto the Common weale; yet in dealing with Enemies, they were farre more ciuill, and lesse prone to the insolencie of reuenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that hee hoped much more by the sudden terror of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deepe impression of feare into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That he forgot himselfe, being ouer-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperitie. For it was the battaile of *Metaurus* that weighed downe the balance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* hauing lost in this vnhappy fight (besides that worthy Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italie*; with-drew himselfe into the Countrey of the *Brutians*: and thither hee caused all the *Lucans* that were of his partie to remove; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend so many places as he held at the present, because they lay too farre asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compass in the vtmost corner of *Italie*; it being a Countrey of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly deuoted to his seruice. In this businesse *Nero* gaue him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, hauing all his forces vnited; or because it is likely

likely that this remoue of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Sommer, when their haruelt was gathered in; at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Linius* the other Consul tarried among the *Cisalpine Gauls* vntill the end of Sommer; there to set things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, hee wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more neede of him and his Armie in that Prouince; but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, hee desired leaue to returne home; and that he might bring his Armie with him. The Senate well vnderstood his meaning; which was to haue the honour of a triumph, as he well deserved. But forasmuch as it was well knowne, what interest *Nero* had in the late victorie: order was giuen, that not only *Linius* with his Armie should come home; but likewise *Nero*; though leaving his Armie behinde him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof *Linius* made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot; and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Prouince, and vpon his day of command, the victorie was gotten; his Armie also being present at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horse back, and without such attendance, was the more extolled both by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victorie was in a manner wholly ascribed vnto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Caelius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generalls, the due acknowledgement of their good seruice. For they were commended vnto the People, as men worthie to be chosen Consuls; and Consuls they were chosen for the yeare following. But nothing was done by them, worthie of memorie, in their Consulship. Neither indeede from this yeare, which was the thirteenth of the present warre, vntill the eighteenth yeare wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italie*; save only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by surpris. For *Hannibal* wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer; and the *Romans* had little minde to provoke him; but thought it well that hee was quiet. Such opinion had they conceiued of him; that though all about him went to ruine; yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himselfe vpright. And surely very notable are the commendations giuen vnto him by *Polybius*; whom *Linius* therein followes: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the most warlike, hee obtained so many victories by his owne good conduct; and that leading an Armie, compounded of so many sundrie Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greekes*; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; hee held them all in such good order, that they neuer fell to sedition among themselves, or against their Generall. But that which *Linius* addes hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he sustained his Armie, without helpe from other places, from this time forward, vpon the hungrie foile of the *Britians*: which, when it was best manured in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of *Asdrubal*, he made no inuasion vpon the wealthier parts of *Italie*; but held himselfe still among the poore *Britians*. Where we must leaue him vntill he be drawne into *Africa* by *Scipio*; whose doings will henceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

§. XVII.

How P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO the Roman, made entire conquest
of Spaine.

†. I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by SCIPIO from the Continent into
the Isle of Gades.

MAGO, and ASDRUBAL the sonne of Gesco, tooke vpon them the charge
of Spaine, when Asdrubal the sonne of Amilcar departed thence into
Italic. These agreed together, that Mago should make a voiage to the
Balears; there to leuie a supply of men: and Asdrubal with-draw him-
selfe into Lusitania (which is now Portugal) whither the Romans had
ill meanes to follow; being altogether vnacquainted in those parts. Mago had soone
ended his businesse, and returned into Spaine: where hee met with one Hanno (the
same perhaps that had lately bene employed in Sicily) who brought new forces out
of Africk, and came to succede in place of Asdrubal the Barchine. It is not vnlike-
ly that Spaine was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things
needfull from Carthage; when that sonne of Amilcar, whose authoritie had bene
greatest, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old Hanno
approve it selfe, against that noble race of Warriors; when it should appeare, that
things did prosper much the better by being left vnto the handling of other men.
Whether it were vpon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at
home, or whether vpon confidence in the forces that he brought over: Hanno tooke
the field, and led Mago with him; as purposing afresh to set vpon the Romans. So
he entred into the Countrie of the Celtiberians, not very farre from new Carthage:
where, by monie, and other perswasions, he leuied aboue nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the meane while contained himselfe in the Easterne parts of Spaine:
attentive, as it may seeme, to the proceedings of Asdrubal the sonne of Amilcar; a-
gainst whom, he is reported by some Writers to haue sent part of his forces into Ita-
lie, to the assistance of C. Claudius Nero, and M. Linius the Consuls. But hearing of
the leuie made by Hanno and Mago, among the Celtiberians: hee sent M. Syllanus the
Propretor, with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. Syllanus got intelligence
by some fugitive Celtiberians, who became his guides, that their Countymen en-
camped apart from the Carthaginians in great disorder: as men fearing no danger,
because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neare to
these Celtiberians: and falling vpon them on the suddaine, gaue them such an over-
throw, that Hanno and Mago committing to their succour, in stead of heartning and re-
inforcing them, became partakers of the losse. Mago saved himselfe, with all the
horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten daies
journey brought them safe to Asdrubal. The rest of the Africans were either
slaine or taken: among whom, Hanno had the ill luck to bee taken prisoner; though
he kept himselfe out of the fight vntill all was lost. As for the Celtiberians, they knew
better how to make shift; and saved most of themselves by running into the woods.

It could no other wise bee, but that Scipio was much troubled with the danger
wherein Italic stood, by the coming thither of Asdrubal. Ten thousand foot and
eightene hundred horse he did therefore send out of Spaine (as it is reported by
some Authors) to the defence of his owne Countrie: or was perhaps about to send
them; and thereupon remained at new Carthage, intentive to the necessitie and suc-
cesse of his Countymen at home. But when had word of the great victorie at Me-
tawrus, which fell out long before the end of this Sommer, then might hee well ad-
venture,

venture, to take in hand the entire conquest of *Spain*; which must needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of such an overthrow. The *Spanish* Souldiers that served vnder *Hannibal*, and those that had bene sent ouer into *Africk*; were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Countrey was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noised abroad, That all which had followed *Asdrubal* into *Italie*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his Armie, was closed vp in a streight, whence hee could not get out: then did it greatly behoue the *Spaniards* to conformance themselves vnto the will of the *Victors*. That it was the successe of things in *Italie*, which gaue such confidence vnto *Scipio*; it is the more probable, because hee tooke not this great enterprife in hand, vntill the Sommer, was almost spent. *Asdrubal* therefore vied the benefit of the season; and by disposing his Armie into many Garrisons; hindered the Enemy, from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the year, caused *Scipio* to returne backe: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* tooke by assault the Towne of *Oringiu*.

Against the next yeares danger, *Asdrubal* prepared a great Armie: and spared nor cost, nor trauaile, in strengthening himselfe, for the rriall of his last fortune in *Spain*. With seuentie thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and two and thirtie
20 Elephants, he tooke the field: which number I beleue that hee could hardly haue raised, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from *Italie*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions too weak to encounter with such a multitude. Wherefore hee judged it needfull to vse the helpe of his *Spanish* friends. But the death of his Father and Vncle, that were cast away by the treason of such false *Auxiliaries*; made him on the other side very doubtful, of relying vpon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest need. Yet since one *Colchus*, that was Lord of eight and twentie Townes, had promised him the last Winter, to raise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse for his seruice: hee resolved to make vse of those, and some few others; that might helpe to make a shew; and yet not bee
30 able to doe great harme, if they would revolt. So with five and fortie thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he fought out the Enemy; neare to whom hee incamped. At his first coming, *Mago* and *Masaniissa* fell vpon him; with hope to take him vnprepared, whilst hee was making his lodgings. But hee laid certaine troupes of horse in couert: which breaking vpon them vnexpected; caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retreat: but being more hardy pressed, they shortly betooke themselves to plaine fight. After this encounter, which added some courage to the *Romans*, and abated the presumption of the *Carthaginians*: there were daily skirmishes betweene the horse, and light armature on both sides; where
40 in was nothing done of importance. *Asdrubal* drew forth his Armie, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to shew that he durst fight; yet not proceeding any further. Thus they continued many daies: *Asdrubal* being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that in the evening, withdrew himselfe into his Trenches. The *Spanish Auxiliaries*, were placed on both sides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midlt, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at faire distance, many daies together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies, long before designed. But *Scipio*, when hee purposed indeede to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and withall, came forth earlier than he had bene wont. He caused his men, and horses,
50 to be well fed betimes in the morning before day: and then sent forth his horse and light armature, to traîne out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies empty: vsing here in the same trick, whereby he might remember, that *Hannibal* had beaten his father in the battaile of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he bestowed in the wings; his *Spaniards*,

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in the battaile. *Asdrubal* sent forth his horse in all haste, to entertaine the *Romans*; whilst he himselfe arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, vpon which he incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: since being ouer-pressed on either side, they had a safe retreat vnto their foot; and one troupe seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, hauing well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the Enemy. But about noone, he caused his wings to aduance a good pace; leauing their battaile of *Spaniards* farre behinde them; that came on leisurely, according to direction. The *Spanish* Mercenaries that stood in *Asdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, saue only in number, to the *Latin* and *Roman* Souldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, leui'd in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the same time, by the *Roman* *Velites*; and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the same purpose: they were sorely pressed; and with much difficultie made resistance. The *Carthaginians* would faine haue succoured them; but that they durst not stirre out of their places, because of the *Spanish* battaile which was coming against them; though it were as yet farre off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal* his Armie stood idle; vntill the wings were broken. For, had he aduentured to meet with the *Spaniards*; he must haue cast himselfe into the open space that lay before him betweene the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof when he had arriued, he should haue found himselfe inclosed in such sort, as was the Consul *Paulus* at the battaile of *Canna*. Wherefore hee did only employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harme to his Enemies; than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer bee ruled by their guides: but ranne, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In proceesse of the fight: the *Romans*, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured lustie; when the others beganne to faint with trauell and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiuing their aduantage, they followed it the more hotly: and gaue not ouer, till they had fort the enemy to change his pace and runne from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to haue made an orderly retreat; and afterward againe, to haue caused his men turne head, at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not suffer the victorie to bee so extorred from them: neither was it easie to put fresh courage into the vanquished; led by the obstinate passion of feare which hearkens to no perswasion. The Campe of *Asdrubal* had that day bene taken; if a storme of raine, which fell violently on the suddaine, and bred some superstition in the *Romans*, had not caused them to giue ouer.

The famenight, *Asdrubal* gaue no rest to his men: but caused them, hungry, and ouer-laboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein hee feared to bee assaulted. But little assurance could bee haue in the strength of his Trenches; when he had lost the hearts of his *Spanish* Souldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his Subjects: many followed this example; and soone after, two strong Townes were yielded vnto *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betrayed. It seemes that the peruerse fortune of this late battaile, whereupon *Asdrubal* had let his rest; bred in the *Spaniards* a disposition, to beleue the more easily those reports which they heard from *Italie*. For henceforward, they neuer did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal*, perceiving this, with-drew himselfe, and marched away, faster than an ordinarie pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning; and ouertaking the *Carthaginians* with his horse, caused them so often to make stand; that they were at length attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here beganne a cruell slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, saue only seuen thousand, that with *Asdrubal* himselfe recovered a very strong peece of ground, which they fortified in haste.

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This place he made shift awhile to defend: but wanting there necessities to sustaine himselfe long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one: and stealing from his Companie by night away to the Sea-side, that was not farre thence; hee tooke shipping, and set saile for *Gades*. When *Scipio* understood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone: he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse to besiege their Campe (which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masaniissa* staid in it) whilest he with the rest of the Army did what was needfull in the Countrey abroad. It was not long, ere *Mago* and *Masaniissa* followed *Asdrubal* to *Gades*: and their Armie disperſed
 10 it selfe; some flying ouer to the *Romans*; other taking what way they liked. So vpon all the Continent of *Spaine*, there were only three Townes left, *Iliturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Asiapa*, that made countenance of warre against the *Romans*: of which only *Castulo* had in it a *Carthaginian* Garrison; consisting of such as had saved themselves by flight, in the late ouerthrowes. Hereby it seemes, that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that *Castulo* yeelded long since vnto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* tooke a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the last three Townes that held out, on the *Carthaginian* side. *Iliturgi* had sometimes bene inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their deuotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipios*, following too earlicly the *Carthaginian* fortune; it not only rebelled; but
 20 with great crueltie betrayed, and slue, the poore men that escaped thither from the ouerthrowes. *Asiapa* was a Towne, that had still adhe:ed to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worse, had thriven by spoile of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the next yeare) *Scipio* went against these, and tooke himselfe *Iliturgi* and *Castulo*: *Iliturgi* by assault, and with a generall slaughter of the Inhabitants; *Castulo*, by treason of one *Cordabellus*. *Asiapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: whereinto was throwne all the gold, and siluer, with whatsoever
 30 else was precious; the women and children standing by it vnder a sure guard; that should kill and burne them if the *Romans* got into the Towne. This prouision being made: all the Inhabitants that could beare armes, rushed forth desperately: and fell vpon the *Roman* campe, where striving beyond their power, they were euery one slaine. Then was the Towne forth-with set on fire, by those that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* consumed with the flame; whilest they rushed over-hastily to catch the gold, and siluer, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Asdrubal, being beaten into the Island of *Gades*, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with seven Gallies; leaving *Mago* behinde him, to wait vpon occasion, if any should be offered. Hee visited in his way home, *Syphax* King of the *Masæsi*, a people of the *Numidians*; hoping to winne him to the friendship of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his euill Angel, in the Kings Port: who, landing at the same time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spaine*, did forth with betinke himselfe, how to finish the warre; by putting them to the like distresse in *Affrike*. Hereunto it seemed, that the helpe of *Syphax* would be much auailable: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and sustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moued to seeke reuenge. He had also bene beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio* that sent him ouer a Captaine into *Affrike*; who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Vpon these reasons the *Numidian* King sent Embassadours to
 50 *Rome*, and made league with the Citie, in a time of great extremitie. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the warre, which he intended in *Affrike*; vpon the friendship of this ill Neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cause he sent ouer *C. Lælius* his Embassadour, to deale with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italie*, and had nothing now at all to

doe in *Spain*; easily perswaded the King to take part with those that had the better, and were without question his better friends. Only *Syphax* requested, that the *Roman* Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League; by which hee was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treatie. Here to *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not farre distant from *Spain*, well worthie of the adventure. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies hee tooke Sea: and arrived in the Kings Port, at the same time, with *Asdrubal*. This would have bene very dangerous to him, had hee bene discried by his Enemies further at Sea: but in *Carthage*, they forbore to make offer one vpon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud, seeing at one time, two such Capitaines of two most powerfull Cities, came to desire his friendship. Hee would have brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excused himselfe, by want of such commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funerall games held by *Scipio*. A duell betwene two Spanish Princes.
A digression, concerning Duells.

Scipio returning into *Spain*, and resting that winter, tooke vengeance the next yeare, vpon those of *Miturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Aslapa*, as hath bene said before. The Conquest of the Countrey being then in a manner at an end: hee performed at new *Carthage*, with great solemnitie, some Vowes that he had made; and honoured the memorie of his Father, and Vncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharpe, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that he should trouble himselfe with preparing slaues for that spectacle, to hazard their liues, as was vsed in the Citie of *Rome*: for there were enough, that either offered themselves as voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes; to giue prooffe in single combat, of the valour that was in their severall Countreies. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to referre the decision of their Controversies, to triall of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were, *Corbis*, and *Orsus*, *Cosen*-germans: that contended for the principallitie of a Towne called *Iber*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers sonne: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house; after the manner of our *Irish Tanistrie*. But the father of *Orsus* stood lately seized of the Principallitie: which though himselfe received by the death of his elder brother; yet this his sonne would not let it goe back; but claimed to hold it as heire vnto his father, and old enough to rule. Faine would *Scipio* haue compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had already laboured in vaine, to take vp that quarrell; and that neither God, nor Man, but only *Mars*, their God of battaile, should be Vmpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, easily vanquished the foole-hardinesse of the younger.

Such combats haue bene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of *Troy*, by *Thesens*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two at the Warre of *Troy*; the one, betwene *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other, betwene *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Hebrewes*: whereof that betwene *David* and *Goliath*; and others performed by some of *Dauids* Worthies, against those that challenged them; are greatly celebrated. Vnto the same kinde appertaines the fight, betwene twelue of the Tribe of *Juda*, and as many of the *Beniamites*. The *Romans* had

had many of them: whereof that was principall, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the *Horatij*, against the three brethren *Curiatij* that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and shortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus* with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of lesse importance, as hauing only reference to brauerie. In *England* there was a great combat fought, betwene *Edmond Ironside* and *Canutus the Dane*, for no lesse than the Kingdome. The vse of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times; almost vpon euery occasion, great or small. In the raigne of *Edward* the third, who sustained the partie of *Montfort* against the *Earle of Blois*, contending for the Duchie of *Brittaine*; there was a fight, for honour of the Nations, betweene thirtie of the *Britons*, and thirtie *Englisb*: two of which *Englisb*, were *Caluerie* a braue Capitaine; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* warres, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *Englisb*, *French*, and *Italian* Histories. Most of them haue bene combats of brauerie, and of gayeté de cœur, as the *French* terme it; for honor of seuerall Nations; for loue of Mistresses; or whatsoeuer else gaue occasion vnto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats, which are, either vpon accusation for life; or vpon triall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of Right*. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which wee spake euen now, betweene *Corbis* and *Orsus*. Vnto these (me thinkes) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat vpon Wager; such as were that betwene *Dauid* and *Goliath*; or that betwene the *Horatij* and *Curiatij*; in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one ouer the other, is aduentured vpon the head of Champions. Vpon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed betwene the Lord *Henrie of Boulusbrooke* Duke of *Hereford*, and *Moubray Duke of Norfolk*. There was a combat performed by Sir *Iohn Anley* and one *Caltrington*: whom *Anley* charged with treason; and proved it vpon him, by being victorious. The like was fought betwene *Robert of Mountfort* and *Henrie of Essex*. The like also, betwene a *Nauarrou* and one *Wale* of *Crimby*, whom the *Nauarrou* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that hee had belied him; and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our triall by battaile doe determine, that the fals accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had bene due to the offender, if the accusation had bene proued, I cannot affirme. But we euery where finde, That if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customes of *Normandie*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of Places (offences punished by death) see ouercome, He shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for triall of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may trye it by his Champion; as did *Paramor* and *Lowe*, or offered to doe, in the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*. And in this case, he that is beaten, or yeldeth, loseth only his caule, not his life. Neither are the combats, vpon accusation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are those of brauerie; but in *empe close*, that is, within pailles. Now this triall by combat was so ordinarie in *France*, before the time of *St. Lewis*, and *Philip* the faire his grand-child, as euery Lord of Fee, Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Iurisdiction. And it seemeth that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the *Memorialls of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken vp, each of the parties should pay two shillings fixe pence; but if it were performed, then should the parties vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelue shillings. And vpon this custome grew the *French* Prouerbe, which they vse when any man hath had an hard or vnjust judgement; saying, That hee was tried by the Law of *Lars*; or *Berne*; or le battu paye l'amende, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of these frequent trialls by battaile, that great learned man *Yves*, Bishop of *Chartrei*, did often complain, and

Ar. 21. Ric. 2d.

Ar. 3. Ric. 2d.

Ar. 9. Henr. 2d.

* Simoni de
Luoais l'adu
Duells time 2
dedunt, &c.

Loye l'au

* Cloties vestri
nuper ad aucto-
ritates, qui
cause comitis
Theobaldi Au-
strianis inter-
fuerant, retu-
lunt vobis, quod
quidam miles
Domini Rodol-
phi quond. co-
mitem Comit-
is ad Montemachii
provocaverit, &
hanc provocati-
onem Ecclesia
vestre iudicio
confirmaverit,
&c.

specially against the French Church-men: as appeares by * his letters to the Bishop of Orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to Rembert Arch bishop of Sens, and to others; wherein he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this libertie, and kinde of triall, was retented by Saint Lewis, and Philip the faire; so that no man should decree, or grant it, save the King himselfe. It hath since beene granted, though more sparingly, by the French Kings; as to the Lord of Caranges against laques le Gris; and to Julian Romero the Spaniard, against Moro, his Countintman: wherein Sir Henrie Kneuer, Father of the Lord Kneuer now living, was Parron to Romero that had the victorie, and lallly to the Lord of Chast. Now in those Challenges, vpon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other of-
fence deseruing death, (and in those only) the rule held, That le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces defenses par vne dementir; The Defendant was bound to pleade not guilty, by giuing the accuser the Lie: other wise it was concluded, that the Defendant did taisiblement confesse le crime; silently confesse the crime. But after such time as Francis the French King, vpon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the Lie vnto the Emperour Charles the fift, thereby to draw him to a personall combat: euery pettie Companion in France, in imitation of their Master, made the giuing of the Lie mortallitie it selfe; holding it a matter of no small glorie, to haue it said, That he the meane Gentleman in France, would not put vp, what the great Emperour Charles the fift had patiently endured.

From this beginning is deriued a challenge of combat, grounded vpon none of those occasions that were knownto the Ancient. For, the Honor of Nations, the Trial of Right, the Wager vpon Ghampions, or the Objection and Refutation of capitall offences, are none of them, not all of them together, the argument of halfe so many Duells, as are founded vpon meere priuate Anger, yea or vpon matter seem-
ing worthe of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein euery man takes vnto himselfe a Kingly libertie, to offer, accept, and appoint personall combats; the giuing of the Lie, which ought to be the Negation only in ac-
cusations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrells. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so vnardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that giues it. Thus the fashion; taken vp in haste by the French Gentlemen after the patterne of their King, is grown to be a custome: whence we haue deriued a kinde of Arte and Philosophie of quarrell, with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are de-
duced. Yea there are (among many other no lesse ridiculous) some so myssicall cu-
riosityes herein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour, to recieue from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword: the one, hauing relation to a slaue, the other, to a souldier. I confesse that the difference is pretie: though, for mine owne part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly haue made with him such an exchange; and haue giuen him the point of honour to boot.

But let vs examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the Lie; with their conditions, who are commonly of all other the most tender in rectiuing it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their Swords to all that giue it them; vse nothing so much in their conseruation and course of life, as to speake and sweare falsly. Yea it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, hauing assumed and sworne to pay the monies and other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promise, as often as they engage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not Liars by Record, by being sued in some Court or other of Iustice, vpon breach of word, or bond? For he which hath promised, that he will pay monie by a day; or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath directly lied to him, to whom the promise hath beene made. Nay, what is the profession of loue that men make now-a-daies? What is the vowing of their seruice, and of all they haue, vnto their ordi-
nary

dinaric complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid but good-morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and courtlike kinde of lying? It is (saith a wife *French-man*, deriding therein the Apish custome of his Countrie) *une marche & complot fait ensemble des seigneurs, mentir, & piper les uns les autres; A kinde of merchandize, and complot made among them, to mock, beguile, and deride each other: and so farre now-a-daies in fashon, and in vse; as he that vseth it not, is accounted either dull, or Cynicall.* True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinctions) that there is great difference between these mannerly and complementall lies, with those which are sometime perswaded by necessitie vpon breach of promise; and those which men
 10 vice out of cowardize and feare: the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other filed the most villainous. But now for the *Lie* it selfe, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrells in effect: to it I say, That who so giues another man the *Lie*, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainously taken, than to tell him, that he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promisetli any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promised, that hee will performe it; and, in not performing it, he hath made himselfe a Lier. On the other side, He that giues any man the *Lie*, when himselfe knows that he, to whom it is giuen, hath not lied; doth therein giue the *Lie* directly to himselfe. And what cause haue I, if I
 20 say that the Sunne shines when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it's mid night; to prosecute such an one to death, for making himselfe a foolish Russian, and a Lier in his owne knowledge? For he that giues the *Lie* in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyaltie, or Life, giues it impertinently, and Russian-like. I will not deny but it is an extremerudenesse to taxe any man in publike with an vntruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice against whom the vntruth is vttered) but all that is rude, ought not to be ciuiliized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a *French* custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsaile of God. But you will say, 'T hat these discourses fauour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize, to feare God or Hell: whereas he that is truly wise, and truly valiant, knows that there is nothing else to be feared. For a-
 30 gainst an Enemies sword wee shall find ten thousand seven-penie-men (waged at that price in the warres) that feare it as little, and perchance lesse, than any profit Sword-man in the World. *Diligentissima in tutela sui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent preseruer of it selfe.* It is (saith Aristotle) a mediocritie between doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem paret: sic nec fortem pugna; sed causa; As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr: so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cause.* In which whosoever shall resolutely end his life, resolutely in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countie: as hee may iustly bee numbred among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious
 40 hearts, in priuate combats, be called the Martyrs of the Deuill. Neither doe we indeede take our owne reuenge, or punish the injuries offered vs, by the death of the injurious. For the true conquest of reuenge is, to giue him, of whom we would be reuenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death on our owne consciences; *animasq; in vulnere ponere; And to drowne our soules in the wounds and bloud of our enemies.* Hereupon you will againe aske me, if I condemne in generous and noble spirits the defence of their honours, being prest with injuries? I say that I doe not; if the injuries bee violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Chritlian Kings and States; doe fauour him that is assailed, in the slaughter of the Assailant. You will secondly aske me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentle-man, being challenged by *Carrel* by one of like qualitie, bee not bound in point of honour to satisfie the challenger in priuate combat? I answer that he is not: because (omitting the greater it, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrarie and opposit to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion ouer it, which can
 50 judge

judge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those Artes honourable, where the Hang-man giues the Garland. For, seeing the Lawes of this Land haue appointed the Hang-man to second the Conquerour; and the Lawes of God appointed the Devil to second the conquered dying in malice: I say that he is both base, and a foole, that accepts of any Carrel so accompanied. To this perchance it will bee answered, That the Kings of England, and other Christian Kings, haue seldom taken any such advantage ouer men of qualitie; who vpon euen termes haue slaine their priuate enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they haue not often done it; so did our Noble-men and Gentle-men in former ages, in all important injuries, sue vnto the King, to approue themselves by battaile and publike combat. For as they dared not to braue the Law: so did they disdain to submit themselves to the shamefull reuenge thereof; the same reuenge (because it detelleth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-purse or other Theeves. Nay let it be granted that a pardon bee procured for such offenders; Yet is not the Manslayer freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the partie grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require iustice by Grand Affize, or by battaile, vpon his appeale, which (saith *St. Thomas Smith*) is not denied; and he further saith (for I vse his owne wordes) That if the Defendant (to wit, the Manslayer) be convinced either by Great Affize or by Battaille, vpon that appeale; the Manslayer shall die, notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So honourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to iustice, and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men & Gentle-men shall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the start either in wordes or blowes, shall lay on them an infamie vsufferable? I say that a Marshalls Court will easily giue satisfaction in both. And if wee hold it no disgrace to submit our selues for the recouerie of our Debts, Goods, and Lands, and for all things else, by which the liues of our selues, our wiues, and children, are sustained, to be Iudges of the Law; because it may bee felonie, to take by violence euen that which is our owne: why should we not submit our selues to the Iudges of honour in cases of honour; because to recouer our reputation by strong hand, may be murder? But yet againe it may be objected, That the losse of honour ought to be more fearefull vnto vs, than either the losse of our goods, of our lands, or of our liues; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeede, and that which ought to bee so deare vnto vs, other than a kinde of historie, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and vnder-taken for the publike good? In these he that is imploied and trusted, if he faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he looeth his honor. But the acting of a priuate combat, for a priuate respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue; because it is contrarie to the law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult; because euen and equall in persons and armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrarie; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-weale.

Now that a Marshall of England hath power to saue every mans fame and reputation, as farre as reputation may sustaine iniurie by wordes, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any ill wordes that we haue giuen, and to confesse that we haue done him wrong to whom we haue giuen them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For hee that giues ill wordes in choller, and suddenly denies them, or repents himselfe of them vpon adseimement; hath the disaduantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeede not to be giuen but to those that are ferule, whether sufficient recompence will bee made for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthie Gentleman *Monsieur du Pleſſis*, that was stricken in France not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was giuen him by a iudgement of the Contable and Marshalls of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Contable gaue iudgement,

Sir Thomas
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92-6

Recompence for the same
in France 92-6

ment, *M. de Plessis* was set in a chaire vnder the degrees where the Constable and Marshalls late: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a sword with the point towards himselfe, and in his left hand the like cudgell or bastinado, wherewith he had stricken *M. de Plessis*; both which weapons he deliuered into *Plessis* hands, submitting himselfe to such reuenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls having formerly left it to the will of *Plessis* to vse his owne discretion in the reuenge of his owne wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselfe, as one before hand in point of honour, who struck *M. de Plessis*, like
 10 a Russian comming behinde him, and (having advantage of companie, and his horses readie) shifted himselfe a way on the suddaine, but being afterward taken, was taught to repent himselfe in this shamefull manner; Or whether *Monsieur de Plessis* (of whose valour no man doubted) had not faire iust cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure haue beaten or wounded his enemie, but forgave him; let any wise man iudge. To this if it be said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission; that his repentance was enforced and not voluntarie; and therefore no disgrace vnto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Theefe, when he is brought to the Gallows to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no disgrace in respect of the force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our finnes to God) makes all repentance shamefull; because all forced
 20 repentance is inflicted vpon vs for somewhat vnworthie of a Gentleman and of an honest man. Nay voluntarie repentance it selfe, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weaknesse. Certainly, as wise men, and valiant men, doe rather deride pettie injuries or suddaine injuries, that are not offered from malice forethought, then reuenge them: so men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly suspect their owne valour; and rather desire, that thereby the world should beleue them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knowes himselfe
 30 indeede to be a valiant man, scemes to hunt after the opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshalls of *France* haue, hath also a Marshall of *England*, or his Deputies; by whose iudgement, in all disputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preferred; wee may therefore as well submit our selues to the Iudge of honour in all disputes of honour, as wee doe submit our selues in all controuersies of liuelihood and life, to the Iudges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Chualtrie in *England*, in *France*, and elsewhere; was no lesse charitable than politike. For the blood of man, violently split, doth not bring forth *honey-bees*, as that of Bulls doth, which stinging but the fingers or the face: but it produceth that monstrous Beast, *Reuenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten vp of seuerall Nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatening the wrath of God vpon supreme
 40 Governours, than the permission.

His Majestie therefore (which *Henrie* the fourth of *France* also endeoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like dede in *Scotland*, which the most renowned of all his Predecessours could neuer doe: in beating downe, and extinguishing, that hereditarie prosecution of malice, called the *deadly feud*; a conquest, which shall giue him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power, for ever more. And we haue cause to hope, that his royall care shall be no lesse happie in preventing the like mischief, which threatens *England*, by the audacious, common, and braue, yet outrageous
 50 varitie of Duellists.

Vnto this that I haue spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthe of reproofe and vengeance proportionably, more or lesse, in their seuerall degrees. There is much difference betweene *Lies* of necessitie vpon breach of promise, or complementall lies; and such

such pernicious lies, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are vttered by false witnesses: the former sort, being excusable by weaknesse or leuitie; the latter, being altogether detestable. No lesse, if not more, difference there is, betweene killing of a man in open field, with euē weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile, dolo or persuasione*; though our Lawes doe not much distinguishing them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his owne priuiledge, commandeth, that the *guilefull* murderer bee drawne by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is every guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by *ouert* violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poisoning; and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, betweene coming *presumptuously* vpon a man, to *slay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for bloud*, priuily, for the innocent, without a cause, vpon hope of spoile, after such manner as the *net is spread before the eyes of the birds*. Francis the first, *Queene Marie of England*, and the Kings Majestic now reigning, haue giuen notable testimonie of their iustice, vpon three Noble men, who committed *guilefull* murder. Of the first kinde, King Francis vpon the Lord of Talar: who being (saith the French Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & supporte de plusieurs grandes alliances, who being of high and ancient linage, and supported by diuers great alliances*, of which the Cardinall of Bellay (in especial fauour with the King) was one, was notwithstanding deliuered ouer into the handes of the Hang man. *Queene Marie*, vpon a noble man of her owne Religion, and in many other respects 20 very deare vnto her. *Har Marie lie*, vpon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no lesse ancient and faithfull, than himselfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poison, and of punishment following such wicked Artisans; euery Age hath had too many examples. Of guilefull killing by the pen (that I may not speake of any *Englis* Iudge) the Authour of the French *Recherches* giues vs two notable instances: the one of *des Esbars*, who (saith Pasquire) *fit mourir Montaigne grand Maistre de France, pour contenter l'opinion de celuy dont il estoit lors daileiue*; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & estranglé; Who caused Montaigne great Master of France to die, to content his minde (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Esbars worshipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himselfe was soone after 30 hanged and strangled. The other was of the Great Francis the first, vpon his Chancellor Poret: who, to satisfie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admirall Chabot, a man most nobly defended, and of great seruice. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of loue growes old, and weares out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, hee charged him with some offences which hee had formerly committed. The Admirall, presuming vpon the great good seruice which hee had done the King in Piemont, and in the defence of *Murzeilles* against the Emperour; gaue the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publike triall. Hereupon the King (it being easie to prouoke an ill disposition) gaue commission to the Chancellor, as President, and 40 other Iudges, vpon an information of the Kings Aduocate, to question the Admiralls life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience, (which is rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with some of the Iudges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharpe threats; and with the rest, with so faire promises; as, albeit nothing could be proved against the Admirall, worthe of the Kings displeasure; yet the Chancellor (subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the Forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Libertie; though not able to preuaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating fallhood in so great a Magistrate) other than his owne degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle leçon certes* (saith Pasquire) *à tout Iuge pour demeurer* 50 *toujours en Joy, & ne laisser flutuer sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imaginaire faueur, qui pour fin de ten le submerger; A faire leçon to all Iudges, to dwell alwaies in themselves, and not to suffer their consciences to float vpon the waues of imaginarie fauour, which in the end ouerwhelmes them.* And as for the Admirall, though it might haue bene answered

Exod. 21.

Exod. 21. v. 14.

Pro. 10. 11.

Lib. 5. cap. 12.
& cap. 11.

answered vnto his friends, if any bewailed his calamities as vnderftrued, That he was tried, according to his owne desire, by the Lawes of his Countrey, and by the Iudges of Parliament; yett the Kings iustice, surmounting all other his passions, gaue back vnto him his Honour, his Offices, his Libertie, and his Estate.

†. III.

The last Act of SCIPIO in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is chosen Consul.

10

THE last businesse that troubled *Scipio* in Spaine, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously sick, in such sort, that the rumor of his death ranne currant throughout Spaine. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, petty Kings, that had forsaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed *Scipio* awhile before, to take armes against the *Romans*. They were vainly perswaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driuen out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all Spaine. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present advantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rashly fell vpon the *Suesetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the *Romans*; and waited their Countrey. Part of the *Roman* Armie lying at *Suero*, in stead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be affected with the like dislemper. They had not reaped such profit of their *Roman* conquests, as might satisfie their desires; or as they thought ealie to be gotten, if they might be their owne Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported: they thought, that the time serued very well, to enrich themselves with spoile of the Countrey. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, drining away their Colonells, that should haue bridled their furie; they chose out of their owne number two base fellowes, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Vmbro*, to their Commanders. These tooke vpon them all the Ensignes of Proconsuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had bene like to that, wherein *Lucius Martius* was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two *Scipio's*. But whilst they were deuling, what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such combustion, as was expected; there arriued more certaine newes, that *Scipio* was both aliue, and in good health. There came also new Colonells, sent vnto them from their Generall: who mildly rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to bee glad that they had no further over-shot themselves; led them to *Carthagen*, there to receive their pay. Before their comming, *Scipio* had resolved to doe exemplarie justice on the principall offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in feare, of what they had deserued. Therefore hee caused *syllanus* to make cadie the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition against *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*; He caused *Albius* and *Atrius* with some thirtie oth-
 * 40 ther of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings; He called the Mutiners to assembly; and having them vnarmed as they were, encircled round by *syllanus* and his Companies, prepared for the purpose; hee bitterly inuicighed against them all, as Traitors. This done; *Albius*, and *Atrius*, with the other prisoners, were haled to the stake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the *Roman* custome toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and recieued e-
 50 very man his pay when he was sworn.

Mandonius, and *Indibilis* continued in armes; notwithstanding that they had certaine word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could haue bene contented to be quiet: but by the seueritie vsed to the *Roman* Souldiers; they stood in feare, as being

being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder measure. *Scipio* went against them; and found them in a Valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Armie. In the entrance thereof hee fought with them: and sending *Laelius* with all his horse to fetch a compasse about the Hills, and charge them in reare; he overthrowed them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this no hope remayning, to preserve themselves and their estates, other wise than by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly craving pardon, both for himselfe, and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtayned his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves lesse free Princes, then they formerly had bene.

Afterward *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Masaniissa*; who secretly promised to doe him all service, if the People of *Rome* would send him to make Warre in *Africk*. Vnto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*; that letting all care of *Spaine* alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into *Italie*; and there wage an Armie of *Gauls*, and *Ligurians*, to joyne with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, was monie sent vnto him from *Carthage*; and he himselfe laid hold vpon all that he could finde in the Towne of *Gades*; without sparing either private men, the common treasure, or the Temples. In his voiage thence, hee landed at *Carthagena*: hoping to haue taken it by surprize. But hee failed in the attempt; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himselfe awhile at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and spoile that hee had made at his taking leave of them, would not suffer him to enter againe into their Citie. By this hee foresaw, that it would not bee long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vncourteous dealing, hee allured their Magistrates forth vnto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voiage; bidding *Spaine* farewell for euer.

The Isle and Citie of *Gades*, was yielded to the *Romans*, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver vp the Province, to those that were sent from *Rome* to succede him therein: and himselfe with ten ships returned home. At his comming to *Rome* he made suite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet bene granted vnto no Proconsul; excepting to such, as receiued that dignitie after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by generall voice of the Citie *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul; and *P. Licinius Crassus* joyned with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the *Romans*; might not, by the custome of those times, goe farre from the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though *Cesar*, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were itated by no such religious impediment, from being farre, and long absent. Hereby it came to passe, that *Scipio* desiring to haue the Warre transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to loose that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the diuision of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of emplotment so farre off.

§. XVIII.

SCIPIO obtains leave to make warre in *Africk*. His preparations. Of *Masanissa* who joyned with *Scipio*. The victories against *Andrubal* and *Syrax*.

P *Vs. Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entering into their Consulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* should bee allowed, to bestow part of the monie which he had brought out of *Spain* into the treasure; vpon the setting forth of solemne plaies, that he had vowed to make, whilest he was busied in his *Spanish* warres. This helped well to reuiue the memorie of his victories already gotten; and to giue hope vnto the People of greater victories in the warre, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the same purpose, did the *Spanish* embassages auail much in the Senate, especially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions, highly and deferuently; saying, That they were the most happie of all their Countymen, since they being present, had seene him chosen Consul, and should carrie home such joyfull newes. The *Saguntine* Embassadors, were lovingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to *Rome*, though easily it were both to them, and to the *Romans*, had well deserued. Neuerthelesse, when *Scipio* proposed, that *Africk* might be decreed vnto him for his Province: there wanted not many, even of the principall men, that vehemently gaue said him. Of these was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chiefe: who seemed to haue been troubled with that disease; which too often caueth men renowned for long approved vertue, to looke askint vpon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kinde. Hee calleged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul: whereof the chiefe were, That the treasure was vnable to sustaine the charges of a warre in *Africk*; and that it was extremely perillous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure bee recalled, vnto the defence of *Rome* it selfe, if neede required. Hereunto he added many wordes concerning the danger wherein *Italie* stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as also concerning the honour of the Consul; which would (he said) be greater in setting *Italie* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to eleuate the *Spanish* warres, as of lesse moment than the intended voiage against *Carthage*; nor withall to lay great blame vpon *Scipio*, for hauing suffered *Asdrubal* to passe into *Italie*: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, least the like might happen againe; and that a new Armie, notwithstanding the good successe of *Scipio* (if it hapned to bee good) might be sent from *Carthage*, to the vter endangering of *Rome*, whilst the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the maine point which he vrged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that yeare a Province: which the Consul neuerthelesse propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other side, insisted vpon this one point; That it was better to make an offensive, than a defensive warre: especially against such as the *Carthaginians*; who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by helpe of monie, with leues made abroad. As for the care of *Italie*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague, would bee as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his owne home: and taxing as ciuilly as he could, the enuie of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprise; hee proposed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much alteration there was about the manner of his proceeding: forasmuch as it was noised abroad, that if hee could not bring the Senate to his minde, he would carrie it by the People. That if hee could not of the Ancients: who reſented in this honorable man a little spice of that arrogancie, which in following ages, grew to be much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himselfe wholly vnto the Senates

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good

good will and pleasure; whereby hee obtained thus much, That the life of *Scipio* might be appointed vnto him for his Prouince; with leaue to passe ouer into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of monie, and no great liking to his voiage, made the *Roman* Senate haue little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the warre, by him intended vpon *Africke*. Here-withall it fell out, that *Mage*, comming on the suddaine from the *Baleares* to *Genoa*, and winning the Towne, bred a feare of no lesse terrible inuasion vpon *Italie*, than that which *Asdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeede raise any great Armie of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them distracted with ciuill warres. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his partie; and to helpe those whom hee thought fittest for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occupied more of his time, than he could willingly haue spared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the vnladdeie *Gauls* readie to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the *Romans*, that vnder Proconsuls, and Pretors, lay readie to be employed where need should require; were directed vnto the borders of *Lombardie*, and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Mage*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet, either comming to his aide from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is vncertaine) loaden with the bootie that hee had taken; fell into the hands of the *Roman* Pretor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much displease him: and though after awhile, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with store of monie, heartning him in his proceedings: yet some impediments which he found, and that fatall voiage of *Scipio* into *Africk*, disturbed all; and made him bee recalled home.

Against *Hannibal*, was nothing done this yeare. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Historians haue bene pleased to take notice. Only it is said, that he spent the sommer by the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, where hee raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in *Punike*, and *Greeke* letters. Such account of winnings past, is commonly in Gamblers that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelesse; in those that are vpon the loosing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A great pestilence, infesting both the *Carthaginian*, and the *Roman* Campe, is said to haue bene the occasion of this yeares idleness: which fell not out much amisse for the Citie of *Rome*, that was maruailously empouerished by this warre; and had already tried the utmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieue the present necessitie, it was well thought vpon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many yeares since confiscated) should bee sold, or let out: in which bargaine, that the Citie might receiue no lesse the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, vnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other monie, none was giuen to *Scipio*. Neither was hee allowed to make presse of Souldiers for his *African* voiage; neither did hee ouer-much labour to obtaine it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is vially found in Councils of estate; that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, doe carrie all the rest. And many times, men make a surrender of their owne judgements, to the wisdom that hath gotten it selfe a name, by giuing happie direction in troubles forpast. Therefore, hee that reposeth himselfe vpon the aduice of many, shall often finde him selfe decieued: the counsaile of those many being wholly directed by the empetr of a few, that ouer-sway the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature sorted well with the businesse, that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Vnto him therefore *Q. Ennius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend)

- apprehended embraced the needfull resolution of *Scipio* in such sort, that besides his *Roman* forces, he had from diuers parts of *Italie* about seven thousand Voluntaries. He had also provision from the seuerall Townes; *Corn*, *Iron*, *Canuas* for sailes, *Axes*, *Beede-hookes*, *Hand-mills*, and the like implements, *Fire* for building of ships, many thousands of *Targets*, *Helmets*, and *Speares* of all kinds: every place furnishing him with that commoditie, which it best could afford. In the compasse of sixe and fortie daies, he had both feld his *Timber*, built, and lanchd, twentie *Triemes*, and ten *Quinqueremes* Gallies; wherewith hee transported his Armie into
- 10 *Sicil*. In *Sicil* he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had serued at *Canna*: which were old Souldiers; and (as hee himselfe well knew) not guiltie of the overthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heauie censure. They had serued vnder *Marcellus*, and *Lauius*, at the taking of many Cities, and strong peeces: in which regard, they were like to bee of good vse to him in *Africk*; where would bee store of such employment, For increasing the number of his horse, hee pressed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthie yong men, and such as loued well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the Warre, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they should deliuer their Horse and Armes, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen; which hee brought ouer with him for the purpose. Whilst hee
- 20 was providing, to haue things in a readinesse for *Africk*; the banished *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recouer their Citie. Some handicrafts men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadells of *Loeri* (for there were two in the Towne) being taken prisoners by the *Romans*, promised to betray the place, if they might be ranfomed, and rewarded. *Scipio* being aduertised of this, gaue order to haue the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadell was surpris'd. The other Citadell was strongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison: which sent to *Hannibal* for aide. The *Romans* in like sort, fearing least their owne paucitie should make them too weake for *Hannibal*, craued helpe of the Consul *Scipio*. The
- 30 Townsmen, were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the coming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the *Carthaginian* Garrison to abandon the other Citadell. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* vnto the *Roman* Senate; not only against those of the Garrison, but much more against *Pleminius* the Captaine, who gaue bad example; and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other Villanies: the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctitie, was spoiled by these barbarous Theeues. The *Locrians* therefore aduised the Senate, to make present a-
- 40 mends to the Goddesse for this sacriledge: saying, that the like had neuer been committed, without notorious vengeance by her taken vpon the Authors. The Senate gaue good care to this complaint; comforted the *Locrians*, and redressed the injuries done vnto them; sent for *Pleminius*, with other principall offenders, whom they cast into prison, and vsed according to their deserts: as also they restored vnto *Proserpina* her monie twice told, But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame vpon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in *Loeri*; and had not carefully hearkned to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these wicked courses. By the sharp inuectiue that *Fabius* made, others tooke courage to speake what they pleased: as well against the demeanor of *Scipio*, as against the dissolutenesse of his Armie; which lay, as they said, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindfull of any seruice toward, nor fit for it if neede should require. Finally, things were so farre vrged, that ten Legates were sent ouer into *Sicil*, together with the Pretor appointed for that Iland; two of the *Tribunes*, and one of the *Aediles*; who should examine these matters; and either cause the Generall to returne into *Italie*, or con-

tinued him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was: they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they hastened him on his journey, and gave him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had already employed *Laelius* in *Africa*; rather to make discovery, than to worke any other great effect of warre. He tooke a great bootie: and struck no little terror into the *Carthaginians*; who saw their affaires to bee vpon termes of change. But the greatest fruit of his journey was, That speaking with *Masanissa*, he well informed himselfe of the state of *Africa*; and knew what was to bee expected of those two Kings, that had promised to ioyne with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Masanissa* his revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made vnder-hand with the *Romans*: *Liuius* doth professe, That there was no such euident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to proue, that this his change was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian farre inferior to *Liuius*, both in Worth and Time) giues one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessarie truth. Only the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe, that the knowledge of such a matter should haue escaped the diligence of *Liuius*, if it had beene true: vntill wee should beleue, that he wilfully forbore to rehearse a Tragedie; the sorrow whereof would cause men to thinke amisse of *Scipio*. How soeuer it was, thus *Appian* tells it: and many

* *Appian*, *Alex-*
andre Belli, *Pa-*
nice.

Li. 30. c. 6.

Li. 30. c. 9.

circumstances of things done confirme it. *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, had a faire daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Masanissa* loued. *Masanissa*, being brought vp at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Asdrubal* to be his sonne-in-law. When the virgin was betrothed vnto him, he went into *Spain*, and there did great seruice. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Asdrubal*'s daughter to be a matter of State; and bestowed her vpon *Syphax*; without standing to acquaint her father or *Masanissa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mightie Prince; and for that the indignitie of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masanissa* was aduertised: and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but that some notice was taken of it; which would haue cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conueighed himselfe home in to his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may beleue *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Only it seemes, that how soeuer *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the *Carthaginians* vnto *Syphax*: yet since this their courtship proceeded from feare, He thought it wisdom to continue and increase the same their feare, by making faire promises to the *Romans*; vntill *Asdrubal* had sent for his daughter from *Carthage*, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the warre it selfe, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Liuius*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appears by the broken peeces of his works remaining) *Liuius* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed vnto his reports.

Masanissa was the sonne of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whose father dying, the Crowne descended, by order of the Countrey, vnto *Desalees* the brother, not vnto *Masanissa* the sonne. But this Vncle of *Masanissa* shortly died; and his elder sonne, who tooke possession of the Kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battaile by a Rebel; that made him selfe Protector ouer the younger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himselfe against *Masanissa*, whose returne he feared; by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not serue: He, and his Pupill, were disposed of their Estates by *Masanissa*; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloued for the memorie of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians*, in reason should haue bene glad, that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable seruice, was thus confirmed in his Estate: had they not bene guiltie of the iniurie by them done vnto him; whilst his Vncle or Cousen reigned, and hee seemed vnlike to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his owne malice towards his Cousin, warred

warred vpon him; and over-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuertheless *Masaniſſa* ſtill retayned the hearts of his people: and thereby remayned ſtrong enough, to infeſt both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in diſtreſſe, by great forces that were ſent againſt him. He therefore keeping much about the leſſer *Syrtis*, betwene the borders of the *Carthaginians* and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the coming of the *Romans*: yet ſo, as he made long roades over all the Countrey, euen as farre as to *Hippe*; and when *Lelius* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him, to haſten on *Scipio* to the inuallion of *Africk*.

- 10 But *Syphax*, in whole great aide and ſuccour was repoſed more hope of good ſucceſſe, than could be expected from the good will of poore *Masaniſſa*; ſent an Embaſſage into *Sicill* about the ſame time, which was little pleaſing vnto *Scipio*. He excuſed himſelfe of his promiſe lately made: and ſignified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That hee could not chooſe but fight for the defence of *Africke*, wherein he was borne and raigned; and for defence of his beloved wifes Countrey, if it were inuaded. Neuertheless he promiſed to remaine a Neuter; ſo long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held warre abroad, farre enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This meſſage haſtned *Scipio* in his Expedition, much more than any perſwaſion could haue done. For the promiſed aſſiſtance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterpriſe; in procuring both the aſſent of the Senate, and the forwardneſſe of many Aduenturers. Left therefore the failing of this hope, ſhould worke too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the beſt way, to preuent all diſcource, and ſet the warre vnder taken immediately on foot. The Embaſſadours he diſmiſſed in all haſte, with letters to their King: wherein hee willed him to conſider, that what he had promiſed he had alſo ſworne; and therefore ſhould doe well to make it good. Having ſent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together, and bade them make readie for the voiage; which he intended no longer to deſerre. For, ſaid he, *Masaniſſa* hath bene with *Lelius*: and *Syphax* hath newly ſent to me; greatly wondering vpon what I ſhould thus ſtay; and ſaying, that they will
- 30 prouide for themſelues, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This ſine tale preuented all further inquiſition, that might elſe haue bene made concerning the meſſage of theſe Embaſſadours; whoſe followers had bene ſcene walking vp and downe *Syracuſe*. And leſt any thing ſhould afterwards breake out, that might hinder the buſineſſe, *Scipio* immediately ſent about his ſleet vnto *Lilybaeum*: and requeſting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Pretor in *Sicill*, to meet him there; haſtied thither with his Armie. At *Lilybaeum* he agreed with the Pretor, about the diuiſion of the Legions betwene them; which to leaue behinde for defence of the Iland; and which to carrie with him into *Africk*. What numbers hee tranſported, it is not certaine: ſome Hiſtorians reckoning only ten thouſand foot, and two and twentie
- 40 hundred horſe; others increaſing them to five and thirtie thouſand, horſe and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their courſe, I hold it needleſſe to ſet them downe: ſince they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither he, when he tooke his voiage into *Spaine*, nor others vpon like occaſions, haue omitted; they being alſo word for word ſet downe by an Hiſtorian, who borrowed them from *Livy*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This Roman Armie landed in *Africk*, neare vnto a Fore-land then called the *ſaire Promontorie*: which how farre it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compaſſe, I cannot preciſely affirme, becauſe it is vncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercurie*, and lay to the North-eaſt of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apello*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by Weſt. The coming of *Masaniſſa* vnto *Scipio* at his firſt arrivall, helps to confirme the opinion of *Xylander*: who thinks the *ſaire Promontorie* to haue bene the ſame, that was alſo called *Mercuries Cape*, ſince with little difficultie *Masaniſſa* might come

thither from the lesser *Syria*, whereabouts was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorable impediment, soone after his arriual, *Scipio* encamped before *Vtica*, that stood Westward from *Carthage* beyond the Riuer *Bagradas*: it may rather seeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of *Apello*; whence the way to *Vtica* was not long. This is also strongly proued; for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his disembarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masaniissa*, that roused about the Countrey with a troupe of horse, to finde out the *Romans*, though they landed farre from the place to the which hee vsually resorted, like as before he had met with *Latus* at *Hippo* that was farther off: as it would haue bene for *Scipio*, with his Armie and Carriages, to ouer-come the trouble of a long iournie, and fetch a great compasse to *Vtica* by Land; when hee might haue disembarked nearer vnto it. Neuertheless it may passe as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to *Emporia*, a plentifull Region about the lesser *Syria*; since he gaue charge to the Masters of his ships, at the letting forth from *Lilybæum*, to shape their course for that coast. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masaniissa* had signified vnto *Latus*, when he spake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howsoeuer they made braue promises, would not come strong enough to fight at head. But when hee saw their fleet and Armie to be such, as not only serued to invade the Lands of *Carthage*, but threatened a conquest of the Citie, and whole Estate: then might hee better aduise them to set saile for *Vtica*, and make warre vpon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were leui'd, or to bee leui'd in haste. *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, the same that had lately bene chased out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their best man of warre. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellowes, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobilitie, together with the affinitie of King *Syphax*, made him passeable. He was at that present with the King his sonne-in-law, working him (no doubt) against the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Inuasion: entreating the one of them to giue assistance; and commanding the other to make his repaire vnto the Citie, where hee was chosen Generall. But ere these could be readie, *Scipio* had beaten the troupe of *Carthaginian* horse, that were sent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and slaine *Hanno* a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Towne of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, besides other bootie, hee tooke eight thousand prisoners; all which he conueighed aboard his Hulkes or ships of burden, and sent them back laden into *Sicily*. Hee tooke likewise a Towne called *Salera*; which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with foure thousand *Nu-midian* horse: whose seruice being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places; made *Scipio* to perceiue the vnskilfulnesse of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masaniissa* before him: who rode vp to the gates; and, by making a Braudo, trained out the improvident *Hanno* so farre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victorie was easily gotten; and *Hanno* either taken, or slaine. With those that fled, the *Romans* entred pell-mell into the Towne; which presently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to *Vtica*, a Citie of great importance, * of which mention hath bene formerly made; and fate downe before it. Fortie daies hee spent about it: assailing it both by Land and Sea, and vsing all his engines of batterie wherof hee had plentie; yet was in no likelihood of preuailing. And now the Sommer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-campe; which must bee well stored against the yeare following. Whilest thus necessitie vrged him to leaue *Vtica*: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better success, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gaue him the honour

* Lib. 5. cap. 2.
§. 3.

of a faire pretence to leaue the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Leuie of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; yet aduentured not with this ill-trained Armie to draw neare vnto the *Romans*; before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him vnto *Carthage* fiftie thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which joyning vnto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched brauely toward *Scipio*; who therebyooke occasion to dilodge. He chose for his Winter-campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Nauie. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontorie, joyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he belowed vpon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bosome of the Creeke he moored his ships; and there hee quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged vnto the fleet. The whole Campe he strongly fortified; and so attended the season of the yeare, when it should serue him againe to fight. Of cattails and other bootie *Masaniissa* had brought in great store; by driving the Countrie, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Come also he had gotten some: and great store was sent him from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Likewise apparrell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serue turne, for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as he could best spare; especially with Captiues, to bee sold for slaues. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped near vnto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans*; either for that they wanted the seuerer institution, which the *Romans* vsed in discipline of Warre; or for that they presumed vpon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew neare; *Scipio* thought it good to assy his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might bee wonne by perswasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally vnconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proofe before this of his much leuitie. It might therefore be hoped, That hauing wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe: and being peradventure no lesse wearie with fatietic of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this warre: Hee might bee moued with a little entreatie, to with-draw himselfe home into his Kingdome, and rest a Winter. But it is not vnlikely, that such a friend as this King, had beene highly entertained and honored in the Citie of *Carthage*, which was neare at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had beene inuited, to make a step thither and repose himselfe awhile: his wife Queene *Sophonisba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoever it were, *Syphax* did only make an ouerture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Africke*; and so make an end of the Warre, wherewith now both *Africke* and *Europe* were diuoluted. Vnto this would not *Scipio* at the first giue care: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadors: He beganne to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was giuen to vnderstand by those whom he had sent vnto the King, That the Enemies had their Campes without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cabins, and covered with boughes: and that the *Numidians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, vsed coverings of Mats and Reedes; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaues: vnder which they lay carelesly without their Trenches. Vpon this aduertisement hee bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to set their camps on fire; and thereby giue them a notable ouerthrow. Without helpe of some such stratageme, Hee foresaw that it would be a worke of great difficultie for him, to proceed in his warres when time should serue. It was a plaine open Countrie wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, vpon such ground, could not be resisted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought

vpon

vpon the matter; the more needfull he found it for himselfe, to make some sudden
 attempt vpon their Campe. To this end hee sent many Embassadours, vnder pre-
 sentence of treating about the Peace; but indeede of purpose to discover all that might
 concerne the intended surpris. With these Embassadours he sent, as Attendants,
 many old Souldiers disguised like slaues; that wandring (as it were) idly vp and
 downe the Campe, might obserue the waies and entrances, with whatsoeuer else was
 needfull. When hee had learned as much as hee desired: vpon the sudden hee sent
 word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer T reatie, forasmuch as he could
 not get the consent of his Councell of warre; without whose approbation, all that
 himselfe could doe was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the
 end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his designe in execution. The
 T ruce being thus cut off: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very perswade; as hauing late-
 ly perswaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could
 be no better: they beganne to deuise, by what arte they might draw *Scipio* out of his
 campe, and prouoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe; they
 hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did
M. Attilius after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his
 Trenches: what else remained than to besiege him? which they themselves were
 well able to doe by Land; and the *Carthaginian* fleet should doe by Sea, that was
 making readie for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselves; 10
 recompensing in concept the losse of their hopes past, with that of victorie to come.
 But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that, consulting
 about the future, they provided not against present danger; but continued in the
 same negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. As
 for *Scipio*, Hee was not idle: but made preparation out of hand; as it were to doe
 somewhat against *Niica*. Two thousand Souldiers he had made readie; and appoin-
 ted to take the same peece of ground, whereon hee lay against *Niica* before. This
 he did, partly to keepe secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his
 owne Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to haue notice of it; partly to hinder
 those of *Niica* from setting vpon the few, that hee purposed to leaue behinde him in
 his campe. He caused his men that night to suppe well and betimes; that they might
 be readie for the iourne. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought
 fit, vnto the defence of his Campe; all the rest of his Armie he led forth, about nine
 of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seuen miles and an halfe:
 whom he purposed to vnder take himselfe with the one halfe of his armie; the other
 halfe he committed vnto *Lelius* and *Masanissa*, whom hee sent before him to set vpon
 the Campe of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe
 of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For
 the fire might seeme to haue taken hold by casualtie vpon the *Numidians*, that lay
 farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the campe of *Asdrubal*, it would bee sus-
 pected as the doing of enemies; and giue *Syphax* warning to looke vnto himselfe. 40
 To this end therefore *Scipio* marched faire vnd softly; that *Lelius* and *Masanissa*, who
 had a longer iourne, and were to fetch a compasse about for feare of being discou-
 ered, might haue time to get before him, and doe their feat. It was about two or three
 of the clock in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* beganne to blaze: which not
 only the *Numidians*, but their King himselfe, imputed vnto casualtie; as thinking
 themselves safe enough from Enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed be-
 twene them and the danger: Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some,
 starting halfe asleepe; and others, that had sitten vp late at drinking; ranne out of
 their Cabbins to quench the fire. But such was the tumult, that they neither could
 rightly vnderstand in what case they were; nor giue remedie to the mischance, as it
 was supposed. Many were smothered, and burnt in the flame, which grew greater
 and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the sudden mischiefe,
 were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped
 the

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the fire, fell vpon the Enemies sword, which was readie to receive them. Especially *Masaniſſa*, that best knew the Countrey, did great execution vpon them; hauing laid all the waies, by which he foresaw that they would seeke to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiuing this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull mischance: so that some ranne out to helpe the poore *Numidians*; carrying only what would serue to quench the fire. Others ranne vp to the Rampart: where, fearelesse of any danger towards themselves, they stood beholding the gretnesse of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell outright as *Scipio* would haue it. Hee therefore lost no time: but setting vpon those that were running towards the *Numidians*,
 10 he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their campe; which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not stand to make resistance, but shifted only for himselfe, and escaped with a few of his horse about him: If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had bene taken in such a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would haue judged him worthie to be crucified. It would then haue been said, That with lesse than one halfe of thirtie thousand men, hee might at least haue giuen some bad recompence, to them that were taking paines in kindling these fires; had he not bene only carefull how to saue his owne fearefull head. Neuertheless *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to haue bene true, That if *Asdrubal*,
 20 or any of those about him, would haue striven to shew valour, when the campe was once on fire: He should not thereby haue done any manner of good; because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not neede to tell what a fearefull thing it was; to heare the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruell flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirms) none that hath being is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands very few did escape; which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their severall waies of flight. Besides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the *Numidians*, that saued themselves in the darke: but they were not many; as after shall appeare. Surely it must needes haue bene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away; and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore *Liuie*, who in
 30 the rest of this Relation, as often elswhere, doth follow *Polybius*; may seeme to haue followed some lesse worthie Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting vp the summe. For hee reckons only two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to haue escaped; fortie thousand to haue perished by sword or fire; and about sixe thousand to haue bene taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre short of fourescore and thirteene thousand, which were in these two Campes.

Asdrubal, putting himselfe into the next Towne that was very strongly fortified; thought there to finde the *Romans* worke, untill the *Carthaginians* at good leisure might repaire their Armie. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse: which he thought sufficient to defend the Towne; if the Townsmen would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Vnto this disputation, hee well foresaw that the arrivall of *Scipio* would soone giue an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold vpon him, and seeke the Victors fauour by deliuering him vp; Hee shrunke away betimes, and made all haste to *Carthage*. As for the Towne, which hee left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first coming: and thereby preferred it selfe from all manner of losse. The two next Townes adjoining would needes bee valiant, and make countenance of warre: but
 50 their strength not being answerable, they were soone taken by *Scipio*; who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This done, hee returned to the siege of *Mica*.

The *Carthaginians* were sore troubled, as they had good reason; when, in stead of either Peace or Victorie, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of such a lamentable

Excerpt. 2. Vol.
lib. 14.

Table 7

lamentable overthrow. Necessitie enforced them to make hastie provision for the future: but how to do it, few of them saw any meanes. Some gave aduice to craue peace of *Scipio*: others, to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the most, and they which finally preuailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the losse of this Armie, they might well defend themselves against the *Romans*; by raising new forces; especially, if *Syphax* would not leaue them. It was therefore concluded, That they should bend all their care this way: leuying in all haste another Armie; and sending Embassadors to deale with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Towne called *Abba*, not passing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the same their infortunate Commander, *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, was imploied to make new leuies of men: and Queene *Sophonisba* went forth with Embassadors to her husband *Syphax*; who hauing gathered together as many as he could, of his subjects that had escaped from the late slaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne Kingdome. *Sophonisba* laboured so with her husband, that at length shee wonne him to her owne desire. And it fell out at the same time, that foure thousand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought ouer to serue in *Africa*. Of these were made such braue reports; as if their courage, and the armes which they vsed, were not to be resisted. Euen the multitude within *Carthage* beleueed these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one Age, the whole Countrey of *Spain* had beene twice conquered, first, by the *Carthaginians* themselves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* these tales preuailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embassadors helped with a lie; saying, that there were comen thousand of these terrible *Spaniards*. Vpon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirte daies they made vp an Armie consisting well-near of thirte thousand men; reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians*, in the number. So they encamped in a Region called the great fields, about fise daies iourne from *Vtica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Vtica* thither, to visit them: leauing behind him his impediments, with some part of his Armie; to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three daies, after the meeting of both Armies, passed away in skirmish; without any great thing done. It had now beene time for *Asdrubal*, to follow the example of the *Roman*, *Fabius*; and seeke to wearie out the Enemy by delaies. But either (which is likely) hee was a farre worse Commander; or else it was not in his power, to giue such directions as best pleased himselfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battaile: wherein the *Romans* were marshalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner; hauing their *Italian* horse in the right wing; and *Masaniissa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrarie side, *Asdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; and the *Spaniards*, the Battaile. The victorie was gotten without many blowes: for the vntrained followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not sustain the first charge of the *Italians*, or of *Masaniissa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, euen till they were all in a manner shaine: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercie, since they were thus come ouer to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise desferued of them; than vpon any likelihood or conceit of victorie. This their obstinacie was beneficiall vnto those that fled; for that it hindered the *Romans*, from making any great pursuit. Herby *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* escaped: *Asdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home, to his owne Kingdome: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, hauing thus gotten the mastric of the field, tooke counsaile about the prosecution of the Warre. It was resolved vpon as the best course, That hee himselfe, with part of the Armie, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Masaniissa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Laelus*, with some of the *Roman* Legions, should follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take rest within his owne Kingdome, where easily else he might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This aduice it seemes that *Masaniissa* gaue: who knew best the qualitie of the *Numidians*; and

and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victorie. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his owne Kingdome, vsurped by *Syphax*: which to accomplish, it no lesse concerned the *Romans* at the present, than it did himselfe. According to this order concluded, *Lelius* was sent away with *Massissa*: and *Scipio* staid behinde; carrying the warre from Towne to Towne. Many places yeelded for feare: many were taken by force: and all the subjects of *Carthage* wauered in their fidelitie; as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those vnreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid vpon them, for maintenance of the warre in *Spain* and *Italic*. What to doe in this case the

10 *Carthaginians* could hardly resolue. Fortune was their Enemy: they had lost their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durst they make bold to trouble their owne subjects with any violent exaction of men or monie; who neuertheless of their owne free will were likely to giue little helpe. Very much it grieved them, to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italic*: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Armie; it was decreed, that Embassadors should bee forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gaue aduice, to set out a fleet against that of *Scipio*; that rode before *Ptica*, weakly manned, and easie to be taken, whilst *Scipio* himselfe was busied in the Inland Countries. Some were of opinion, That it should be their principall care, to fortifie by all means the Citie of *Carthage*: vpon

10 the safetie whereof they said that all depended; adding, that whilst they were true, and at vnitie among themselves, they might well enough subsist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doublelesse) would present them. These counsailes were not rejected: but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning defence of the Citie, and for the attempt vpon the *Roman* fleet at *Ptica*. Neuertheless it was considered, that hereby they should only protract the warre: without any way aduancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victorie; no, though it should fall out, that all the ships at *Ptica* might bee taken or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That he should immediately come ouer into *Africa*, as the last refuge of *Carthage*. The Councell was no sooner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some, to fortification of the Towne: some, to make readie the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to imbarque themselves for *Italic*. In this their trepidation *Scipio* comes to *Tunes*, a Citie in those daies very strong, and standing in prospect almost of euery part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather some defensible peece adjoining, He easily tooke; the Garrison forsaking it, and running away, as soone as he drew neare. But whilst hee was about there to incampe, and fortifie himselfe against the Citie: He might perceiue the *Carthaginian* fleet setting forth, and making towards *Ptica*: What this meant, he readily conceiued: and stood in great feare, lest his owne ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being

40 heauily loden with engines of batterie, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most conuenient for assaulting the Towne) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that speciall seruice. Wherefore hee hasted away towards *Ptica*, to assist with his presence in this needfull case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great bootie which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, hee should haue come too late. Neither could he indeede haue bene there in due time; if the *Carthaginians* had vsed such diligence, as was conuenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Ptica*, they tarried awhile to make a brauado; presenting themselves in order of battaile, as if the *Romans* would haue put

50 forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: He thought it would bee sufficient, if he could preferre his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their brauerie at Sea: it should little auaille the *Carthaginians*; if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole Estate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his ships of burden; and, fastning them together with cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold bridge over the

the Channell of the Haven; whereon he placed a thousand of his choise men, with store of Darts and other calling weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces hee left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessells, might runne out and back againe vpon any aduantage, or neede: but these he couered with planks; vling the masts and yards of his ships in stead of rafters, to ioyne all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it selfe not be torne asunder. Scarcely was this worke finished, when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Haven. The fight between them and the *Romans*, that were in the Hulkes, was rather like to the assailing of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood vpon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards with their whole strength and violence; which the *Carthaginians*, out of their Gallies, that were lower and vnladie, could not doe. But the *Roman* Frigots and long Boats, aduancing forth from behinde the Bridge; were greatly ouer-boine by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that stood vpon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them; nor yet could firely bestow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for feare of hurting theie their friends, that were entangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hookes, hanging at Iron chaicles. These they threw vpon the masts and yards which serued as Arches to ioyne the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all asunder; in such sort that one ship followed another, and all the first ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to saue themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them vntouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious worke; but hauing haled away fixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their well-come was greater than their victorie, because among so many eneuous losses, only this exploit had succeeded well; though it were of small importance.

Whilest things thus passed about *Carthage*, *Lelius* and *Masanissa*, in their iourne against *Syphax*, found as good success as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten, restored *Masanissa* to his Kingdome, without further contention: but here they staied not: neither in dede would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. Hee had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past; and, therefore being sollicit by *Asdrubal* and *Sophonisba*, hee prepared againe for warre. But belide the instigation of his beloued wife, the losse of the *Masgiles* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lelius* and *Masanissa*, to giue him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no lesse vnwillingly from that which they haue gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance: but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession; bee the title vnto some part neuer so vnjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of the yong Kite: which thought that shee had vomited vp her owne guts; when it was only the garbage of some other fowle, that shee had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the yong Kite, beleueed the Kingdome of the *Masgiles* to be part of his entrailes: *Lelius* and *Masanissa* will shortly giue him somewhat, that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so farr. It concerned the *Romans* to dispossesse (if it might be) that King: whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had bene conuerted into strong enmitie; as also to set in his place another, who might doe them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done vnto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Masanissa* knew best: as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, euen to this day, though there be many strong Townes, yet the fortune of a battaile is enough, to translate the Kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*: who came against them with no lesse an Armie, than his former, and marshalled in the *Roman* order; according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman* Centurion,

Centurion, long agoe sent vnto him out of *Spain* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though hee could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight courageously. They were a rabble of all sorts, gathered vp in haile: and few of them had seene the warre before. Encamping neare vnto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that some small Troupes of Horse on both sides, encountered one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: so that at length *Syphax*, vnwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foile at their first meeting with the *Enemie*, came vp with all his Horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith ouercharged *Masanissa*, whose numbers were farre lesse. But whilst he was prosecuting his hope of victorie: some *Roman* Squadrons of Foot came against him through their owne Troupes of Horse; which tell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their Battaille standing now more firme, than a little before; *Syphax* was vnable, though hee laboured much in vaine, to make them giue ground. *Masanissa* likewise, and his Troupes, grew confident vpon this assistance: and charging afresh the *Enemie*, that could not make way forward, caused him to giue back. Herewithall the Legions came in sight: which terrified so the Numidian Horse, that they beganne presently to disband. Faine would *Syphax* haue stayed them from flight: and to that end made head in person against the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leaue him. But it fell out vnhappy, that he was cast from his Horse, which receiued a wound; and so taken prisoner. Of others that were slaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forooke the place, and fled: and that their King, vpon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Masanissa* told *Laelius*, that this victorie should make an end of the Numidian war, if presently they halted away to *Cirta* the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome; whither hee himselfe desired to be sent before with the Horse, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Laelius* agreed. *Masanissa* comming to *Cirta*, before any newes of the Kings mischance was there arriued, called out the chiefe of the Citie to parlee: wherein by many faire promises and threats, but especially by shewing vnto them *Syphax* bound, he preuailed so far that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him; and euery one stroue to get his fauour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, *Queene Sophonisba* yeelded her selfe into his hands: and vehemently besought him, that she might not be deliuered vp vnto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beautie, so commended her suit, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promise, married her himselfe that verie day: thereby to preuent *Laelius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since she was his wife. But *Laelius*, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainously; so that at first he would haue haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and haue sent her vnto *Scipio*. But being ouer-entreated by *Masanissa*, hee suffered the matter to rest awhile as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio*'s discretion: to whom he sent away *Syphax* and other Captiues immediately; following shortly after himselfe with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needefull in the Kingdome.

At the comming of *Syphax* there was great ioy in the *Roman* Campe: the mightie Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Asdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together sought his friendship: with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune; ministering to euery one a large argument of discouir. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moued him, not only to forsake the *Roman* friendship, but to make warre vpon them, vnprovoked. He briefly answered, that his wife had moued him so to doe: calling her a Furie, and a pestilent creature: and saying, that *Masanissa* was no wiser than himselfe; since he had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and

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flooding in great doubt, lest this perilous woman should deprive him of *Masanissa*, as
 shee had done of *Syphax*. It was not long ere *Masanissa* and *Lalius* came vnto him:
 both of whom together he louingly welcommed; and highly commended in pub-
 lique, for their notable seruice in this Expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* apart, hee
 brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him vnderstand, that the *Romans* had
 titile to her head; and that shee was a mischievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore hee
 entreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memorie of his
 great seruices already done; (for which he should be highly rewarded to his owne
 contentment) by committing a great offence vpon little reason. *Masanissa* blusht,
 and wept: and finally promised to be gouerned by *Scipio*; whom he neuertheless
 entreated, to thinke vpon his faith giuen to *Sophonisba*, that she should not be deliue-
 red into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after some time
 spent in agonie, he called vnto him a seruant of his, that had the custodie of his poi-
 son (which Princes then vsed to haue in readines, against all mischances that might
 make them vnwilling to liue): and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it vnto her
 with this message; That gladly he would haue had her to liue with him as his wife:
 but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yeeld thereto,
 he sent her a cup, that should preferue her from falling aliue into the hands of the
Romans; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order
 for her selfe.

At the receipt of this Message and Present, shee onely said, That if her Hus-
 band had no better token to send vnto his new wife, shee must accept of this; add-
 ing, That shee might haue died more honourably, if shee had not wedded so late-
 ly before her Funerall. And herewithall shee boldly dranke off the poison. Thus
Linie reports it. But *Appian* varies from this: and sets it downe agreeably to that
 which hath bene spoken before, concerning the precontract betwene *Masanissa*
 and *Sophonisba*. Hee saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadors from *Cirta*
 met with *Lalius* and *Masanissa* vpon their way thither, yeelding vp their Citie, and
 the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her owne priuate, sent messengers to ex-
 ceuse her marriage with *Syphax*; as made against her will, by compulsion of those in
 whose power shee was. *Masanissa* readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to
 wife. But when *Scipio* had receiued information from *Syphax*, how cunning in per-
 suasion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Car-
 thage*: he fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his returne; and challenged her, as a
 part of the bootie belonging to the *Romans*. *Masanissa* said, shee was his owne wife,
 and vnto him betrothed many yeares before. But *Scipio* would not heare of this:
 or if it were true; yet he said it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keepe her in pos-
 session, as long as it was disputable, vnto whom the might appertaine. Wherefore
 he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime vnto
 her; wherein he should haue no wrong. Herewithall hee sent to fetch her away:
 and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliuer her; but making
 her acquainted with the necessity, gaue vnto her a cup of poison, wherewith shee
 ended her life, before they came that should haue apprehended her. So he shewed
 vnto the *Romans* her dead bodie; which he royally enterred. The sudden violence
 of *Masanissa* his loue, and the readie consent of *Sophonisba* to marrie with him: added
 not so much credit vnto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other con-
 siderable cause (which *Linie* notes) of the sudden falling out betwene him and the
Carthaginians; vnder whom he had bin trained vp, & don them great seruice. How-
 soeuer it were: *Scipio*, hearing of this tragick accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and com-
 forted him as well as he could; lest his melancholie should lead him to some iuueni-
 tuenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him
 forth in presence of the Armie: where extolling his noble acts; and shewing how
 highly hee had deserued of the Citie of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King; and gaue vnto

to him a Crowne of gold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeed the readie way, to diuert his thoughts from the sadde remembrance of that which was past; vnto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that beganne to smile vpon him.

This was the first time that the *Romans* tooke vpon them to create or proclaime a King. Which honour though *Masaniſſa* well deserued; yet would not the Title haue redounded vnto his great benefit; neither should he haue beene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recovered possession of his Countrie, together with the greatest part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It seemes not vnlike, lie, that had he remained a Neuter in these warres, and sustained himselfe with his Troupe of Horſe, in such sort as hee did before the comming of the *Romans*; hee might neuerthelesse haue recovered his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne subiects, without other helpe, when *Syphax* had once or twice bene vane wished. As for the enlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than hee deserued; neither were the *Romans* then in case, to make a conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they haue wished a fitter opportunitie, than of such a man, vpon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, and passable withall among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Masaniſſi* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberaltie of the *Romans*, was noyled abroad as verie glorious; and the *Romans* themselves, in a politicke sort of grauitie, tooke highly vpon them; as if euen their saluting him by the name of King, had bene a matter of great consequence. Hee thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mightie in times following, encroaching vpon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all vpon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax* (of whom wee shall shortly speake more) which held some peece of his Fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all meanes to deserue their loue, requested therewithall, that they would call him King. But though it were so, that neuer any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the *Roman* Senate was punctilious herein; and answered very grauely, That it was not their custome to giue the honour of that appellation, saue onely vnto such Kings, as had greatly deserued of their Citie. Thus they made it a matter of State: and in proceſſe of time grew so proud of this their imaginarie prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vpon them, the salutation by that name; though it were not accompanied, with any other fauour or profit thence redounding.

Lib. 31.

b. Celsus Com. lib. 1.

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians desire Truce: and breake it.

49

THe *Carthaginians* were extremely dismayed, when they heard of the great calamitie, that was befallne their good friend *Syphax*; and vnderstood that *Masaniſſa*, their mortall enemie, had got possession of his Kingdome. To increaſe their feare, *Scipio* returned againe to *Tunes* in view of their Citie: where hee made an end of that Fortification, which hee had begunne at his last being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him; but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth vnto him thirtie Embassadors, Princes of the Citie, which were their Priue Councell, to make suit for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the feet of him, and of those that late in Councell with him.

c. Excerpt. 2. Po. lib. 2. 15. Lib. 30.

Anſwerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed, They con-

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felld themselves to have vnwisly broken the Peace betweene them and *Rome*; and to haue deserued whatsoeuer punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict vpon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that, in common regard of those misfortunes, whereto all men are subiect, they would shew mercie vnto the Citie of *Carthage*, and let it remaine, as a Monument of their clemencie; which, by the foliie of her Citizens, had now twice deserued to be ouerthrowne. Here withall they did not forget, to lay the blame vpon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begunne the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appeares, that these Embassadors were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hannos* and the choice of his companie; who had now their long desired worke in hand, of vsing vnto the *Romans* for peace. Whatsoeuer they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men over those that were subiect vnto their power; for they would not haue made such adoration vnto the *Romans*, in their owne necessitie; vnlesse they themselves had expected the like, where they had the aduantage.

It was not vnknowne to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poore case the Citie of *Rome* then was; and how vnable to defraie the charges of continuing the warre. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the losse of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately been. For they had monie enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Citie farre stronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distrustful the walls of *Carthage*; though *Ytica*, a weaker Citie, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Armie, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them That though he came into *Africk*, to make a Conquest, and not a Peace: yet hauing the Conquest as it were in his hand, hee would not denie to grant them the Peace, which they desired; for thereby should all Nations vnderstand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of iustice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The conditions which he imposed vpon them, were these: That they should render vp vnto him all prisoners that they had taken, together with all Renegado's and fugitiue slaues: That they should withdraw their Armies out of *Italie* and *Gaulle*: That they should not meddle in *spaine*, nor yet in any lland between *Italie* & *Africk*: That they should deliuer vp all their ships of warre, save twentie; and That they should pay a great summe of monie, with certaine hundred thousand bushels of Wheat and Barlie. To consider of these Articles, hee gaue them three dayes: and when they had approued them, hee granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadors vnto the *Roman* Senate.

This done, *Masanissa* was dismissed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the warre had beene already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Lelius* vnto *Rome*: where the fame of these victories filled men with ioy; and gaue hope, that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were set open, and an holy day appointed for thanksgiving and supplication to their Gods. *Lelius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Masanissa*: who gratulating the happie successe of the *Romans* in their *African* Warre, and giuing thanks vnto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* vnto their Master, made request for the *Numidians*, such as were now his subiects and prisoners in *Rome*, that they might be bestowed vpon him; who by granting them to libertie, should doe an act verie plausible that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The *Roman* Senate were not behinde with *Masanissa* in complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should doe for him; they called him King againe; released his *Numidians* that were captiues; and sent him two purple Callocks, that had each of them one gold button; with such other Presents, as in time of their pouerty might serue to relish their good will.

will. Scarcely were these and *Laelius* gone from *Rome*; when the newes came, that Embassadors from *Carthage* were arrived to desire peace. These Embassadors were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without: untill *Laelius* being sent for, came backe from *Ostia*, to be present when their demands were to bee heard. Then was audience giuen them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that stood in the suburbs. The errand of these Embassadors, was Peace: but the meaning of them and of their Citie, was onely to winne time, and get respite from warre; untill *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out of *Italie*, either to chase the *Romans* out of *Africk*, or to obtain peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great Names and Armies, vpon more easie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded betweene them and *Lucius Catulus*, at the end of the former warre. This League they said, all things well considered, did still remaine in force: neither had there since beene any warre at all, betweene the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was onely *Hannibal*, that, without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his owne head besieged and razed the Towne of *Saguntum*: and after that adventured in like sort, without Commission, to passe the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italie*. This being so: their Message was none other, than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter stand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale; hearing these Embassadors make (as it were) a jest of a warre, that had beene so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that Peace made by *Lucius*; and other passages following betweene the two Cities. But they excused themselves by their age: (for they were all young men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they sought no other than to gaine time; untill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were sent home in companie of *Laelius*; without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, we find in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiuing aduertment from *Scipio*, of that which had passed betweene him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treatie of peace, approved the conditions by him propounded; and gaue him licence thereupon, to proceede vnto conclusion. This may with good reason be believed: since it was not vnknowne, that if the warre continued, all these goodly hopes must rest vpon the most vncertaine issue of one battaile betweene *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune should be averse to them, their forces in *Africk* were no better than quite lost.

Matters thus hanging in suspense, before the *Carthaginian* Embassadors came backe from *Rome*: a Fleet out of *Sicily*, wherein were two hundred ships of burden; and thirtie Gallies, being bound for *Africk*, to victualle the *Roman* Campe, was overtaken by foule weather at Sea; and hardly escaping wracke, was dispersed, and driuen aground in diuers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, euen in view, and vnder command of the Citie. There was at that time, as we find in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in *Carthage*: which caused the people to crie out vpon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a bootie escape them; saying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger vrged them; or that they yielded to their owne greedie desires: the multitude in *Carthage* vnderstood (as it seemes) that all this discourse of peace in hand, was no better than meere mockerie; and therefore cared not for obseruation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewise in *Alexandria*, for all the Rascallitie, together with women and boyes, to be meddling in vprores: the clamours of the boyes being in such tumults no lesse violent, than of the men. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out vnder *Asdrubal*, to gather vp the dispersed *Roman* ships of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recouered the station whereto their Campe adioyned) and

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bring them into *Carthage*: which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the losse, and for that the Towne was thereby releued; but for that by this breach of truce, he foresaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Where fore hee sent Embassiadours vnto them: both to require satisfaction for the iniurie done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gaue the *Carthaginians* to vnderstand, That Letters were come from *Rome* vnto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the peace, vpon those conditions which hee had propounded. But (said they) we hold it strange, That yet, who so lately haue cast your selues to the ground before vs, and kissed our feet, after an vnusuall manner of humilitie, confessing your selues to haue perfidiously broken the league that was betwene vs, and thereby to haue deserued such punishment as is due vnto Rebels; should so soone forget what yet then vttered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which yet acknowledged your selues worthe to be destroyed, hauing only recourse vnto our mercie. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in *HANNIBAL* that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amisse, that yet should consider, how long he hath bene pent up in a corner of *Italie*, among the *Britains*; where he is in a manner besieged, and vnable to stirre: so that yet are like to finde his helpe wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed, that he were now in *Affricke*, and readie to giue vs battaile; yet should it well agree with your wisdom, to doubt what might befall, remembering that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome, what refuge haue ye left vnto your selues against hereafter? What gods will yet cyther sweare by, to be beleued, or call vpon in your miserie? What wordes, and lamentable gesture will yet henceforth use, to moue compassion? Surely yet haue already wasted all your forces of persuasion, and shall not againe deceiue vs, if ye refuse the grace, wherof at the present ye are capable. It is no maruell though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themselves vpbraid with the base demeanour of their Embassiadours. For it was not the generall opinion of the Citie, that the Truce was broken by themselves: though it had pleased *Hanno*, or such as were of his Faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of submission; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all iustificication of matters past. And indeed it seemes, that the *Roman* Embassiadours were verie much delighted, in the rehearfall of that point which was yeelded vnto them; as knowing that thereon depended the iustice of the quarrell. But the *Carthaginians* tooke this in so ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence vnto the men, who had vsed vnto them such insolent speeches. Yet the furie of the multitude was in some sort appeased; cyther by *Hanno*, whom *Appian* (I know not why) calls *Hanno the great*; or by the verie reuerence, due vnto the place of those that had vttered such liberrall wordes. So they were dismissed in friendly sort; though it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two Gallies appointed for their safe Conuoy home; though with little intent of good vnto their persons. *Asdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men sailed from *Carthage* towards *Nica*. Hee, whether onely desirous to please the Multitude, of whose disposition he was informed; or whether directed by publike order, to cut off these Embassiadours in their way homeward: lay waiting for them behind a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the Riuer *Bagradas*. Their Conuoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wished them a good Voyage; and so tooke leaue of them, as if they had bene then in safetie; since the *Roman* Campe was euen in sight. The Embassiadours tooke this in ill part: not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselves too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leaue them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Asdrubal* fell vpon them in such manner, as they might well discern his purpose; which was, to haue stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a Quinquereme, that had more banks of Oares, than had any Gallie of *Asdrubal*; they slippt away, and made him ouer-hoor himselfe. Yet hee gaue them chase; and had well-near surpris'd them. But they discouered some

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Roman Companies on the shore ouer against them, and therefore aduentured to run their vessell aground: whereby they saued their owne liues; though a great part of their companie were slaine, or hurt. This practise of the *Carthaginians* was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartened in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might be driuen to studie nothing else, than how to get the victorie, as hauing none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same feare, which had caused them to make such earnest suit for peace, would also haue caused them to be better aduised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie: had they not bene giuen to vnderstand, that *Hannibal* was alreadie landed in *Africk*, in whom they reposed no small confidence; but verily perswaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

§. XX.

In what sort *HANNIBAL* spent the time after the battaile of *Metaurus*. The doings of *MAGO* in *Italie*. *HANNIBAL* and *MAGO* called out of *Italie*.
How the *Romans* were diuersly affected by *HANNIBAL*'S departure.

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Ver since the losse of that battaile at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remained in the Countrey of the *Brutians*; waiting for another supplie from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Consuls that succeeded vnto *Claudius* and *Linus*, by whom *Asdrubal* was ouercome and slaine, were contented to bee quiet all their yeare. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio* ought wortheie of remembrance against *Hannibal*: being hindred by the pestilence that was in his Armie. *Sempronius* the Consul who followed *Licinius*, and *Cn. Seruius Capi*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earnestly bent to haue done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitlesse. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in some, the worse: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preferue his Armie, than to keepe those places that were weak.

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The *Romans* had at this time so manie great pieces of worke in hand, that their chiefe enemy was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent vpon *Africk*, wherein they were at no small charges to maintaine the Armie, which (as was hoped) should bring the warre to a short and happie conclusion. They stood neuertheless in much feare of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who tooke exceeding paine among the *Ligurians* and *Gauls* to raise an Armie, where with to kindle anew the warre in *Italie*, that beganne to waxe colde. *Mago* solicited also the *Etrurians*; and found them so ready to stirre in his behalfe, that if he could haue entred their Countrey strong, it might haue proued no lesse needfull for *Scipio* to returne home out of *Africk*, than shortly it was for *Hannibal*, to make speed vnto the defence of *Carthage*. These dangers caused the *Romans* to employ one of their Consuls or Proconsuls, with an Armie, among the *Etrurians*; another among the *Gauls*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: forasmuch as it was vncertaine, vpon which side *Mago* would breake out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to ouercharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

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As for *Mago*; when things were in some readines for his setting forwards, he met in the Countrey of the *Insubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconsul, and *P. Quintilius Varus* one of the Prætors. With these he fought a battaile, wherein though his vertue shewed it selfe wortheie of his father and brethren; yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubt-
full

fully in such sort that the *Roman* Commanders beganne to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Pretor, taking vnto him all the *Roman* Horse, thought to haue shaken the Enemies to peeces. The Legions at the same time gaue a loud shout; and strained themselves hard as if at that brunt the victorie should haue beene carried before them. But *Mago* opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the seruice of those beasts being fitter for such vfe, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered ouer the field; their Riders being vnable to mannage them. Herby the *Numidians* got advantage vpon them: whole manner of fight was more auailable against those that were loose, than against the Troupes that were close and thick. Then fel the Elephants vpon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shoure of darts, and killed foure of them; causing all the rest to giue backe. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought vp those forces, which he had kept vnto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these *Mago* employed some of his *Gauls*, whom hee had in readinesse for the like occasion. But these *Gauls* discharged their parts very ill. They were soone beaten off; and recoiled so hastily, that they brought feare vpon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men beganne to shrinke, Hee put himselfe in the head of his Armie; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retreat, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length hee receiued a greiuous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after hee dyed. Hee was taken vp, and carried out of danger by some of his owne men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, prouided euery one for himselfe. So the *Romans* obtained victorie, not without great cost; as purchasing the death of about fise thousand enemies, with the losse of two thousand and three hundred of the Pretors Armie, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides diuers Colonells, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hotte peece of seruice. Neyther were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. Howeuer it were, this victorie would haue much imported for the assurance of *Italie*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer haue permitted these valiant sonnes of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himselfe (by easie iourneys, because of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embassadours from *Carthage* attending him: who gaue him to vnderstand the pleasure of their Citie, which was, That both hee and *Hannibal* shoud presently repaire home with all their forces; not staying any longer to thinke vpon the conquest of *Italie*, since *Carthage* it selfe was readie to bee lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and embarked shortly his Armie; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* receiued the like command from *Carthage* to returne into *Affrick*. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and growning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were readie to burst out, whilst the Embassadours were deliuering their errand. When their message was done; Hee told them, That this was yet plaine dealing. For, said He, They that now directly bid mee come home, haue long agoe done their best to hale me out of *Italie*, though more closely and crookedly they went to worke, by stepping the supply, that should haue enabled mee to mannage the Warre here. *Scit* I therefore shall not need to bragge, that hee hath draine me home by the heeles: it is *Hanno*, that hath wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the House of the *Barchines*, for lacke of other meanes to doe it, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Hee had before prepared a Fleet in readinesse, doubting that, which after came to passe: wherein hee embarked, besides his owne men, as many of the *Italians*, as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that shrinke backe from him, and refused to doe seruice in this Expedition: of whom such as hee could take

take he slew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, which had been held an inviolable Sanctuarie vnto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of *Italie* no lesse passionate, than men are wont to bee, when they leaue their owne Countries to goe into exile. Hee looked, backe vnto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and curling his owne dulnesse, in that he had not led his Armie from *Canna*, hotte and bloudied as it was, directly vnto the wals of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit Hee quitted the possession of *Italie*; wherein he had liued almost halfe his time.

- It could haue bene foretold vnto the *Romans*, in the first beginning of this war, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertaine the newes of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italie*: they would (I thinke) lesse earnestly haue pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him ouer thither. When sure aduertisement was brought vnto the Citie, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Armie: an Holiday was appointed for thanksgiuing vnto their gods; & extraordinary great sacrifices publickly made, for joy of such happie tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remaine the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal*, at his comming into *Africk*, would finde *P. Scipio* other manner of worke, than he had bene troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Countrie, than euer he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers.
- 10 The remoue of the watre from their owne dores, and the conceit of that victorie for which they hoped; was enough to make them presume further, than at other times they would haue done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embassadors brought vnto them a great masse of Golde and Silver, together with some Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spaine*: onely the *Carthaginian* prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred backe vnto the *Saguntines* that had surpris'd it. Vpon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies, that had bene borrowed in time of more necessitie from priuate men. Hence also proceeded the seuer chastisement, laid vpon those twelue Colonies, that for want eyther of meanes, or of good will, had refused to giue aid to the
- 30 *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced, to giue double the number of Foot to that which they had bene wont to set out for the warres, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the verie most of their abilitie. So confident were the *Romans* growne (though their wealth were not as yet suteable to the greatnesse of their spirit) vpon the good successe of the Bataille at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more nearly of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie, whereof *Italie* had bene few dayes since discharged, was landed safe in *Africk*: they began to reuolue a thousand fearefull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would bee found a true Prophet. For be-
40 thinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* no specialtie of such great worth, as might promise the like successe against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were eyther of those two. The *Numidian* King had bene wont to bring into the field a rascall multitude of halfe-souldiers, that were good for nothing; being himselfe a fit Captaine for such souldiers. Likewise *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate; but otherwise one, that in the field was onely good at sauing himselfe by a swift retreat. But now there came an Armie, of men hardened from their child-hood with incredible patience, slayed many hundred times in *Roman* blood,
50 and wearing the spoiles not onely of good souldiers, but of braue Captaines, by them slaine. Such talke vsed the people of *Rome*, saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battaile, with many that had slaine *Roman* Pretors, yea and Consuls, with their owne hands; with many, that had bene first in getting ouer the Trenches of feucrall *Roman* Campes, or in winning the tops of wals at the seige of Townes; breifly, that



that he should now bee opposed by an Armie, as good as had euer serued in warre, and following the dreadfull Name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

HANNIBAL in *Africke* prepares to fight with *Scipio*; treats with him about peace in vaine, loseth a battaile at *Nadagara*, and perswades the *Carthaginians* to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from *Rome* to *Carthage*.



ANNIBAL disembarked his Armie at *Leptis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercurie*, and somewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horſes; which it was not easie for him to transport out of *Italie*. Therefore it behoued him to land, as he did, somewhat farre from the Enemy; that he might furnish himſelfe with this and the like needfull helpes, against the day of battaile. From *Leptis* he passed on to *Astrumetum*, and so along through the In-Land Countrie; gathering friends vnto him by the way. *Tycheus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to haue in those dayes the best Horſes of seruice, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure vnto his partie: making him vnderstand, that if the *Romans* got the victorie, it should be easie for *Masaniſſa*, by their countenance and helpe to oppress both him, and as manie other of the neighbour Princes as hindred his prospect. This Argument, and the fame of him that vied it, prevailed with *Tycheus*; who shortly after brought vnto the *Carthaginian* two thousand Horſe. *Appian* further adds, That *Mescalulus*, (the same who had made himſelfe Protector ouer *Masaniſſa* his Colens; and was Head of a Family, and aduerſe to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought vnto *Hannibal* another thousand Horſe: as likewise that *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdome, began at the same time to assaile the places that yielded obedience to *Masaniſſa*. This *Vermina*, as we finde in *Lince*, came with more than sixteene thousand men (for he lost more than so manie) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would haue made the victorie assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatnesse of his Acts: it offended them to thinke, that they had beene so base, as to make humble suit vnto the *Romans* for Peace; whilest they had such a braue Champion aliue, to maintaine their cause by warre. But when they bethought themſelues of their owne sufferings, which, for want of *Rome* magnanimitie to endure them, appeared greater than indeede they were: then cried they out earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, cyther good or bad. And to this purpose, they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since hee was General of their forces, He thought it resonable, that they should suffer him to doe as a General ought to doe; and to chooſe his owne times. Neuerthelesse, to giue them satisfaction, Hee made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the *Carthaginians*: The violence, done to his Embassadors: and the newes of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*; made *Scipio* vnderstand the resolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yeeld vnto any conditions vnprofitable for themſelues, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore hee sent vnto *Masaniſſa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying

praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other business apart. Ten Roman Companies, of Horse and Foot together, *Masinissa* had with him; that were lent vnto him by *Scipio*, to doe him seruice in the establishing and enlarging of his Kingdome. But he well vnderstood, that those and many more besides all his owne forces would little auail him; if *Hannibal* should driue the *Romans* out of *Africke*. Wherefore taking such order as he could vpon the sudden, for the safetie of his owne Kingdome; with foure thousand Horse, and sixethousand Foot, hee made all haile vnto *Scipio*.

- 10 Soone after the beginning of these new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embassadors that had been at *Rome*, returned backe vnder the conduct of *Lalius* and *Fulsius*; who brought them safe into the *Roman* Campe. There when they arrived, and vnderstood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaved themselves towards the *Roman* Embassadors: they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion.

M. Babius one of the late Embassadors that had been in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Campe, laid hands vpon them, and detained them; sending word vnto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Countrie, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might bee repaid in their owne Coyne, for the injury by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to

- 20 heare of this; and commanded *Babius* to vse them with all possible courtesie, and send them safe home. By thus doing He braket the hearts of his Enemies; and caused them to acknowledge themselves, (which was a great victorie) farre lesse honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithstanding, He made more cruell warre vpon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to sacke, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they tooke a Towne by assault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatsoeuer they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible; and the better to worke such impression in the mindes of those, with whom they had to doe, they vsed oftentimes to kill the verie Dogges and other Beasts, that ranne
30 athwart them in the streets; hewing their bodies asunder, as men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their practise at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no peece of cruelty; when they meant to giue proofe of their vehement indignation, and reuengefull mindes, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were so earnest in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

Excerpt. 2 De
Ib. lib. 10.

Hannibal being encamped at *Zama*, sent forth his Scouts and Spies, to discover where the *Romans* lay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought vnto *Scipio*: who in stead of trussing them vp, gaue them free leaue to view his Campe at pleasure; appointing one to conduct them vp and downe, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This

- 40 done, He gaue them libertie to depart; and sent them away safe vnto their Generall. *Hannibal* vnderstanding this, admired the brauerie and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the sudden he grew desirous to haue an Enter-view, and personall conference; and signified so much vnto him, by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well; and returned answer, that hee would meet him shortly in place conuenient. The next day *Masinissa* came with his Armie: whom *Scipio* taking with him removed vnto a Towne called *Nadagara*; neare vnto which hee sat downe, in a place otherwise commodious, and close by a water that might opportunely serue his Campe. Thence he sent word vnto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did sitly serue, if He had ought to say to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed
50 from *Zama*, and came within foure miles of the Enemy: where hee encamped well to his owne good liking in all things else; excepting that his men were driuen to take much paines, in fetching their water somewhat farr off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a troupe of Horse,

Horse, rode forth of their Campes, till they came vnto a peece of ground; which was before well searched, for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off: and themselves, with each of them one Interpreter, encountered each other in the mid-way between their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then beganne the Carthaginian, saluting the Roman, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had bene better both for Carthage and for Rome, if they could haue limited and contained their ambition within the shores of *Africk* and of *Italie*; for that the Countries of *Sicill* and of *Spaine*, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so manie Fleets as had bene lost, and of so much blood as had bene shed, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not be recalled: He said, That it was meet for them to consider, vnto what extreme dangers their owne Cities had bene exposed, by the greedie desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was euen time for them now at length, to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition He affirmed that his owne yeares, and long triall of Fortune both good and euill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience might rather fixe his mind vpon vncertaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutabilitie, whereto all humane affaires are subiect. Yet (said He) mine owne example may peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same *HANNIBAL*, who after my victorie at Cannae wonne the greatest part of *Italie*: and desired with my selfe, what I should doe with your Citie of Rome, which I hoped verily to haue taken. Once I brought mine Armie to your walles, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, see the change! I stand here entreating thee to grant vs peace. This may serue as a document of Fortunes insabilitie. I fought with thy Father, *Scipio*: He was the first of the Roman Generals, that euer met mee in the field. I did then little thinke; that the time would come, that I should haue such businesse, as now at the present, with his sonne. But this is euen one of Fortunes Pageants, wherof shee hath many. And thou maist haue experience of the like in thy selfe, who knowes how soone! Thinke vpon *M. Atilius* If hee would haue hearkened vnto such persuasions, as I now vse to thee; he might haue returned home to Rome, an happie man. And so maist thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will giue thee satisfaction. How saist thou? Canst thou be contented, that all *Spaine*, *Sicill*, *Sardinia*, and whatseuer Islands else are situate betweene *Italie* and *Africk*, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for euer; and left vnto the Romans, to beare Dominion therein? Thou shalt haue glorie enough by effecting thus much: and the Romans may well be glad of such a bargain. As for vs: our owne quiet shall henceforth giue vs contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make vs fastidiously obserue the Peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazard thou must vndergoe, for the obtaining of a verie little more, than that which thou maist haue without contention. It is now in thine owne power, to lay hold vpon good Fortune, if it please thee: stay till to morrow night; and thou must take such fortune, as it shall please the gods. The issue of battaile is vncertaine; and many times beguileth expectation. Men and Steele we shall each of vs bring into the field: but of the victorie, neither of vs hath assurance. Let vs therefore without more a doe, make peace. And doe not tel me, that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: It is *HANNIBAL* that now desire peace with thee, which I would neuer doe, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrie. And thinking it expedient, I will alwayes maintaine it: like as I haue maintained vnto my power, as long as the gods did not enuie mee, the Warre by mee begunne. Hereunto *Scipio* made answere, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in *Sicill* and in *Spaine*, which had moued the Romans to enter into this or the former Warre: but that the defence of the *Amernines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the final issue of the Warres had approued, and would approue to be most iust. As for the mutabilitie of Fortune: he said, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without

out any note of infolence, or over-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. For was it not plaine, that all these Countreies, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed, were already wonne from them by the Romans? If I said Hee, these Conditions had bene propounded whilest as yet wee detained some part of Italie, they might peradventure not have bene refused. But as the case now stands, I see no reason, why I should remit unto you any one peece of those my former demands; to which the Carthaginians have yielded already, and thought mee to deale graciously in being so moderate. Rather I say, that the injuries which they have done me since, have made them unworthie of obtaining peace upon so friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee, HANNIBAL, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens understand, from how much of their burden they are by thy means eased. Onely thou must thinke, that in like sort it concernes me in honour, not to let them bee gainers or saviors by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore unto us ransom-free all prisoners that they have of ours; to pay us five thousand Talents; to deliver up their Gallies; and to deliver hostages for assurance of safe dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this, by their breach of Truce, their spoiling of our Fleet; and their violating our Embassadours? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly done: then will I take aduice with my Council what answer to give you; otherwise, you may enen prepare for warre, and blame your owne felues, for that I have denied you peace.

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiours prepare for a battaille, wherein should be decided the quartell betweene Rome and Carthage. The next morning at brake of day they issued into the field: a notable Match, and such as hath very seldom beene found; whether we regard the Generals; their Armies; the two Cities that contended; or the great importance of the battaille at hand. Scipio ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the *Hastati*, diuided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance betweene them: Not farre behind these followed the *Prinicipes*, likewise diuided; and so after them the *Triarii*. But herein Scipio altered a little the ordinarie cullome of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his *Prinicipes* opposite vnto the void spaces betwene the *Hastati*, that so the *Hastati*, as was vsuall, might fall backe betwene the *Prinicipes*; but hee placed them directly one behind another, as it were in File. This Hee did because of the Elephants; whereof Hannibal had many. For of those beastes the danger was lesse, whilest there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee tooke such order; that when they had passed through the spaces betwene the first Battalions, they should not come vpon the *Prinicipes* in Front. Vnto his *Velites* or those of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight, Hee gave direction, that when they found themselves over-charged, eyther by the Enemies, or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should runne backe through those lanes that were betwene the Maniples: and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, vntill they were got behind all their owne Armie; thereby leaving roome enough vnto those that were wounded, or cast behinde, to saue themselves on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third Battalies, without cloying vp the way betwene the Maniples, which he desired to keepe open. His Italian Horse he placed in the left wing vnder C. Lelius. In the right wing was Masinissa with his *Nimidiens*. He himselfe riding vp and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; vsing words not many, but verie forcible. He bade them remember what they had achieved, since their coming into Affricke. He told them, That if this day were theirs, the warre was at an end: and that their victorie in this warre, should make them Lords of all the World; for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would fly. They were farre from home, yea and farre from their owne standing Campe: neyther was there any place in

Cecce

Affricke

Africk, that would giue them shelter; if they fell into the *Carthaginians* bands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but Death or Victory: vnclesse they would liue like wretched slaves vnder most merclesse Enemies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution answerable therunto, haue neuer bene knowne to faile of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourescore, in Front of his Battaille. Next behinde these, he made his Vantguard all of Mercinaries, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Baleares*, and *Moors*. Then followed his Battaille: which was of *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, more interested in the quarrell than were those Mercinaries; though not so good souldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thousand *Macedonians*, lately sent from King *Philip*. More than the space of a furlong behinde these came his Rereward, consisting of those braue Souldiers which had serued him in his *Italian* warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to *Laluis*, in his own right wing he bestowed the *Carthaginian* Horse. *Tycheus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing against *Masaniissa*. He was indeede farre too weak for the Enemy in Horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For *Tycheus* and *Mezelullus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the foure thousand of *Masaniissa*. The *Carthaginians* also were no more, nor none other than such as could be leued in the haile of a few daies; and the remainder of those, that had of late bene often vanquished, and accustommed to flie. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serue on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could haue done, was to stay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had *Verrina* the sonne of *Sipthax* come thither, as he did in few daies after, with sixteene thousand and vpwards, the most of them Horse: the aduantage of number might haue serued wel to supplie all other defect. Yet since the Lords of *Carthage* would brooke no delay: *Hannibal* must be faine to comfort himselfe, with the hope that he reposed in his old *Italian* Souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their severall conditions: promising vnto the Mercinaries bountifull rewards: threatening the *Carthaginians* with ineuitable seruitude, if they lost that day; but especially animating his old fellow-souldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke vpon the Enemies; and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Armie which they had slaughtered at *Canna*. He willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, even the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. He told them, that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very worst of the *Roman* Souldiers; euen such, as for their dastardly flight out of sundrie battailes, could no longer be trusted to beare Armes in their owne Countreie. As for the rest: they were yong men, the sonnes of Cowards, and bred vp in the continuall feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slaine or chased. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, vpon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day strue to make good their honour; and to purchase the same of men inuincible.

Such exhortations vsed the two Generalls before the fight. When they drew neare together: the *Numidian* Horsemen on both sides beganne to skirmish. The Trumpets and other instruments of warre, founded to battaille: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to breake vpon the *Romans*. Of these Elephants (as they were alwayes an vncertaine kinde of helpe) those that roode neare vnto the point of the left wing, turned backe for feare: and ranne vpon their owne *Numidian* Horse; which they affrighted and disordered. *Masaniissa* espying this, gaue charge vpon the same *Numidians*; and not suffering them to re-allie themselves, draue them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoile of the *Roman* *Pelices*, whom they

they followed into the spaces between the Maniples: but without any harme to the Battalions themselves; which gaue them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well provided. Diuers of them receiuing many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed: but ranne backe vpon the right point of their owne battaile, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they disordered the *Carthaginian* Horse which were in that wing: against whom they gaue to *Lelius* the same aduantage, that *Masinissa* had against the *Nymidians*; which he vsed in like sort. In the meane while, the Battels of foote aduanced, and drew neere together with a slow and stately pace, till they were almost within a weapons call: at what time they gaue a shout, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacitie, and in quicknesse, to haue the better of the *Romans*; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they tooke. But the Roman discipline after a while, preuailed against the boisterous violence of these vntained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell of the *Principes*, following somewhat neere after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellowes; and shewed themselves ready, if neede were, to relieue them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries receiued no manner of helpe or comfort, from those that should haue seconded them. For the new-leued *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they saw their hired souldiours giue backe, did also themselves retire. This caused the *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, and the rest, to thinke themselves betrayed: whereupon they inclined vnto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battaile was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to giue way vnto the Mercenaries for their safe retreat; and yet withall forbore to make head against the enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chased by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their armes with an heedlesse furie against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten downe and slaine, through their owne indiscretion, by their owne Mercenaries. The Roman *Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their hands so full of worke; that the *Principes* were faine to come vp vnto them, and helpe to ouer-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the eares among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor easily flie. Such of them as escaped, ran towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foote, to helpe or saue these Runne aways. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his owne side, that would haue rushed vpon him: whom he thereby compelled to turne aside beyond his Battaile, and saue themselves in the open field. The ground, ouer which the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meete with *Hannibal*, was couered with such thicke heapes of dead bodies and weapons, and so slippery with bloud: that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should be dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if hee should fight with that warlike Armie, which he saw before him, remaying yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might be well assured to receiue a notable ouerthrow. He caused therefore the *Hastati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite vnto the maine battaile of the *Hanniballians*. Then drawing vp his *Principes* and *Triarij*: He placed them, when they had ouercome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Hastati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he aduanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertayned him after another manner, than euer he had beene receiued in his life before. All the daies worke till now, seemed to haue beene onely a matter of pastime; in regard of the sharpe Conflict, that was maintained betwene these notable souldiours. The *Romans* were encouraged, by their hauing preuailed all the day before: They were also farr the more in number. But these old souldiours of *Hannibal* were fresh; and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gaue backe one foote; but rather chose to die vpon the ground, whereon he stood. So that, as

Excerpt. 2 Po-
lyb. lib. 45.

after a long time, it was vncertaine which part had the worse: vntlesse it may seeme, that the *Romans* were beginning to shrinke; forasmuch as the returne of *Masinissa* and *Laelius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to haue benee *most happye* and in a needfull time. These vpon the sudden charged the *Hannibalian* in Rere; and ouer-bearing them by meere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this Battaille there dyed of the *Romans* fiftene hundred and vpwads: on the *Carthaginian* side, aboue twentie thousand, besides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captaine of the *Macedonians*, was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Liuie* reports, by *Scipio* himselfe. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse: and being enioyned, as hee was, by the state of *Carthage* to take battaille with such disadvantage, he could worke no marvels. He saued himselfe with a few Horse; and staid not in his iournie, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he sent for to *Carthage*, from which he had benee absent fixe and thirtie yeares. At his comming into the Senate He said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians*, not knowing what other course to take, resolute to send Embassadours againe; and trie the fauour of *Scipio*, whose armes they could not now resist.

Scipio hauing spoiled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to *Vtica*: where hee found *P. Lentulus* newly arriued, with fiftie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of burden. With this Fleet, and that which hee had before, Hee thought it best to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpose to terrifie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed vnto *Cn. Ossanius*; whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Laelius* away to *Rome* with newes of the victorie, He set saile from *Vtica* towards *Carthage*. Hee was encountered on the way by ten Embassadours from the Citie: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, beganne to vse the pitifull gesture of suppliants. But they receiued none other answer, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*, where He would giue them audience. So rowing along before the Citie: and viewing it more in brauerie, than with meaning to attempt it; He returned backe to *Vtica*, and called backe *Ossanius* thither, with whom in person Hee set forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their iournie thither, they heard the newes, that *Verrina* the sonne of *Syphax*, was comming with an Armie of more Horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Verrina* seemes to haue benee both carelesse of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the *Roman* Foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not onely beat him, but so compasse him in, that hee hardly escaped himselfe with a few; leauing fiftene thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelue hundred taken prisoners. If this good companie had benee with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should haue benee farre better conducted, and might well haue changed the Fortune of the day, which the *Carthaginian* lost, by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to bee doubted, that this victorie, though it were no great access vnto the former; yet serued well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater feare of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirtie Embassadours from *Carthage*: whose behauiour though it was more pitifull than it had benee before; yet procured it lesse commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Neuertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious worke it would proue, to besiege the mightie Citie of *Carthage*. And particularly *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honor of this warre, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands; and giuen to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Seruilus Capius*, that Consul who had charge of the warre against *Hannibal*, at such time as he departed out of *Italie*: was bold to passe ouer into the Ile of *Sicily* (as it were in chace of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driuen away) with a purpose thence to haue proceeded into *Africke*, and taken from *Scipio* the Command

mand of the Armie there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restrain the ambition of this Consul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suit for the same Province of *Africk*: and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet he needed would be going, procuring onely leave of the Senate, that he being Consul might ioyne with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equall authoritie. But ere Hee could haue his Fleet and all things in a readinesse for the iourne, wherein no man cared to further him: Winter came on, and he was only tost at Sea with foule weather, first vpon the Coast of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Consulship expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyfull newes to *Rome*, of the victorie obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the warre was now euen at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so passionate, in desiring *Africk* for his Province, That he said he would suffer nothing to passe in the Senate, vntill he had first his wil. Much adoe there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at last it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the warre continued, *Scipio* should haue command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to giue the more fauourable answer vnto the *Carthaginian* Embassadors. Hee willed them to consider what they had desired: and in regard thereof to thinke themselves wel dealt withall, in that he was contented to leave vnto them their libertie and their own Lawes, without appointing any Governour ouer them, or Garrison to hold them in subiection; leauing also vnto them their possessions in *Africk*, such as they were at the beginning of this warre. As touching the rest hee was at a point, That, before hee either granted them Peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Treatie was in dependence. Hereunto if they would yeeld, then required He That immediately they should deliver vp vnto the Romans all Prisoners, Engintines, and Renegades, that they had of theirs: likewise all their Gallies, excepting tenne: and all their Elephants: That they should make no warre at all thenceforth out of *Africk*, neither yet within *Africke*, without licence of the Romans: That the Countries, Townes, goods whatsoeuer, belonging any wise vnto *MASANISSA* or to any of his Ancesters, which were in their possession, should be all by them restored vnto him: That they should finde corne for the Roman Armie, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, vntill the Peace were fully concluded: That they should payenne thousand Talents of Silver, in the terme of fiftie yeares, by two hundred Talents a yeare; and thus for obseruance of Conditions, they should giue an hundred hostages, such as *Scipio* would choose, being none of them vnder foureteene yeares of age, nor above thirtie.

With these conditions the Embassadors returned home; and reported thett vnto the Citie. They were verie vnpleasing, and therefore one *Gisco* stood vp to speake against them: and exhorted the People, who gaue good attention, that they should not condescend vnto such intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withall what fauourable audience was giuen to this vnaine Oratour, by the vnquiet yet vnwarlike Multitude; was bold to pull him downe from his standing, by plaine force. Hereat all the people murmured; as if their common libertie were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captaine. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, role vp and spake vnto them: saying, That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the Citie would allow, forasmuch as he had been thence absent euer since he was a Boy of nine yeares old, vntill he was now a man of fiftie and fortie. Hauiug thus excused himselfe of the disorder, He discoursed vnto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themselves; had the demands of the Enemie beene yet more rigorous. Finally vpon good aduice, they resolved to yeeld vnto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they payed out of hand fiftie and twentie thousand pound weight of Silver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them

done to his Fleet and Embassadours. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths; in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall hee gave injunction, that they should neyther in the meane while send Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dismisle any Embassadours to them self; without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries wherinto *Carthage* was fallen through their malicious Counsailes. *Asdrubal*, surnamed the *Kid*, a venerable man, and great friend of *Hanno*, was chiefe of the Embassages which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in companie of *Scipio* his Embassadours; who related vnto the Senate and People these joyfull newes. About the same time arrived at *Rome* Embassadours from *Philip* King of *Macedon*; who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were faine to wait a while for audience, till the election of new Consuls then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Provinces of them, and the new Pretors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadours called into the Senate: who first answering vnto some points, wherein the *Romans* had lately signified vnto their King that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame vpon those *Greekes* themselves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *M. Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embassadours, that had lately bene sent from *Rome* vnto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellowes; and there leuying men, made warre vpon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betwene him and the *Romans*. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countymen, that had lately serued *Hannibal* for Pay, and being taken Prisoners in *Africa* were kept in bonds by *Scipio*; might bee released, and deliuered vnto them. Vnto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharpe answer. He said, that the *Greekes* which were confederate with *Rome*, endured so many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was faine to stay behinde, to helpe them as hee might; which else were like to be brought vnder the Kings subiection. As for *Sopater*: He affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counsaile, and verie inward with him; one that serued not for monie, but carried monie with him, and foure thousand men, sent from the King to the aide of *Hannibal*. About these points when the *Macedonian* Embassadours could make vnto the Senate no good answer: they were willed to returne, and tell their Master, That warre hee fought, and warre hee should finde, if hee proceeded as he had begunne. For in two maine points He had broken the League, that was betwene him and the *Romans*: first, in that hee had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that hee had aided their Enemies against them with men and monie.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece* and the Eastern Countries, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embassadours in their sollicitation of Peace. They appeared a verie reuerend companie, when they entred into the Senate: and *Asdrubal* about the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the *Romans* from necessity of sending Embassadours to *Carthage*, vpon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the iustice of the quarrell had bene wholly on the *Romans* side; saying that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could hee not altogether excuse the Citie; that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsaile. But if *Hanno* and himselfe might haue had their wils: the *Carthaginians*, even at the best of their Fortune, should haue granted the peace which they now desired. Here withall hee commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwaies they had bene victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all of them entreating to haue the Pence ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diuersitie of their stile. They had patience enough

enough to endure such reproofe of Perjury, as they themselves might haue laid vpon the *Romans*; if their diligence and fortune had beene such as the *Romans* was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would sweare to keep the peace hereafter: *Asdrubal* made answer; *Euen by the same gods, that are so seuerie vnto those that violate their Leagues.*

- Lentulus* the Consul interpoling the authoritie of his Office, would haue hindred the Senate from proceeding vnto conclusion of peace; for that hereby *Hee* was like to loose the honour, which he purposed to get by making warre in *Africke*. But the matter was propounded vnto the people, in whom rested the Soueraigne Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly vnto pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio* with tenne Delegates sent vnto him from *Rome* of purpose, should make a League with the *Carthaginians*, vpon such Conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which hee had alreadye propounded. For this fauour, the *Carthaginian* Embassadors humbly thanked the Senate; and craued licence, that they might visite their Countreimen, which were prisoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ransom: and carrie home with them some, that were their especiall friends; of whom they gaue in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordeined, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadors would chooe, should
 20 be sent ouer into *Africke*, and be freely restored to libertie by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leave, and returned home, in companie of the tenne Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to ioyne with *Scipio* in Commission.

- At their comming into *Africke*, the Peace was giuen, and accepted, without anye controuersie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitiues, and Renegados, were deliuered vnto *Scipio*: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* tooke more vengeance vpon the Renegados, than vpon the Fugitiues; and vpon those of the *Romans*, than vpon the *Latines* or other *Italians*. The *Latines* hee beheaded: the *Romans* hee crucified. About the first payment of their monie, the *Carthaginians* were
 30 somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasurie could haue spared two hundred Talents for the present: yet since the pension was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeares; it was thought meet to lay the burden vpon the Citizens. At the collecting of the summe there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them: so as many, euen of the Senatours, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise *Hannibal* could not reframe from laughter. For which when he was checked by *Asdrubal* *Nadus* and tolde, That it worst of all becomed him to laugh, since he had beene the cause why all others did weep; *Hee* answered, That laughter did not alwaies proceed from ioy, but sometime from extremitie of indignation. Yet said *Hee*, My laughter is more reasonable, and lesse absurd, than your teares. For
 40 yee should haue wept, when yee gave vp your Shippes and Elephants, and when yee bound your owne hands from the use of Armes; without the good leaue of the *Romans* first obtained. This miserable condition keeps vs vnder, and holds vs in assured seruitude. But of these matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little monie is wrung out of your private purses, ye haue thereof some sense. God graunt that the time come not hereafter, wherein yee shall acknowledge, That it was the very lesst part of your miserie, for which ye haue shed these teares. Thus discouered *Hannibal* vnto those, whattailing the bitter fruits of their owne malicious counsaile, repented when it was too late; and in stead of cursing their owne disorders, which had bred this grievous disease, accused that Phylition, whose noble endeauours had beene employed in procuring the remedie.
- 50 *Scipio* being to take leave of *Africke*, produced *Masaniissa*, and magnified him in presence of the Armie, with high commendations not vnderstoodly. To him also hee consigned ouer those Townes of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that present held: wherein, to say truth, hee gaue him but his due; and that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the loue of the *Romans*, and friendship of
Scipio,

Scipio, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the desertings of this Numidian King. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarked themselves for *Sicily*: where when they arrived at *Lilybaeum*, *Scipio* with some part of his Armie tooke his way home to *Rome* by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His iourney through *Italy* was no lesse glorious than any *Triumph*: all the people thronging out of the Townes and Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. He entered the city in *Triumph*: neither was there euer before, or after, any *Triumph* celebrated with so great ioy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in bravery of the pompe, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the Citie in this *Triumph*; and died soone after in prison: or whether he were dead awhile before; it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be auowed, That it was a barbarous custome of the *Romans*, to insult ouer the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in *Triumph*; yea though they were such, as had alwaies made faire and courteous war. But herof wee shall haue better example, ere the same Age passe. It was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the *Triumph* of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous warre past, whereof the *Romans* had bene in a manner without hope, that euer they should see *Italy* free. This made them looke cheerfully vpon the Author of so great a conuersion; and filled them with more ioy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gaue to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: suling him by the name of that Prouince which he had subdued. This honourable kind of surname, taken from a conquered Prouince, grew afterwards more common, and was vsurped by men of lesse desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated vnto themselves the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could haue made them like in vertue vnto *Scipio the African*.

Excerpt. à Polyb.
li. 16.

CHAP. IIII.

Of PHILIP the father of PERSEVS, King of Macedonia; His first Acts and war with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

§. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of war there. The beginning of many Princes, with great warres, at one time. The *Ætoli*ans ouerrun Peloponnesus. PHILIP and his Associates make war against the *Ætoli*ans. Alteration of the State in *Sparta*. The *Ætoli*ans invade Greece and Macedonia, and are invaded at home by PHILIP.



Plot. in vita
Persej.

The great similitude found in worldly euents, the limitation of matter hath bene assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined vnto a subject that is not vnbounde; the workes of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seeme to haue their whole dependencie vpon the wil of man, we are lesse to wonder, if we find lesse variety: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious vnto human power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wils of sundry men are o-

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ner-ruled, in manning the affaires of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the kingdom of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand foot and three score thousand horse; but sayling in their intended conquest, they became subject within a while themselves vnto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell vpon the *Greekes* with such numbers of men, as might haue seemed resistlesse. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home, their Empire was neuer secure of the *Greekes*: who at all times of leasure from intestine war deuised vpon that conquest thereof, which finally they made vnder the great Alexander. If *Nabuchodonosor* with his rough old souldiours, had vnder taken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his well trayned Armie, had made the attempt vpon *Greece*; the issue might, in humane reason, haue bene farre different. Yet would it then haue bene expedient for them, to employ the trauell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatnesse of their names, against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though lesse renowned, than their owne. For the menacing words vsed by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greekes* (in which kind it may bee, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Persians*) were not so attainable to victory, as to draw on reuenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old *Lyons*, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kicked by the Asse. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misse-vnderstanding the language of Fame: and despising the vertue that makes little noise, adventure to prouoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be foyled by any of lesse-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Euilmerodach*, had stumbled; *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* hath dasht his foot. Hee was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though most of make, and a better souldiour than any other *Greekish* King, when he entred into war against the *Romans*. This war he vnder tooke as it were for his mindes sake: hauing receiued no iniurie; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greekes* that serued vnder him, to preuaile so easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should onely serue as a step to his further intended conquests, of *Sicill* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans*, by their victory against *Pyrrhus*, had found their owne vertue to be of richer mettall, than was the more shining valour of the *Greekes*: then did all the bravery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants and whatsoever else had serued to make him terrible) serue onely to make the *Romans*, in time following, to thinke more highly of themselves. * For since they had ouercome the best Warriour in *Greece*, euen Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himselfe Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those vnwarlike Prouinces, which in compass of twelue yeeres a Macedonian King of late memory had won?

40 Certainly there was herunto requisite no more, than to bring to their owne deuotion, by some good meanes, the whole Countrey of *Greece*: all the rest, this done, would follow of it selfe. How to deale with the *Greekes*; *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the first Punick war was ended, which followed soone after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leisure to hearken after newes in *Greece*; and to entertaine any good occasion, that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skillful Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Illyrian* Queene *Tentis* made at the same time cruell war vpon the *Greekes*: waisting their Countrey, and sackeing their Townes, onely because they were vnable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the *Romans* were desirous to enter; the Queene was not slow to giue them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war which they made with

* The King of Spaines present 1583
the Spaniards gathered together; we neuer made account of any of his preparations after that time.

e lib. 5. c. 2. §. 7.

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After, was, in their owne opinion, a matter not vnworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greekes*. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embassadours, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the loue of *Greece* they had vndertaken this Illyrian war. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greekes* and *Romans*: which afterwards increased very hastily, through the indiscretion of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose busines with them being now the subject of our story, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions.

It was like to prove a busie time in the world, when, within the space of foure yeares, new Kings began to reigne in the most of all Countries knowne; and three of them yong boyes, in three of the greatest kingdomes. This happened from the third yeare of the hundred thirtieth ninth Olympiad, vnto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose roome succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called the great. *Ptolemie Philopator* succeeded in the Kingdome of *Egypt* vnto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, being sixteene or seuentene yeeres old, received the Kingdome of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Acheans* and most of the *Greekes*; by the decease of his Vncle *Antigonus Dofon*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedamon*, and the Countries about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then began his reigne in *Cappadocia*. *Egeurgus* found means to make himself King ouer the *Lacedemonians*, whose Common-weale, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headlesse; and *Achaus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebel vnto him, occupied the Regions neare vnto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the state of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third yeeres of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open warre brake out betwene *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Inuasion vpon *Italie*. Those troubles of the Westerne world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed vnto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemie*, and the rest, we shal speake hereafter, when the *Romans* finde them out.

Philip, soone after the beginning of his reigne, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Acheans*, and many others his dependants. That Country, hauing freed it selfe by the helpe of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an euill subiection vnto *Cleomenes*: was now become no lesse obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should haue beene to the *Spartans*; and therewithall lay open vnto the violence of the *Ætolians*, who despised euen the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. These *Ætolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted to any other Art, than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell vpon the *Messenians*; that were their owne Clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the onely good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their inuasion was no lesse v unexpected, then it was vniust: whereby with greater ease they made spoile of the Country; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Acheans* were called by the *Messenians* to helpe: which they did the more willingly; because the *Ætolians*, passing without leaue through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harme they listed. Old *Aratus* could ill abide these *Ætolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the iniuries, wherewith most vngreatfully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the *Acheans*. He was therefore so hasty to fall vpon this their Armie, that he could hardly endure to stay a few daies vntill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Pretor of the *Acheans* for the yeare following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himselfe a man fitter (as hath bene already noted of him) for any other seruice, than leading of an Armie. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their bootie, through a great part of the Countrie, wherein he might easily haue distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so neare, when they had recovered ground off aduantage, that they easily defeated all his Armie.

So

Lit. 9. c. 2.
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So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the *Achaens*; they got hereby onely the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacie. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* invaded *Peloponnesus* againe; having no more to doe, than to passe over the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulfe of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Country of the *Eleans*. There ioynd with them in this their second Inuasion a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that condition imposed vpon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no ships of war vnto the Coast of Greece; made bold to seeke adventures againe, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of

- 10 the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his kingdome, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell vpon the Ilands of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* Sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip* or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* vnder *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdiletus*, hauing gotten what they could else where by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater hauocke in the Countrey now, than in their former Expedition; and returned home, without finding any resistance.

chap. 3. §. 1.

- Of these things great complaint was made vnto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were delirious to satisfie themselves with some speedy reuenge: there were that vrged to haue some grieuous punishment laid vpon the *Lacedæmonians*: who were thought vnder-hand to haue fauoured the *Ætolians*, in meer despite of the *Achaens* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately bene subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedæmonians* had bene so affected: and (which was worse) at the arruall of *Philip*, they lue such friends of his, as hauing checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they wel commit themselves to iudgement: but entreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Armie: since their towne was lately much disquieted with ciuill discord, which they hoped soone to appease, and meant alwaies to remaine at his deuotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly gouerned him) did misse vnderstand the *Lacedæmonians*: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Achaens*, *Boeotians*, *Phocians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining vpon the *Ætolians*: and desiring to haue war decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters vnto the *Ætolians*: requiring them to make ready their answer in some conuenient time: if they could alleadge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should beholden at *Rhium* for that purpose: whether if it pleased him to come or send, hee should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to haue bene there at the day.
- 40 But when the *Ætolians* vnderstood this for certainty, they adiourned the Councell vnto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, saue in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This tricke of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had deserued it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Pretor, that was Author of these inuasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the onely man, in a sort, vpon whom they must haue laied the blame of these actions, if they would haue shuffed it from the publick

- After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*; where he prepared busily for the warre against the yeere following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with faire words and promises: whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, so much as the *Ætolians* had coufused him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Achaens*, who had first of all others proclaimed the war in their owne Country, sent vnto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves & to denounce war vnto the *Ætolians*; without staying (as it were) to a wait the event. Hereunto they receiued

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diuerſe anſwers, according to the qualities of thoſe with whom they dealt. The *Aetarnians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a ſmall Nation, and bordering vpon the *Aetolians*, of whom they ſtood in continual danger; ſaid, that they could not honeſtly reſuſe to ſhew their faithfull meaning in that war, which was concluded by generall aſſent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were neuertheleſſe more cunning and reſerued: ſo that they ſtood vpon a needleſſe point; and deſired to be held excuſed, vntill *Philip* (of whole meaning they needed not to haue made any doubt) ſhould firſt proclaim the war. The *Meſſenians*, for whole cauſe the warre was vnder taken, excuſed themſelues, by reaſon of a Towne which the *Aetolians* held vpon their borders; and ſaid, that they durſt not be over-bold, vntill that bridle were taken out of their mouthes. As for the *Lacedaemonians*; the chiefe of them ſtudied onely how to mannaage that treaſon, for which their City had bene ſo lately pardoned: and therefore diſmiſſed the Embaſſadours of the Confederates, without any anſwer at all. They had three yeares together continued ſubiect againſt their wiſe to the *Macedonians*, expecting ſtill when *Cleomenes* ſhould returne out of *Aegypt* to raigne ouer them againe; and maintaine, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they choſe not any Kings; but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of theſe there were ſome, that thought the publicke ſafety to conſiſt, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preferred them: And hereto they referred all their counſailes; being perhaps not a little moued with reſpect of the benefit, which might redound vnto themſelues, by adhering firmly to thoſe which at the preſent bore rule ouer them. Others, and thoſe the greater part, were ſtill deuſing, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* againſt his returne; and therefore ſought to ioine with the *Aetolians*, which were the moſt likely to giue him ſtrong aſſiſtance. The *Macedonians* faction had the more authority, and durſt more freely ſpeake their mindes: but the contrary ſide was the more paſſionate; and ſpared not by murders, or any other violent courſes, to ſet forward their deſire. Neither did it ſuffice, that about theſe times there came certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*; which theſe intended: fancying vnto themſelues the glory of their Anceſſors in ſuch Ages paſt, as were not like to come againe. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the moſt able man to reſtore them vnto their greatneſſe and luſtre; which once he had in a manner performed: But ſince he was dead, and that, without iniury to his well-deſeruing vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would haue, and thoſe of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without ſuch helpes, they muſt continue little better than ſubiects vnto the *Macedonian*, and far leſſe by him reſpected, than were the *Achaens*. Thus were they tranſported, by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the moſt working ſpirits among them, procured the *Aetolians* to ſend an Embaſſie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly vnto the people; whereof one of the Citizens durſt haue made himſelfe the Author. Much diſputation and hot there was, betwene thoſe of the *Macedonian* partie and theſe their oppoſites; in ſuch wiſe that nothing could be concluded; vntill by maſſacre or baniſhment of all, or the chiefe, that ſpake againſt the *Aetolians*, the diuerſitie of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betwene the *Lacedaemonians* and *Aetolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achaens*; who had ſpared the Citie, when they might haue deſtroied it. Then alſo they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was ſo nice, and ſo regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the chooſing of the one King; that we may iuſtly wonder, how they grew ſo careleſſe in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royall families they found *Agelſipolis* the ſonne of *Agelſipolis* the ſon of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reigne ouer them, as heire apparent to his Grandfather. This *Agelſipolis* was a yong boy, ſtanding in neede of a Guardian; and had an Vncle, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet becauſe the Law required, that the ſonne, how yong ſoeuer, ſhould haue his fathers

thers whole right and title: the *Lacedemonians*, though standing in neede of a man, were so punctuall in obseruation of the Law; that they made this childe their King, and appointed his Vncle *Cleomenes* to bee his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royall family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claime; but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who hauing no manner of title to the kingdom, bestowed vpon each of the *Ephori* a Talent, and thereby made himselfe be saluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus*, to gratifie his Partisans, and to sproue his worth by Action, invaded the Countrey of the *Argiues*: which lay open and vngarded, as in atime of peace. There hee did great spoile, and wanne diuers Townes; wherof two hee retained, and annexed vnto the State of *Lacedemon*. After such open hostilitie, the *Lacedemonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed warre against the *Acheans*.

- Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwise, than the *Acheans* and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not readie; the *Epirots* gaue vncertaine answer: the *Messenians* would not stirre: all the burden must lie vpon themselves and the poore *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by fauour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to doe; and by helpe of the *Lacedemonians*, could assaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, passing ouer the Bay of *Corinth*, surpris'd the Towne of *Ægira*: which if they could haue held, they should thereby grievously haue molested the *Acheans*; for that it stood in the mid-way betwene *Ægium* and *Sicyon* two of their principall Cities, and gaue open way into the heart of all their Countrey. But as *Ægira* was taken by surpris: so was it presently lost againe, through greedinesse of spoile, whilst they that should haue made it their first care to assure the place vnto themselves, by occupying the Cittadell and other peeces of strength, fell heedlessly to ransack private houses, and thereby gaue the Citizens leaue to make head, by whom they were driuen with great slaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Armie landing among the *Eleans*, fell vpon the Westerne Coast of *Achaia*; waiting all the Territories of the *Dymeans* and other people, that were silt beginners of the *Achaean* Confederacie. The *Dymeans* and their neighbours made head against these Inuaders; but were so wel beaten that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for helpe vnto their Pretor, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the *Acheans* hauing lately beene much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to doe little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his war, they had couctously with-held part of their due from those that seru'd them therein. So through this disability of the *Acheans*, and insufficiency of their Pretor, the *Dymeans*, with others, were driuen to with hold their contribution heretofore made for the publike service, and to conuert the monie to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedemonians*, began to winne vpon the *Aradians*; that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Acheans*.

- Philip* came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Armie was thus employed a farre off in *Loponnesus*. The *Epirots* ioyned all their forces with him: and by such their willing readines, drew him to the seige of a Frontier peece, which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commoditie thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves Masters of *Ambracia*. There he spent fortie dayes, ere he could end the busines, which tended onely to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the hart of *Ætolia* at his first coming; it was thought that he might haue made an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon small Townes or Forts: and not seldome, that the importunitie of Associates, to haue their own desires fulfilled, conuerts the preparations of great Kings to those vses for which they neuer were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their maine

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designes. Thus was our King *Henrie* the eight led aside, and quite out of his waie, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the siege of *Tournay*: at such time as the French King *Lewis* the twelfth, hearing that the strong Citie of *Terwin* was lost, and that of his Cavellerie, wherein rested his chiefe confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earle of *Essex* with seven hundred *English*; was thinking to withdraw himselfe into *Brittaine*, in feare that *Henrie* would have come to *Paris*.

The Iay that *Philip* made at *Ambraeus*, did wondrously embolden the *Aetolians*; in such sort, as their Prætor *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the Countrey; and therewith not only to ouer runne *Theffalie*, but to make impression into *Macedon*. Hee ranne as farre as to *Dium*, a Citie of *Macedon* vpon the *Aegean* Sea: which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his comming, Hee tooke, and razed to the ground. Hee spared neyther Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouerturned all: and among the rest, he threw downe the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countreine at his returne; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be growne terrible, not only (as before) vnto *Peloponnesus*, but euen to *Macedon* it selfe. But this their pride was soone abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their owne Countrey, for their paines taken at *Dium*. *Philip* hauing dispatched his worke at *Ambraeus*, made a strong inuasion vpon *Aetolia*. Hee tooke *Phœtie*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Paanium*, *Elæus*, and diuers other Townes and Castles of theirs: of which hee burnt some, and fortified others. Hee also beat the *Aetolians* in fundrie skirmishes; and wasted all the Countrey ouer, without receiuing any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut ouer the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, and to doe the like spoile in the Countrey of the *Eleens*, whereto he was vehemently sollicit by the *Achean* Embassadors: newes came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardaniens* were readie with a great Armie to fall vpon the Countrey. These *Dardaniens* were a barbarous people, diuided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northerne part of *Macedon*; and were accustomed to secke bootie in that wealthie Kingdome, when they found their owne times. Hauing therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a iourne into *Peloponnesus*: they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrey; as had bene their manner vpon the like aduantages. This made the King to dismisse the *Achean* Embassadors, (whom hee should haue accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them haue patience vntill another yeare. So Hee tooke his way home: and as he was passing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there came to him *Demetrius Pharius* with no more than one Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdome by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himselfe a friend to *Antigonus Dofon*, in the warres of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his last Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was readie, at their first request, to take part with *Philips* Captaines. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome vnto the *Macedonian* King: whose Counsaillor he was euer after. The *Dardaniens* hearing of the Kings returne, brake vp their Armie; and gaue ouer for the present their inuasion of *Macedon*, to wardes which they were already on their way.

All that Sommer following the King rested at *Larissa* in *Theffalie*, whilst his people gathered in their Haruest. But the *Aetolians* rested not. They auenged themselves vpon the *Epeiros*: whom for the harmes by them and *Philip* done in *Aetolia*, they requited with all extremities of warre, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the famous Temple of *Dedone*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of warre vntill another yeare was laid aside; *Philip* stole a iourne into *Peloponnesus*, with five thousand Foot, and about foure hundred Horse. As soone as hee was within *Corinth*; He commanded the Gates to be shut, that no word might be carried forth of his arriual. He sent priuily for old *Aratus* to come thither vnto him: with whom hee tooke order, when, and in what places, he would haue the *Achean* Souldiers readie to meet him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrey, with some.

- somewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horses; little thinking to meeete with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to feare: since the *Achaens* them selues were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; vntill they heard, that these two thousand *Eleans*, *Aetolians*, and their fellows, were by him surpris'd, and all made prisoners, or slaine. By this exploit which hee did at his first coming, *Philip* got verie much reputation: as likewise hee purchased both reputation and loue, by diuers actions immediately following. He wanne *Psophis*, an exceeding strong Towne, in the borders of *Arcadia*; which the *Eleans* and *Aetolians* then held. Hee wanne it by assault at his first coming: wherein it much auailed him, that the Enemy, not beleeuing that he would undertake such a peece of worke at such an vnreasonable time of the yeare, was carelesse of providing euen such store of weapons, as might haue serued to defend it. The Towne was preserued by the King from sack; and giuen to the *Achaens*, of his owne meere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to *Lasion*, which yeelded for verie feares; hearing how easily he had taken *Psophis*. This Towne also hee gaue to the *Achaens*. The like liberalitie he vsed towards others; that had ancient title vnto places by him recovered. Then fell he vpon the Countrie of *Elis*, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandrie, and liued abroad in Villages; euen such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So hee came to the Citie of *Olympia*: where hauing done sacrifice to *Iupiter*, feasted his Captaines, and refreshed his Armie three dayes; Hee proceeded on to the spoile of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the *Aetolians*, in the spoiles of their other-wise-defeating neighbours. Great abundance of Cattail hee tooke, with great numbers of slaues, and much wealth of all sorts; such as could bee found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes whereinto a great multitude of the Countrie-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yeelded for feare. Some prevented the labour of his iourney, by sending Embassadors to yeeld before hee came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wils, tooke courage to set themselves at libertie, by seeing the King so neare; to whose Patronage thenceforth they betooke themselves. And many places were spoiled by the *Aetolian* Captaines; because they distrustful their abilitie to hold them. So the King wanne more Townes in the Countrie, than the sharpnesse of Winter would suffer him to slay there dayes. Paine he would haue fought with the *Aetolians*: but they made such hast from him, that he could not ouertake them, vntill they had covered themselves within the Towne of *Samieum*; where they thought to haue bene safe. But *Philip* assaulted them therein so forcibly, that hee made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their liues and armes. Hauing performed so much in this Expedition, the King reposed himselfe a while in *Megalopolis*; and then remoued to *Argos*, where he spent all the rest of the Winter.
- 40 Before the Kings arriual in *Peloponnesus*, the *Lacedaemonians* with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatned to doe great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamitie that fell vpon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging ouer their owne heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home. This *Lycurgus*, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with monie: so was hee neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those jealousies, with which *Vsurpers* are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall bloud, that thinking himselfe to haue best right vnto the Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirme himselfe, by propounding vnto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equall distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Commonwealth. He wanne to his partie some two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon the *Ephori* as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Lys-*

curgus his house: who perceiuing the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should giue account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their mindes being not hereto preiudiciall; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as euen whilst he was vniuersally perswaded, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceiued whereabout they went, and shifted presently away. So hee liued afterwards among the *Achaens*: a banished man, and hated of his own people. As for *Lycurgus*, he returned home: and suspecting thenceforth all those of *Hercules* his race, found meanes to driue out his fellow-King yong *Aggeipolis*; whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected, in such sort as once he should haue bene apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might haue bene defended; yet rather than to aduenture himselfe into iudgement, he chose to flee for a time, and sojourne among his friends the *Atolians*. His well-knownne vehemencie in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured vnto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to consider the weaknesse of their owne furmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, hee tooke better heed vnto himselfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not bee in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they listed. By what actions hee got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that hee chased *Aggeipolis* out of the Citie; I doe not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three usurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to bee placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the last of the three verie iustly deserued. Whatsoeuer hee was towards some priuate Citizens: in the war against *Philip*, He behaued himselfe as a prouident man, and carefull of his Countreys good.

§. II.

How *PHILIP* was misleadisid by ill Counsaillers: Who afterwards wrought treason against him, and were iustly punished. He innuadeth the *Atolians* a second time: And forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted vnto them.



Hilest the King lay at *Argos*, deuiling vpon his businesse for the yeare following; some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently their own greatnesse, as they were like to haue spoiled all that he tooke in hand. *Antigonus Deseon* had left vnto *Philip* such Counsaillers, as to him did seeme the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chiefe of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his person, and ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable peece of seruice to his Prince; if he could reduce the *Achaens* vnto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* liued. To bring this to passe; during the late Expedition hee had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Achaens* out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the bootie that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, He was bold to chastise some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to helpe their fellowes; them hee laid by the heeles, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby hee thought to bring it to passe by little and little, that they should bee qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and thinke nothing vnjust that pleased the King. But these *Achaens* were tenderly sensible in matter of libertie; whereof if they could haue bene contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not haue troubled the *Macedonians* to helpe them

them in the warre against *Cleoments*: They bemoaned themselves vnto old *Aratus*, and besought him to thinke vpon some good order, that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King, as in a matter more weightie, than at first it might seeme. The King beflowed gracious words vpon those that had bene wronged; and forbad *Apelles* to follow the course begunne. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choller for a time. He thought so well of his owne Project; that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps vnable to doe the King any valuable seruice, in businesse of other nature. Hee purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; since, in biting at the taile, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise bee than that among the *Acheans* there were some, who bore no heartie affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out: and sending for them, entertained them with wordes of Court; promising to become their especial friend, and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselfe: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, He must be faine to deale precisely with the *Acheans*, and, as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased to giue countenance vnto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the *Acheans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, bee quickly brought to conformance themselves, vnto the dutie of obedient Subjects. By such persuasions, He drew the King to be present at *Aegium*, where the *Acheans* were to hold election of a new Pretor. There with much more labour, than would haue bene needfull in a businesse of more importance; the King, by faire words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a verie insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new Favorites, was chosen Pretor, instead of one more worthe for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Patras* and *Dyma*, to a verie strong Castle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The Garrison yielded it vp for feare, at his first comming: where of hee was glad; for that hee had an earnest desire to bestow it vpon the *Dymaans*, as hee presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he had of no messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countie the last Winter, hee had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captaine of theirs, that was his Prisoner; because hee found him an intelligent man, and one that vnderooke to make them forsake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and joyne with him vpon reasonable termes. This if they could be cōtented to do, He willed *Amphidamus* to let them vnderstand, That he would render vnto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forcin inuasion; and that they should hold their libertie entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept vnder by any Garrison. These Conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might haue done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of *Tichos*, and made a new inuasion vpon their Countie: then beganne the *Eleans*, (that were not before ouer-hastie to beleue such faire promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on worke for no other end, than to breed a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands vpon him, and send him Prisoner into *Ætolia*. But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himselfe; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was said) marrailling what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made vnto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles*, his Counsaillor, thereby tooke occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that old *Aratus*, and his sonne together, had such deuices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good; And long of them he said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out; For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati* (the father and the sonne) had taken him aside and giuen him to vnderstand, that it would

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be verie præjudiciall to all *peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the deuotion of the *Macedonians*; And this was the true cause, why neyther *Amphidamus* was verie carefull in doing this message, nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lie; deuised by *Apelles* himselfe, vpon no other ground than his owne malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard his tale, but in a great rage hee sent for the two *Arati*; and bad *Apelles* rehearse it ouer againe to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already conuicted. And when hee had said all the rest, ere eyther *Philip* or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such vngratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achaens*; and therein hauing made it knowne what yee are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leaue you to your felues. Olde *Aratus* grauely admonished the Kings; That whensoever hee heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his owne or a man of worth; He should forbear a while to giue credit, vntill he had diligently examined the businesse. For such deliberation was Kingly, and hee should neuer thereof repent him. At the present hee said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talke with *Amphidamus*; and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a verie absurd thing, That the King should make himselfe Authour of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other euidence, than one mans yea, and anothers no. Hereof the King liked well; and said that he would make sufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilest *Apelles* delaid to bring in the prooffe, which indeed he wanted; *Amphidamus* came from *Elia*, and told what had befallen him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracie of the *Arati*: which when hee found no better than a meere deuiſe against his honourable friends; Hee entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his loue to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by meanes of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The varesfull temper of *Apelles*, hauing with much vehemencie brought nothing to passe; began (as commonly Ambition vseth) to swell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. Hee betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, hee had prepared a snare for the *Arati* so sayling of them he thinks it wisdome to lay for the King himselfe, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to haue taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chimney; but was carried (net and all) into the Ayre by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtile workmanship of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next vnto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chiefe place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *peloponnesus*, and *Alexander* Captaine of the Guard, were faithfull men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captaine of the *Targueters*, and *Megaleas* chiefe of the Secretaries, were easily wonne to be at *Apelles* his disposition. This Politician therefore studied how to remove the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his owne into their roomes. Against *Alexander* He went to worke the ordinarie way, by calumnation and priue detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* hee vfed more finenesse; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of warre, and one, whom for his many vertues, the King might ill spare from being alwayes in his presence. By such art he thought to haue removed him, as wee say. *Out of Gods blessing into a warme Sonne*. In the meane season *Aratus* retired him selfe; and sought to auoid the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Pretor of *Achaia*, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the Kings; He was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deale of time was lost, whilest *Philip* wanted both the monie and the Corne, wherewith he should haue beene furnished by the *Achaens*. This made the King

understand his owne error; which he wisely sought to reforme betimes. Hee perswaded the *Achaens* to rejourne their Parliament from *Argum*, to *Sicyon* the Towne of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his sonne: perswading them to forget what was past; & laying all the blame vpon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of these worthie men, Hee easilie obtained what he would of the *Achaens*. Fiftie talents they gave him out of hand, with great store of Corne: and further decreed, That so long as he himselfe in person followed the warres in *Peloponnesus*, he should receiue ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to provide shipping, that so he might invade the *Aetolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedemonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things goe forward so well without his helpe; euen by the ministerie of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entered into conspiracie with *Leontius* and *Megalas*: binding himselfe and them by oath, to crosse and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing they thought to bring it to passe, that verie want of abilitie to doe any thing without them, should make him speake them faire; and be glad to submit himselfe to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a child: and therefore these wife men perswaded themselves, that, by looking bigge vpon him, and imputing vnto him all that fell out ill through their owne misgouernment of his affaires, they might rule him as a child still. *Apelles* would needes goe to *Chalcis*; there to take order for the provisions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two laid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie.

His fleet and Armie being in a readines: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would haue bent all his forces against the *Eleans*; to whose aid therefore the *Aetolians* sent men, little fearing that the mischief would haue fallen, as soone after it did, vpon themselves. But against the *Eleans* and those that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leaue the *Achaens*, with some part of his and their Mercinaries. Hee himselfe with the body of his Armie putting to Sea, landed in the Isle of *Cephallenia*: whence the *Aetolians*, dwelling ouer against it, vsed to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to rooue abroad. There he besieged the Towne of *Palaea*, that had bene very scrueicable to the Enemie against him and his Confedrates; and might be very vse full to him, if hee could get it. Whilst hee lay before this Towne, there came vnto him fiftene ships of war from *Sceurdalides*; and many good souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Messenians*. But the Towne was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts laue one, on which side *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he ouerthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captaine of the Targetiers, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But he, remembering his covenant with *Apelles*, did both willfully forbear to doe his best; and caused others to doe the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many slaine; not of the worst souldiers, but such as had gotten ouer the breach, and would haue carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Captaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angrie with this: but there was no remedie; and therefore he thought vpon breaking vp the siege. For it was easier vnto the Towne-men to make vp the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst he stood thus perplexed, and vncertaine what course to take: the *Messenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard vpon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their owne Countrie. The *Messenians* alledged, that *Lyergus* was busie in warring their Countrie: vpon whom the King might come vnawares in one day; the *Etesian* windes which then blew, seruing fitly for his Navigation. Hereto also *Leontius* perswaded; who considered that those windes, as they would easly carrie him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-daies) and make him spend the Sommer

Sommer to small purpose. But *Stratus* gave better counsaile, and prevailed. Hee shewed how vnfruitfull it were, to let the *Aetolians* ouer-run all *Theffaie* againe, and some part of *Macedoz*, whilst the King withdrew his Armie farre off to seeke small adventures. Rather, he said, that the time now serued well to carry the war into *Aetolia*; since the Prator was gone thence abroad on routing, with the one halfe of their strength. As for *Lycorgus*; hee was not strong enough to doe much harme in *Peloponnesus*; and it might suffice, if the *Achaens* were appointed to make head against him. According to this aduice, the King sets saile for *Aetolia*; and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which diuided the *Aetolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their borders; and ioyned with him as many of them as could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance vpon their bad neighbours. Hee marched vp into the in-land Countrie: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retrait; He passed on to *Thermum*; which was the Receptracle of the *Aetolians*, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The Country round about was a great Fastnesse, enuironed with rockie Mountains of very narrow, steepe, and difficult ascent. There did the *Aetolians* vse to hold all their chiefe meetings, their Fairst, their election of Magistrates, and their solemne games. There also they vsed to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest securitie. This opinion of the naturall strength, had made them careless in looking vnto it. When *Philip* therefore had ouercome the bad way, there was nothing else to doe than to take spoile: whereof hee found such plentie, that he thought the paines of his iourne well recompensed. So he loaded his Armie; and consuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chiefe of all belonging vnto the *Aetolians*; in remembrance of the like their courtesie, shewed vpon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour haue bene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as *Monfieur du Gourgues* the French Capitaine told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from *Thermum*, the *Aetolians* laid for him; which that they would doe, he beleued before; and therefore was not taken vnawares. Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush fell vpon his skirts: but hee had laid a Counter-ambush for them of his *Ilyrians*; who slaying behind the rest, did set vpon the backs of the *Aetolians*, whilst they were busily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with slaughter of the enemy, he returned the same way that he came: and burning downe those places that he had taken before, as also waisting the Country round about him, Hee safely carried all that hee had gotten aboard his Fleet. Once the *Aetolians* made countenance of fight, issuing out of *Stratus* in great brauerie. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their verie gates.

The ioy of this victorious Expedition being euerie way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast vnto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were inuited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleus*. They came, because they could not choos: but their beauike looks argued, what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings prosperitie. It greeued them to thinke, that they should be able to giue no better account vnto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings businesse; since *Apelles* himselfe, as will be shewed anon, had plaied his owne part with a most mischieuous dexteritie. The sorrow and indignation, which they could ill dissemble in their faces, brake out after supper, when they had warmed themselves with drinke, into open riot. Finding *Stratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to railing him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great vprore; many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed. Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleus*, and another with him, came. The King began to raze them for their disorder;

order; and they, to giue him froward answers: inſomuch as they ſaid at length, That they would neuer giue ouer, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a miſchiefe as he deſerued. Heereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targetters at his heeles: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands vpon *Megaleas*, yea and to caſt him into priſon? Why, ſaid the King, It was I. This reſolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both ſad and angrie, ſeeing himſelfe out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedie the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victorie at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no leſſe touching *Leontius*, that ſtood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accuſed. In conſequence, the preſumptions againſt him were ſo ſtrong, and his answers thereto ſo weak; that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellowes, were condemned in twentie Talents: *Crinon* being remanded backe to priſon; and *Leontius* becoming Bayle for *Megaleas*. This was done vpon the way home-ward, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip diſpatched well a great deale of buſineſſe this yeere. For as ſoone as he was at *Corinth*, he tooke in hand an Expedition againſt the *Lacedemonians*. Theſe and the *Eleans* had done what harme they could in *Peloponneſus*; whileſt the King was abſent. The *Achaens* had oppoſed them as wel as they could; with ill ſucceſſe: yea ſo, as they hindered them from doing ſuch harme as elſe they would haue done. But when *Philip* came, hee ouer-ran the Countrie about *Lacedemon*: and was in a manner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well beleue that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He tooke not in this expedition any Cities, but made great waite in the fields: and hauing beaten the enimie in ſome ſkirmiſhes, carried backe with him to *Corinth* a rich bootie of Cattell, ſlaues, and other Countrie ſpoile. At *Corinth* hee found attending him, Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* & *Chians*: that requeſted him to ſet Greece at quiet, by granting peace vnto the *Ætolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deale firſt with the *Ætolians*; who, if they would make the ſame requeſt, ſhould not finde him vnreaſonable. The *Ætolians* had ſped ill that yeere: neither ſaw they any likeliſe hopes for the yeeres following. The Armie that they had ſent forth to waite *Theſſalie* and *Macedon*, found ſuch oppoſition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane ſeaſon they had bene grievouſly afflicted, as before is ſhewed, by *Philip* in the center of their owne Countrie. All Greece and *Macedon* was vp in armes againſt them, and their weak Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedemonians*. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of theſe their *Peloponneſian* friends ſhould be able to hold out; ſince they were not ſtrong enough to keepe the field, but had alreadie ſuffered thoſe miſeries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each, to ſecke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readilie entertained this Negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirtie dayes with the King; dealt with him by interceſſion of the ſame Embaſſadors, to entreat his preſence at a Diet of their Nation, that ſhould be held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchſafe to come, they promiſed that hee ſhould finde them conformable to any good reaſon.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand; *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to haue terrified the King, by railing ſedition againſt him in the Armie. But this device ſorted to no good effect. The ſouldiours were eaſily and quickly incenſed againſt many of the Kings friends; who were ſaid to be the cauſe, why they were not rewarded with ſo much of the bootie, as they thought to belong of right vnto them. But their anger ſpent it ſelfe in a noiſe, and breaking open of doores; without further harme done. This was enough to informe the king (who eaſilie pacified his men with gentle words) that ſome about him were verie falſe. Yea the ſouldiours themſelves, repenting of their inſolence, deſired to haue the Authors of the tumult fought

sought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew as if hee had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were sore afraid, lest the matter would soone come out of it selfe to their extreme danger. Wherefore they sent vnto *Apelles*, the Head and Archetext of their treason; requesting him speedilie to repaire to *Corinth*, where he might stand betweene them and the kings displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while bene wanting to the businesse, vnderaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken vpon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand: and thereby was he growne into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Thessalie* addressed themselves vnto him; and received from him their dispatch in euery businesse. Likewise 10 the *Greekes* in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occasion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*; making slight mention (onely for fashion sake) of the king: who seemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogance of this great man, in setting himselfe out vnto the people: but in managing the kings affaires, he made it his especial care, that monie, and all things needfull for the publicke seruice, should be wanting. Yea he enforced the king, for verie neede, to sell his owne Plate and household velleils: thinking to resolute these and all other difficulties, by onely saying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by mee, and all shall be as you would wish*. Hereto if the king would giue assent; then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his iournie from *Chalcis* in the life of *Euboea*, to 20 the Citie of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: he was fetche in with great pompe and royaltie, by a great number of the Captaines and souldiours; which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meete him on the way. So entering the Citie with a goodly traine; he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings Chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride; and had vehement suspicion of his fallshood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should waite awhile, or come another time, for the king was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretie thing, that such a check as this made all his attendants for sake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him saue his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, 30 or other matters of priuacie, he vsed him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to looke vnto himselfe, and runne away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Taurian* his Lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the Targettiers, as it were to doe some peece of seruice; but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his Targettiers, to signifie what was befallen him: and they forthwith sent vnto the King in his behalfe. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to triall before their returne: as for the debt of 40 *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they said that they were readie to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the souldiours, made *Philip* more hastie than else he would haue bene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which he wrote vnto the *Aetolians*; vitiying the king with opprobrious words; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out awhile, for that *Philip* was euen readie to sinke vnder the burden of his owne pouertrie. By this the king vnderstood mote perfectly the fallshood, not onely of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keepe him so poore. Wherefore hee sent one to pursue *Megaleas*, that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his sonne, and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their liues. *Megaleas* also, neither daring to stand to triall, nor knowing whither to flie, was wearie of his 50 owne life; and slew himselfe about the same time.

The *Aetolians*, as they had begun this warre vpon hope of accomplishing what they liked in the Nonnage of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this yong Prince, tempered with the cold aduice of *Aratus*, wrought verie effectually toward their overthrow;

ouerthrow; they grew verie desirous to make an end of it. Nevertheless being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold vpon all advantages: when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Magaleus*, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by the Kings Targetters; they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhym*. Of this was *Philip* nothing loth. For being in good hope throughly to tame this vnquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the warre should rest vpon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates, to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for war against the yeere following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his Macedonian souldiours, by yielding to let them winter in their owne Countrey. In his returne homeward, he called into iudgement one *Ptolemie*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the Macedonians; and suffered death. These were the same Macedonians, that lately could not endure to heare of *Leontius* his imprisonment: yet now they thinke the man worthe to die, that was but his adherent. So vaine is the confidence, on which Rebels vs. to build, in their fauour with the Multitude.

- During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* was some bordering Townes; from which
 20 the *Dardaniens*, *Etoliens*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his kingdome when hee had thus provided for safetie of his owne, the *Etoliens* might well know what they were to expect. But there came againe Embassadors from the *Rhodiens* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolemie* King of *Egypt*, and from the Citie of *Byzantium*, recontinuing the former solicitation about the Peace. This fashon had bene taken vp in matters of *Greece*, ever since the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken vpon them to set the whole Countrey at libertie: No sooner was any Province or Citie in danger to be oppressed, and subdued by force of war, but presently there were found intercessours, who pitying the effusion of Greekish blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of neede, the Princes and States abroad sought to binde vnto them those people, that were, howsoever weak in numbers, yet verie good souldiours. But hereby it came to passe, that the more froward sort, especially the *Etoliens*, whose whole Nation was addicted to fallhood and roberie, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well assured, that if they had the worst, *Thelone* of *Greece* would be sufficient to redeeme their quiet. They had, since the late Treatie of peace, done what harme they could in *Peloponnesus*: but being beaten by the *Achaens*, and standing in feare to be more soundlie beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestlie than before to make an end of the warre as soone as they might. *Philip* made such answer to the
 40 Embassadors, as he had done the former yeere; That he gaue not occasion to the beginning of this warre, nor was at the present either afraid to continue it, or vnwilling to end it: but that the *Etoliens*, if they had a desire to liue in rest, must first be dealt withall, to signifie plainly their determination, whether himselfe would returne such answer as he should thinke fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daile got by the warre. But it happened in the midst of this Negotiation, that he was aduertised by letters out of *Macedon*, that a notable victorie *Hannibal* had obtained against the *Romans* in the battaile at *Thrasymene*. These letters he communicated vnto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly
 50 encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian warre. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the *Etoliens*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Etolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happie it was for the *Greekes*, that they might at their owne pleasure dispute about finishing war between themselves

selues : without being molested by the Barbarians. For when once either the *Romans*, or the *Carthaginians*, had subdued one the other ; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith looke Eastward, and seeke by all meanes to set footing in *Greece*. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countie should be at peace within it selfe : and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of war, should lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly scruiing, to enlarge his dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italie*. Such aduice could the *Aetolians* then giue, when they stood in feare of danger threatning them at hand : but being soone after wearie of rest, as accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so farre from obseruing and following their owne good counsell, that they inuited the *Romans* into *Greece*; wherby they brought themselves and the whole Countie, (but themselves before any other part of the Countie) vnder seruitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That euery one should keepe what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

§. III.

PHILIP, at the perswasion of DEMETRIUS PHARIUS, enters into League with HANNIBAL, against the Romans. The Tenour of the League betwene HANNIBAL, and PHILIP.

His being agreed vpon: the *Greekes* betooke themselves to quiet courses of life ; and *Philip*, to prepare for the businesse of *Italie*, about which hee consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battaile of *Canna* : after which he toynd in League with *Hannibal*, as hath beene shewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice vnto the *Romans* ; and knew no other way to be auenged vpon them, or to recover his owne lost Kingdome, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsaile, to take part with their enemies. It had other wise been farre more expedient for *Philip*, to haue supported the weaker of these two great Cities against the more mightie. For by so doing, hee should perhaps haue brought them to peace vpon some equall termes ; and thereby, as did *Hiero* a farre weaker Prince, haue both secured his owne Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of cheife place in his freindship. The issue of the counsaile which he followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell with the *Romans* ; the trouble which they and the *Aetolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon Conditions that might easily be broken : haue beene related in another place as belonging vnto the second Punick warre. Wherefore I will onely here set downe the tenour of the League betwene Him and *Carthage* : which may seeme not vnworthie to be read, if onely in regard of the forme it selfe then vsed ; though it had beene ouer-long to haue been inserted into a more busie peece.

THE

THE OATH AND
COVENANTS BETWEENEHANNIBAL, GENERALL OF THE
CARTHAGINIANS; and XENOPHANES,
Embassador of PHILIP King

of Macedon.

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HIS is the League ratified by oath, which HANNIBAL the Generall, and with him MAGO, MYRCAL, and BARMOCAL, as also the Senatours of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Armie, haue made with XENOPHANES the son of CLEOMACHVS Athenian, whom King PHILIP the sonne of DEMETRIVS hath sent vnto vs, for himselfe and the Macedonians, and his Associates: Before, Iupiter, and Iuno, and Apollo: before, † The god of the Carthaginians, Hercules, and Iolau: † before Mars, Triton, Neptune: before The Gods accompanying Armes, the Sun, the Moone, and the Earth; before Rivers, and Meadows, and Waters; before all the Gods that haue power ouer Carthage; before all the Gods, that rule ouer Macedon, and the rest of Greece; before all the Gods, that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League. HANNIBAL the Generall hath said, and all the Senatours that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Armie: Be it agreed betweene You and Vs, that this Oath stand for freindship and louing affection, that We become freinds, familiar, and brethren, Vpon Covenant, that the sasetie of the Lords the Carthaginians; and of HANNIBAL the Generall and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Prouinces of the Carthaginians vsing the same Lawes, and of the Viticans, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiours and Associates, and of all Townes and Nations with which We hold freindship in Italia, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom We shal hold freind-

Eeeee

ship

ship or make Alliance hereafter in this Region; be preserved by King PHILIP and the Macedonians, and such of the Greekes as are their Associates. Inlike manner shall King PHILIP and the Macedonians, and other the Greekes his Associates, be saued and preserved by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Uticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italie, Gaule, and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter ioyne with Vs in Italie. We shall not take counsaile one against the other, nor deale fraudulently one with the other. With all readinesse and good will, without deceit or subtiltie, We shall be enemies vnto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Townes, and Hauens, with which We haue already league and freindship. We also shall be enemies to the enemies of King PHILIP, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which We haue already league and freindship. The war that We haue with the Romans, haue Ye also with them, vntill the Gods shall giue vs a new and happie end. Ye shall aide Vs with those things whereof We haue neede, and shall doe according to the Couenants betweene Vs. But if the Gods shall not giue vnto You and Vs their helpe in this warre against the Romans and their Associates; then if the Romans offer freindship, We shall make freindship in such wise that Ye shall be partakers of the same freindship, Vvith Condition, That they shall not haue power to make war vpon you: Neither shall the Romans bee Lords ouer the Corcyreans, nor ouer those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor ouer Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Partbini, nor Arintania. They shall also render vnto DEMETRIVS PHARIVS all those that belong vnto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such peacemade) shall make war vpon Ye or Vs; We will succour one another in that warre, as either shall haue neede. The same shall be obserued in warre made by any other, excepting those Kings,

Kings, Cities, and States, with whom VVe hold already league and friendship. To this League if VVe or Ye shall thinke fit to adde or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.

B. IIII.

- 10 How PHILIP yielded to his naturall desires, being therein southerd by DEMETRIUS PHARIUS. His desire to tyrannize upon the free States his Associates: With the troubles, into which he thereby fell, whilst he bore a part in the second Punicke warre. He poisoneth APPELVS: and grows hatefull to the Achaeans.



- 20 Therto Philip had carried himselfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdom, he might haue offered his freindship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians who had the better hand: yet this his meddling in the Punicke warre, proceeded from a royall greatness of minde, with a desire to secure and increase his owne estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrie. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath bene said) by Demetrius Pharius: who, looking thoroughly into his nature, did accommodate himselfe to his desires: and thereby shortly gouerned him, euen as he listed. For the vertues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustfull, bloudie, and tyrannicall: desirous of power to doe what he listed, and not otherwise listig to doe what hee ought, than so farre forth, as by making a faire shew he might breede in men such a good opinion of him, as should helpe to serue his turne in all that hee tooke in hand. Before he should busie himselfe in *Italie*, hee thought it requisite in good policie, to bring the *Greekes* that were his Associates vnder a more absolute forme of subiection. Heerunto *Appelles* had aduised him before: and hee had liked reasonably well of the course. But *Appelles* was a boisterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deeply wronged if hee might not wholly haue his owne way, but were driuen to await the Kings opportunitie at better times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to obserue the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man with the reines in his hand, those affections which himselfe did onely seeme to follow. Therefore hee grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, hee supplanted *Aratus*: which the violence of *Appelles* could neuer doe.
- 30 There arose about these times a verie hote Faction among the *Messenians*, betwene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diuered (as happens often after a forrein war) vnto domestick objects: than allayed and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In proceesse of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was entreated to compound the differences. Hee was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strue any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himselfe. At his comming thither, hee found *Aratus* busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reuerend old man: but talked in priuate with such of the *Messenians* as repaired vnto him. He asked the Gouernours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the insolence of the vnruely Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heades of the po-

pular Faction, He said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be oppressed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilst each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to go roundly to worke, ere he were gone that should countenance their doings. That the Governours therefore would haue apprehended some seditious Oratours, that were, they said, the stirrers vpon the multitude vnto sedition. Vpon this occasion the People tooke Armes: and running vpon the Nobilitie and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. *Philip* thought, it seemed, that it would be easie to worrie the sheepe, when the Dogges their guardians were slaine. But his falshood and double dealing was immediatly found out. Neyther did the younger *Aratus* forbear, to tell him of it in publick, with verie bitter and disgracefull words. The King was angrie at this. But hauing already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand where in hee should need the helpe and countenance of his best friends; Hee was content to smother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as he could. He led old *Aratus* aside by the hand; and went vp into the Castle of *Ithome*, that was our *Messene*. There he pretended to doe sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keepe the place to his owne vse; for that it was of notable strength, and would serue to command the further parts of *Peloponnesus*, as the Citadell of *Corinth*, which hee had already, commaunded the entrance into that Countie. Whilst hee was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrails of the beaſt deliuered into his hands, as was the manner; Hee thewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being no win possession of this place, hee should quietly goe out of it, or rather keepe it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would haue loothed him a little; were it onely for desire to make amends, for the angrie words newly spoken by his sonne. But as *Aratus* stood doubtfull what to answer, *Demetrius Pharius* gaue this verdict: *If thou bee a Southsayer, thou maiſt goe thy wayes, and let slippe this good aduantage; if thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opportunitie, but hold the Oxe by both his hornes.* Thus he spake, resembling *Ithome* and *Acerorinthus* vnto the two hornes of *Peloponnesus*. Yet would *Philip* needes heare the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keepe the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith vnto the *Messenians*: But if, by seizing vpon *Ithome*, Hee must loose all the other Castels that hee held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left vnto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his souldiers, and keepe men in dutie, as hee had done hitherto, by their owne good wils, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his Enemies.

To this good aduice *Philip* yielded at the present: but not without some dislike, thenceforth growing betwene Him and the *Arati*; whom hee thought more forward than befemed them, in contradicting his will. Neyther was the old man desirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For as hee plainly discovered his Tyrannous purposes: so like wise hee perceived, that in resorting to his house, Hee had beene dishonest with his sonnes wife. Hee therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despite of *Cleomenes*, his owne Countreiman, and a temperate Prince, hee had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponnesus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refused to beare him companie. In this iourne He found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him; That vnbonest counsailes are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But He would needes haue them so to remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his will, Hee seized vpon their Towne of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*; hauing no good colour of these

these doings: but thinking himselfe strong enough to doe what hee listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to helpe them. Thus in stead of settling the countrey, as his intended Voyage into *Italy* required: He kindled a fire in it which he could neuer quench; vntill it had laid hold on his owne *Palace*. While hee was thus labouring to bind the hands that should haue fought for him in *Italy*: *M. Valerius the Roman* came into those parts; who not onely maintained the *Epigrits* against him, but procured the *Aetolians* to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

To place whereto it belonged. In manning wherof though *Philip* did the offices of a good Capitaine: yet when leisure serued, Hee made it apparant that hee was a vicious King. Hee had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the libertie of the *Messenians*; but made another iourne into their Countrey, with hope to deceiue them, as before. They vnderstood him better now than before; and therefore were not hastie to trust him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not serue, He went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies, invaded them with open warre. But in that warre hee could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to helpe him in such an enterprife. In this attempt vpon *Messenia* hee lost *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counsailler, and Flatterer, not his perceptor; as appeares by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angrie he waxed against those, that seemed not to fauour his iniurious doings. Wherefore by the Ministerie of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poisoned old *Aratus*; and shortly after that, hee poisoned also the yonger *Aratus*: hoping that these things would neuer haue bene knowne, because they were done secretly, and the poisoners themselves were more sure, than manifest in operation. The *Sicionians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed vnto *Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymmes, and Processions, to be celebrated euery yeare twice, with a Priest ordained vnto him for that purpose; as was accustomed vnto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to bee translated into the number of the Gods. Hereunto they are said to haue bene encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to haue bene true; since the helpe of the Deuill is neuer failing to the increase of Idolatrie.

The louing memorie of *Aratus* their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but worke in the *Achaens* a maruailous dislike, of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsaile for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally knowne or belieued: neither were they in case to subfist, without his help that had committed it. The *Aetolians* were a most outrageous people, great darers, and shamelesse robbers. With these the *Romans* had made a League: whereof the Conditions were soone diuined, especially that maine point, concerning the diuision of the purchase which they should make; namely, That the *Aetolians* should haue the countrey and townes; but the *Romans* the spoile, and carrie away the people to sell for slaues. The *Achaens*, who in times of greater quiet could not endure to make streight alliance with the *Aetolians*, as knowing their vnciuill dispositions; were much the more auerse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for such did the *Greekes* account all other Nations except their owne) to make hauock of the Countrey. The same consideration moued also the *Lacedaemonians*, to stand off awaile, before they would declare themselves for the *Aetolians*; whose friendship they had embraced in the late warre. The industrie therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he seemed to take of the *Achaens* his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them: especially at such time, as their owne necessitie was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged vnto himselfe the *Dymeans*, by an inestimable benefit: recovering their Towne, after it had bene taken by the *Romans* and *Aetolians*; and redeeming their people wherefoeuer they might bee found, that had bene carried away

Captive; and sold abroad for slaues. Thus might he haue blotted out the memorie of offences past; if the malignitie of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and giuen men to vnderstand; that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodnesse. Among other foule acts, whereof he was not alhamed; He tooke *Polycratia* the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might serue to confirme in the people their opinion, that he was guiltie of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the *Romans* make warre vpon him the second time: for of that which happened in this their first Inuasion, I holde it superfluous to make repetition.

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§. V.

Of PHILOPOEMEN Generall of the *Achaens*; and MACHANIDAS,
Tyrant of *Lacedemon*. A battaile betwene them, where
in MACHANIDAS is slaine.

IT happens often, that the decease of one eminent man discouers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood vp *Philopemen*: 20 whose notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the *Achaens* redoubtable among all the *Greekes*, and carelesse of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopemen*: who being then a yong man, and having no command; did especiall seruice to *Antigonus* at the battaile of *Selasia* against *Cleomenes*. Thence forward vntill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Ile of *Crete*; the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldome or neuer at peace betwene themselves; Hee bettered among them his knowledge, and practise in the Art of warre. At his returne home, Hee had charge of the Horse: 30 wherein he carried himselfe so strictly, traauiling with all the Cities of the Confederacie to haue his followers well mounted, and armed at all peeces: as also he so diligently trained them vp in all exercise of seruice, that hee made the *Achaens* verie strong in that part of their forces. Being after chosen Prator or Generall of the Nation, Hee had no lesse care to reforme their militarie discipline throughout, whereby his Countrey might be strong enough to defend it selfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend vpon the helpe of others. Hee perswaded the *Achaens* to cut off their vaine expence of brauerie, in apparrell, household stuffe, and curious farr, and to bestow that cost vpon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to proue the better Souldiors; 40 and sutable in behaviour, vnto the pride of their furniture. They had serued hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast farre off: that were vsfull in skirmishing at some distance, or for Surprises, or sudden and hasty Expeditions; whereto *Aratus* had bene most accustomed. But when they came to handie strokes, they were good for nothing: so as they were wholly driuen to relie vpon the courage of their Mercinaries. *Philopemen* altered this: causing them to arme themselves more weightily, to vse a larger kind of sheild, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for seruice at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order; and altered the forme of their embattailing: not making the Files so deepe as had bene accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might vse the seruice of many hands.

Eight Moneths were spent of that yeere, in which hee first was Prator of the *Achaens*; when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon* caused him to make triall, how his souldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successor vnto *Lycurgus*; a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a strong Armie of Mercinaries: and he kept them not onely to fight for *Sparta*; but to hold the

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the Citie in obedience to himselfe perforce. Wherefore it behoued him not to take part with the *Acheans*, that were fauourers of libertie; but to strengthen himselfe by frendship of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, tooke no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their owne profit. The people also of *Lacedæmon*, through their inueterate hatred vnto the *Argines*, *Acheans*, and *Macedonians*; were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Verie vnwisely. For in seeking to take reuenge vpon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindred themselves thereby from recouering the Maistrie of their owne Citie. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his owne securitie, and no small hope of good that would follow, suitered not *Machaniidas* to beidle; but made him alwaies readie to fall vpon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilest they were enforced, by greater necessitie, to turne face another way. Thus had hee often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose sudden comming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had vsually made him fall of his attempts. At the present He was stronger in men, than were the *Acheans*; and thought his owne men better souldiours than were theirs.

Whilest *Philip* therefore was busied else-where, hee entred the Countrie of the *Mantineans*: being not without hope to doe as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the * Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, as hauing stronger freindes, and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopæmen* was readie to entertaine him at *Mantineæ*; where was fought betwene them a great battaile. The Tyrant had brought into the fildes vpon Cartes a great many of Engines; wherewith to beate vpon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopæmen* sent forth his light-armature a good way before him; so as *Machaniidas* was faine to doe the like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continuall supplie; till at length all the Mercinaries, both of the *Acheans* and of *Machaniidas*, were drawne vp to the fight: being so far aduanced, each before their owne *Phalanx*, that it could no otherwise be discerned which prest forward, or which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machaniidas* his Engines made vsuerficable, by the interposition of his owne men; in such manner as the Canon is hindered from doing execution, in most of the battailes fought in these our times. The Mercinaries of the Tyrant preuailed at length: not onely by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obserueth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courages, whereas usually the hired souldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant, than they which sue oppressed by Tyrannie, since the one, by doing their best in fight, haue hope to acquire somewhat beneficiall to themselves, whereas the other doe fight (as it were) to assure their owne seruitude: so the Mercinaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruites of his polipertie, haue good cause to maintaine his quarrell as their owne; whereas they that serue vnder a free State, haue no other motiue to doe manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the Victorie: many Companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are presently cast; and therefore such good fellows, will not take much paines to bring the warre to an end. But the victorie of a Tyrant, makes him stand in neede of more such helpers: because that after it he doth wrong to more, as hauing more subjects; and therefore stands in feare of more, that should seeke to take reuenge vpon him. The stipendiaries therefore of the *Acheans*, being forced to giue ground, were vrged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machaniidas*, that shortly they betooke themselves to flight; and could not be staid by any perswasions of *Philopæmen*, but ranne away quite beyond the battaile of the *Acheans*. This disaster had bene sufficient to take from *Philopæmen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely obserued the demeanour of *Machaniidas*, and found in him that error which might restore

* Excerpt. 2
Polyb. l. 11.
Plut. in vita
Philopæmen.

Polyb. lib. 4.

1246. 784.

reliore the victorie. The T Tyrant with his Mercinaries gaue chace vnto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battaile his *Lacedemonians*; whom he thought sufficient to deale with the *Achaens*, that were already disheartned by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashnesse had carried him out of sight: *Philopamen* aduanced towards the *Lacedemonians* that stood before him. There lay betwene them athwart the Countrie a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The *Lacedemonians* aduented ouer it, as thinking themselves better fouldiers than the *Achaens*; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their owne Battaille; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further banke, than they were stoutly charged by the *Achaens*, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopamen* getting ouer the ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopamen* knew better how to vse his aduantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He suffered not all his Armie to disband, and follow the chace: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the T Tyrant must come backe. The T Tyrant with his Mercinaries returning from the chace, looked verie heauily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet with a lustie Troupe of Horse about him hee made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Achaens* in disorder; and to set vpon their backs, as they 20 were carelessly pursuing their Victorie. But when he and his Companie saw *Philopamen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then beganne euerie one to looke, which way he might shift for himselfe. The T Tyrant, with no more than two in his companie, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage ouer. He was easily discouered by his pursuer *Gallocke*, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopamen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridge vnto another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling vpon him at length in the ditch it selfe, as he was getting ouer it, slew him there with his owne hand. There died in this Battaille on the *Lacedemonians* side about foure thousand: and more than foure thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the *Achaen* Mercinaries, probable it is that the losse was 30 not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their monie they might hire more when they should haue need.

ð. V I.

PHILIP hauing peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia.
Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia,
Bithynia; and their Linages. Of the
Galatians.

BY this victorie the *Achaens* learned to thinke well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after awhile (such was their discipline, and continuall exercise) to account themselves in matter of warre inferior to any, that should haue brought against them no great odds of number. As for the *Macedonian*, hee made no great vse of them: But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Aetolians*, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or verie nearely together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Achaens* would haue done him seruice; they must, by helping him to oppress others that neuer had wronged 50 him, haue taught him the way how to deale with them selues. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joyned with the *Romans* and *Aetolians* in warre against him.

This

- This *Attalus*, though a King, was scarce yet a Noble man, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in *Philetus* his Vncle : who being gueldd, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuches, whose affections could not be obliged vnto wives or children. He was entertained into the familie of *Docmus*, a Captaine following *Antigonus* the first; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that betooke himselfe to *Lyfimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lyfimachus* had good opinion of him; and put him in truit with his monie and accompts. But when at length he stood in feare of this King, that grew a bloudie Tyrant : Hee fled into *Asia*, where he seized vpon the Towne of *Pergamus*, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lyfimachus*. The towne and monie, together with his owne service, He offered vnto *Seleucus* the first, that then was readie to give *Lyfimachus* battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleucus* hauing slaine *Lyfimachus*, died shortly after himselfe, before he made vse of *Philetarus* or his monie. So this Eunuch still retained *Pergamus* with the Countrie about it; and reigned therein twentie yeeres as an absolute King. Hee had two brethren : of which the elder is said to haue been a poore Carter; and the younger perhaps was not much better; before such time as they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetarus* left his Kingdome to the elder of these, or to the sonne of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his kingdome; making his aduantage of the dissension; betwene *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax* the sonnes of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a battaile with *Hierax*, neere vnto *Sardes*; and wan the victorie. At which time, to animate his men against the *Gauls* that serued vnder his Enemy, he vfed a pretie deuice. He wrote the word VICTORIE vpon the hand of his Spothfayer, in such colours as would easily come off; and when the hoteliur of the beall that was sacrificed, had cleaenly taken the print of the letters, He published this vnto his Armie as a Miracle, plainly fore-lheuing that the gods would be assistant in that Battaille.
- After this victorie, he grew a dreadfull enemy to *Seleucus*; who neuer durst attempt to reconer from him, by warre, the Territorie that hee had gotten and held. Finally when he had reigned two and twentie yeeres, hee died by a surfeit of ouer-much drinke; and left his Kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom wee now entreat, that was sonne vnto *Attalus* the yongest brother of *Philetarus*. *Attalus* was an vnder-taking Prince, verie bountifull, and no lesse valiant. By his owne proper forces He restored his friend *Antiochus* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdome, whence hee had been expelled. He was grieuouly molested by *Acheus*; who setting vp himselfe as King against *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the lesser *Asia*. He was besieged in his owne Citie of *Pergamus*; but by helpe of the *Teltesages*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom hee called ouer out of *Thrace*, He recouered all that hee had lost. When these *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Asia*, they neuer wanted employment : but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters; or interposed themselves, without invitation, and found themselves worke in quarrels of their owne making. They caused *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* to cease from his warre against *Byzantium*. Wherevnto when hee had condescended; they neuerthelesse within a while after inuaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victorie; and vfed it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the sworne of them increasing, they occupied the Region about *Hellestont*; where, in seating themselves, they were much beholding vnto *Attalus*. Neuerthelesse, presuming afterwards vpon their strength; they forced their neighbur Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect vnto *Attalus* than to any that had worse deserued of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them : and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Prouince, which tooke name from them in time following,

* 1st Front.
Strat. L. A. C. 11.

ing, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill vnto the Armies of those, that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posteritie of such, as had saued themselves and their Prouinces, in the slothful reigne of the *Persians*; or in the busie times of *Alexander*, and his Macedonian followers. The *Cappadocians* were verie ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atossa*, sister vnto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Countrey was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the son of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, espying his time while the *Macedonians* were at ciuill warres among themselves; recovered his dominion, and passed it ouer to his ofspring. The Kings of *Pontus* had also their beginning from the Persian Empire; and are said to haue issued from the royall house of *Achemenes*. The *Phlagonians* deriued themselves from *Pylamenes*, a King that assisted *Prismus* at the warre of *Troy*. These, applying themselves vnto the times, were alwaies conformable vnto the strongest. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reigne in *Bithynia*, some few generations before that of the great *Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, hauing other employment, they were the lesse molested. *Calanus*, one of *Alexanders* Captaines, made an Expedition into their Countrey; where hee was vanquished. They had afterwards to doe with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, vntill the reigne of *Prusias*, whom wee haue already some-
times mentioned.

§. VII.

The Towne of *Cius* taken by *Philip*, at the instance of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions, *Philip* grows hatefull to many of the *Greekes*: and is warred vpon by *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and by the *Rhodiens*.

PRUSIAS as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatnesse he suspected. He therefore strengthened himselfe, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*, as *Attalus*, on the contrarie side, entered into a strict Confederacie with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodiens*, and other of the *Greekes*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* warre, and was deuiing with *Antiochus* about sharing betwene them two the Kingdome of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolome* *Philopater* a friend vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his sonne *Ptol. Epiphanes* a yong child his heire; the *Bithynian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into *Asia*, there to winne the Towne of the *Ciani*, and bestow it vpon him. *Prusias* had no right vnto the Towne, nor just matter of quarrell against it: but it was fitly seated for him; and therewithall rich. *Philip* came; as one that could not well denie to helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby hee mightily offended no small part of *Greece*. Embassadours came to him whilest hee lay at the seige, from the *Rhodiens*, and diuers other States: entreating him to forsake the Enterprise. He gaue dilatorie, but otherwise gentle answeres: making shew as if he would condescend to their request; when he intended nothing lesse. At length hee got the Towne: where, euen in presence of the Embassadours, of whose solicitation he had flemmed so regardfull, He omitted no part of crueltie. Hereby hee rendered himselfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Especially his Fact was detested of the *Rhodiens*: who had made vehement intercession for the poore *Ciani*; and were aduertised by Embassadours of purpose sent vnto them from *Philip*, That, howsoeuer it were in his power to winne the Towne as soone as he listed; yet in regard of his loue to the *Rhodiens*, Hee was contented to
giue

- giue it ouer. And by this his clemencie the Embassadours said, that he would manifest vnto the World, what slanderous tongues they were; which noyed abroad such reports, as went of his fallhood and oppressions. Whilest the Embassadours were declaiming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect; there came some that made a truerelation of what had happed: shewing that *Philip* had sacked and destroyed the Towne of *Chios*, and, after a cruell slaughter of the Inhabitants, had made slaues of all that escaped the sword. If the *Rhodians* tooke this in great despight, no lesse werethe *Aetolians* inflamed against him: since they had lent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at *Lyfismachia* and *Chalcodon* (which he had withdrawne from their Confederacie to his owne) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this King. But most of all others was *Attalus* moued, with consideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his owne estate. He had much to looke; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a strong Partie in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captaines, in purchasing with much liberalitie the loue of the *Athenians*, which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, hauing lost their owne. On the freindship of the *Aetolians* he had cause to presume; hauing bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mightie at Sea, and held verie good intelligence with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, Hee easily drew into a straight Alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceiued against *Philip*.
- Vpon confidence in these his friends, but most of all in the readie assistance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deale with the *Macedonian* by open warre. It had bene vnseasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemie tended; since his desire to fasten vpon *Asia* was manifest, and his fallhood no lesse manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not farre from *Chios*, and fought with him a battaile at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driuen to runne his owne shippe on ground, hardly escaping to land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* tooke his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the battaile tooke harbour vnder a Promontorie, by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the Wracks vpon the shore: Yet forasmuch as He had suffered farre greater losse of ships and men, than had the Enemie: and since Hee durst not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victorie was adjudged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwarde besieged and wanne some Townes in *Caria*: whether onely in a brauerie, and to despight his opposites; or whether vpon any hopefull desire of conquest; it is vncertaine. The stratageme, by which hee wanne *Prinassus*, is worthie of noting. Hee attempted it by a Myne: and finding the Earth so sonie, that it resisted his worke, Hee neuerthelesse commaunded the Pyoners to make a noyse vnder ground; and secretly in the night-time Hee rayed great Mounts about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the besieged, that the work went meruailously forward. At length he sent word to the Townesmen, that by his vnder-myning, two acres of their wall stood onely vpon wooden props: to which if he gaue fire, and entred by a breach, they should expect no mercie. The *Prinassians* little thought, that hee had fetcht all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raise vp those heapes which they saw; but rather that all had bene extracted out of the Myne. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be out-faced; and gaue vp the Towne as lost, which the Enemie had no hope to winne by force. But *Philip* could not stae to settle himselfe in those parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too strong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make hast back into *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

B. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian warre, seeke matter of quarrell against PHILIP. The Athenians, upon slight cause, proclaime warre against PHILIP, moued there- to by ATTALVS; whom they flatter. PHILIP winnes diuers Townes: and makes peremptorie answer to the Roman Embassa- dour. The furious resolution of the Aegypti.

THese Asiaticke matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet ser-
ued well to make a noyse in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads, if not
with a desire of making warre in *Macedon*, at least with a conceipt
that it were expedient so to doe. The *Roman Senate* was perfectly
informed of the state of those Easterne Countries; and knew, that
there was none other Nation than the *Greekes*, which lay betwene them and the
Lordship of *Asia*. These *Greekes* were factious, and seldom or neuer at peace. As
for the *Macedonian*, though length of time, and continuall dealings in *Greece* euer
since the Reignes of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference betwene him and
the *Naturals*: yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because hee was original-
ly forsooth a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him vpon ancient quarrels: and they
that had bene most beholding vnto him, were neuertheless wearie of him, by rea-
son of his personall faults. All this gaue hope, that the affaires of *Greece* would not
long detain the *Roman Armies*: especially since the diuisions of the Countrie were
such, that euerie petty Estate was apt to take counsaile apart for it selfe; without
much regarding the generalitie. But the poore Commonaltie of *Rome*, had no great
affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were alreadie quite exhausted, by
that grievous warre with *Hannibal*: wherein they had giuen by Loane to the Repub-
like all their monie: neyther had they as yet receiued, neyther did they receiue vntill
fifteene or sixteene yeares after this, their whole summe backe againe. That part of
paiment also which was alreadie made, being not in present monie, but much of it in
Land: it behoued them to rest awhile, and bestow the more diligence in tilling their
grounds, by how much they were the lesse able to bestow cost. Wherefore they
tooke no pleasure to heare, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had sent Embassadors to
sollicite them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Asia*: or that *M.*
Aurelius, their Agent in *Greece*, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate,
and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous e-
nemie, that solicited not onely the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the Ilands
in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadors, as one that meant
shortly to hold warre with the *Romans* vpon their owne ground. *Philip* had indeed
no such intent: neither was he much too strong, either of himselfe, or by his alliance
in *Greece*, to be resisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, especially with the helpe of the
Aetolians their good friends, and (in a manner) his owne professed enemies. But such
things must be published abroad, if onely to predispose men vnto the warre, and
giue it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling
in the affaires of those, that were more mightie than himselfe. Hee was too vn-
skilfull, or otherwise too vnapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would hee needes bee
seeking new enemies. And he found them such, as he desired to haue them: for hee
offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in miserie, and had done
him no harme. It behoued him therefore, either to haue strained his forces to the
utmost in making warre vpon them; or, in desisting from that injurious course, to
haue made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his owne ac-
cord. But Hee, hauing broken that League of peace which is of all other the most
naturall,

natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, vnlesse they think themselves iustly provoked; was afterwards too fondly perswaded, that he might wel be secure of the *Romans*, because of the written Couenants of peace between him & them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby such articles of peace can be held inuiolable, saue onely ^{* by the water of Styx,} that is, by *Necessitie*: which whilest it bindes one partie, or both vnto performance, making it apparent that hee shall bee a looser who flirts from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long onely) bee presumed, that there shall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquished, the *Romans* neuer hearkned after *Philip*: for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had peace

* Sir Fr. Bacon
de Sapientia.

10 with *Carthage*, then was this Riuer of *Styx* dried vp: and then could they sweare, as ** Mercurie* did in the Comedie, by their owne selues, euen by their good swords, that they had good reason to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of *Sopater* into *Affricke*, and the present warre against *Attalus*; were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough, the *Athenians* helped to furnish them with more.

* Plant. *Ami-
phoir.*

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their owne barren Ter-
ritorie, tooke state vpon them neuertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two yong
Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation,
(wherein were deliuered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of Idolatrous super-
stition, vainly said to bee auailable vnto felicitie after this life) discovered them-
selves by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Here-
vpon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that
they came into the place by mere error, not thinking to haue therein done amiss;
yet, as it had bene for some hainous crime, they were put to death. All their Coun-
trimen at home tooke this in ill part, and sought to reuenge it as a publike iniurie, by
warre vpon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* some *Macedonians* to helpe
them, they entred into *Attica*: who waited it with fire and sword; and carried thence
away with them a great bootie. This indignitie stirred vp the high-minded *Athe-
nians*; and made them thinke vpon doing more, than they had abilitie to performe.
30 All which at the present they could doe, was to send Embassadors to King *Attalus*; gratulating his happie successe against *Philip*, and entreating him to visit their Citie. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing; because He understood, that the *Roman* Em-
bassadors, hauing about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to bee
there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers,
with some of the *Rhodiens*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with
whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemy
to *Philip*; and He being no lesse glad, when hee heard of their purpose to renew the
warre. The *Athenians* came forth of their Citie, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Ci-
tizens, with their wiues and children, in as solemne a pompe as they could deuise, to
40 meet and honour the King. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him, in
verie louing manner: but towards *Attalus* himselfe they omitted no point of ob-
seruance, which their flatterie could suggest. At his first comming into the Citie
they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with
his presence, and let them heare him speake. But he excused him selfe; saying, That
with an euill grace he should recount vnto them those many benefits, by which he
studied to make them know what loue he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit,
that he should deliuer in writing, what he would haue to bee proponed. Hee did
so. The points of his Declaration were; first, what hee had willingly done for their
sake: then, what had lately passed between him and *Philip*: lastly, an exhortation
50 vnto them, to declare themselves against the *Macedonian*, whilest Hee with the *Rho-
diens*, and the *Romans*, were willing and readie to take their part: which if they now
refused to doe, He protested, that afterwards it would be vaine to craue his helpe.
There needed little entreatie: for they were as willing to proclaime the warre, as
He to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours:

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and

and ordained, That vnto the ten Tribes, whereof the bodie of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if Hee were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodiens* they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodiens* free Citizens of *Athen*.

Thus beganne a great noyse of warre, wherein little was left vnto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* taking all vpon them. But while these were vainly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the *Atolians* to their partie: that contrarie to their olde manner were glad to bee at quict: *Philip* wanne the Townes of *Maronea* and *Enus*, with many other strong places about the *Hellefont*. Likewise passing ouer the *Hellefont*, Hee laid siege vnto *Abydus*; and wanne 10 it, though Hee was faine to staie there long. The Towne held out, rather vpon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, than any great abilitie to defend it selfe against so mightie an Enemie. But the *Rhodiens* sent thither onely one *Quadrimere* Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; faine to weake an aide to make good the place. The *Roman* Embassadours wondred much at this great negligence, of them that had taken so much vpon them.

These Embassadours *C. Claudius*, *M. Amylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent vnto *Ptolemeus* *Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*, to acquaint him with their Victorie against *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; also to thanke him for his fauour vnto them shewed in that warre; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should neede it against *Philip*. This *Egyptian* King was now in the third or fourth yeare of his Reigne, which (as his Father *Philopator* had done before him) Hee beganne a verie young boy. The courtserie for which the *Romans* were to thanke him, was, That out of *Egypt* they had lately beene supplied with Corne, in a time of extreme Dearth; when the miseries of Warre had made all their owne Prouinces vnable to relieue them. This message could not but be welcome to the *Egyptian*: since it was well knowne, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselves against him; conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason bee hoped, that Hee, or 30 his Councell for him, should offer to supplie the *Romans* with Corne: since this their Macedonian Expedition, concerned his Estate no lesse than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementall: so had the Embassadours both leasure, and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Amylius* the youngest of them should steppe aside, and visit *Philip*, to trie if Hee could make him leaue the siege of *Abydus*; which else Hee was like to carrie. *Amylius*, coming to *Philip*, telles him, that his doings are contrarie to the League that Hee had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, vpon whom Hee made Warre, were Confederate with Rome: and the Towne of *Abydus*, which 40 Hee was now besieging, had a kind of dependencie vpon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* had made Warre vpon him: and that Hee did onely requite them with the like. Doe you also (sayd *Amylius*) requite these poore *Atheniens* with such terrible Warre, for any the like Inuasion by them first made vpon you? The King was angrie to heare himselfe thus taken short: and therefore Hee roundly made answer to *Amylius*; It is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (above all,) your being a Roman, that makes you thus presumptuous. But I would wisht you to remember the League that you haue made with me, and to keepe it: if yee doe otherwise, I will make yee vnderstand, that the Kingdome and Name of Macedon is in matter of Warre, no lesse noble than the Roman. So Hee dismissed the Embassadour; and had the Towne immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to haue 50 died euerie one of them and set their Towne on fire; binding themselves hereto by

by a fearefull oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them vpon reasonable Conditions. But hauing in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatt number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Governours and Ancients of the Citie, to change this resolution; and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to *Philip* about which whilest they were busie, the memorie of their oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort that, by exhortation of their Priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that He said, he would grant the *Abydeni* three dayes leasure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the Towne; so or hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fooles.

§. I X.

The Romans decree warre against PHILIP, and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates.
How poore the Athenians were at this time,
both in qualitie and estate.

- 20** His calamitie of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romans* vnto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it nearely resembled; though *Rome* was not alike interested in the quarrell. But to helpe themselves with pretence for the warre, they had found out another *Saguntum*, euen the Citie of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* should winne, then rested there no more to doe, than that he should presently embarke himselfe for *Italie*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum* in five monethes, but in the short space of five dayes sayling. Thus *P. Sulpicius* the Consul tolde the Multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre vpon *Philip*, which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrhus* was by him alleadged; to shew, what
- 30** *Philip*, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate Voyage of *Scipio* into *Africa*, to shew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Countrey. By such arguments was the Commonaltie of *Rome* induced to beleue, that this warre with the *Macedonian* was both iust and necessarie. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Consul hastened away towards *Macedon*, hauing that Province allotted vnto him before, and all things in a readinesse, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were giuen to the *Athenian* Embassadors, for their constancie (as was said) in not changing their faith that such time as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them; though not vpon the same occasion. For the people of *Rome* had no cause to thinke it a benefit vnto themselves, that any *Greece* Towne, refusing to sue vnto the *Macedonian* for peace, requested their helpe against him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Easterne parts, had reason to giue thanks vnto those, that ministered the occasion. Since therefore it was an vntire suggestion, That *Philip* was making readie for *Italie*: and since neyther *Attalus*, the *Rhodian*, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the *Romans* to giue them protection: these busie-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and consequently with *Philip*, about a matter of *Megame*, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadors into all parts of the World, euen to *Ptolemie* of *Egypt*, and to the
- 50** *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and other their neighbours, must be accepted as cause of the warre, and Authours of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless as it loues to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Sulpicius* the Consul were such, as might haue argued *Athens* to bee the least part of his care. Hee failed not about *Peloponnesus*, but tooke the readie

way to *Macedon*; and landing about the Riuer of *Apsus*, betwene *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, there beganne the warre. Soone vpon his comming the *Athenian* Embassadors were with him, and craued his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whilest he was so farre from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and entreated him to deliuer them. For which cause He sent vnto them *C. Claudius*, with twentie Gallies, and a competent number of men; but the maine of his forces He retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater designe. The *Athenians* were not indeed besieged: only some Rouers from *Chalcis*, in the Ile of *Eubœa*, and some bands of aduenturers out of *Corinth*, vsed to take their shippes and spoile their fields, because they had declared themselves against King *Philip*, that was Lord of these two Townes. The Robberies done by these Pyrats and free booters, were by the more eloquent than warlike *Athenians*, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Seige. From such detriment the arrivall of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, easily persued them. As for the *Athenians* themselves; they that had bene wont, in ancient times, to vndertake the Conquests of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Sicily*, to make warre vpon the great *Persian* King; and to hold so much of *Greece* in subjection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the rest: had now no more than three Shippes, and those open ones, not much better than long Boates. Yet thought they not themselves what the worse men; but stood as highly vpon the glorie and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had bene still their owne.

§. X.

The Towne of Chalcis in Eubœa, taken and sackt by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at Athens. PHILIP attempteth to take Athens by Surprize: wasteth the Countrey about: and makes a iourne into Peloponnesus. Of NABIS the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife. PHILIP offers to make warre against NABIS for the Achæans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoileth againe: and provides against his Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Diuers Princes ioyne with them. Great labouring to draw the Athenians into the warre.

PHILIP, returning home from *Abydos*, heard newes of the *Roman* Consul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he stirred forth to giue him entertainment, or perhaps before hee had well resolved, whether it were best awhile to sit still, and trie what might bee done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Inuaders with all his forces: Hee received aduertisement from *Chalcis* of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no such worke at *Athens* as they had expected, or as was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to doe somewhat that might quicken the Warre, and make his owne employment better. Hee grew soone wearie of sitting as a Scarre-Crowe, to saue the *Athenians* grounds from spoile; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a businesse of more importance. The Towne of *Chalcis* was negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiours therein, for that there was no enemy at hand; and more negligently by the Townsmen, who reposed themselves vpon their Garrison. Hereof *Claudius* having aduertisement, sailed thither by night for feare of being descried; and, arriving there a little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. He vsed no mercie but slew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keepe it (vnlesse hee should haue left the heartlesse *Athenians* to their owne defence) He set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all provisions for warre, which were plentifully filled. Neither were He and his Associates contented

contented with the great abundance of spoile which they carried aboard their ships; and with enlarging all those, whom *Philip*, as in a place of most securitie, kept there imprisoned; but to shew their despight and hatred vnto the King, they ouerthrew and brake in peeces the Statues vnto him there erected. This done, they hasted away towards *Athens*: where the newes of their exploit were like to be ioyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias* about some twentie miles thence: whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet hee made all halt to take reuenge. Hee thought to haue taken the *Athenians* with their trustie friends, busie at worke in ransacking the Towne, and loading themselves with spoile: but they were gone before his coming. Five thousand light-armed foot hee had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leauing at *Chalcis* onely a few to burie the dead, hee marched thence away speedily towards *Athens*: thinking it not vnpossible to take his enemies, in the ioy of their victorie, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation; if a Foot-poss, that stood Scour for the Citie vpon the borders, had not defiered him a far off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was midnight when this Post came thither: who found all the Towne asleepe, as fearelesse of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their Citadell to sound the Alarime; and with all speed made readie for defence. Within a few houres *Philip* was there: who seeing the many lights, and other signes of busie preparation vsuall in such a case, vnderstood that they had newes of his coming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Cleodius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compass about by Sea, and had no cause of halt) yet hauing in the Towne some mercinarie souldiours, which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they aduentured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardie. He therefore onely willed his men to follow his example; and presently gaue charge vpon them. In that fight he gaue singular proofe of his valour; and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, drave them with great slaughter backe into the Citie. The heat of his courage transported him further, than discretion would haue allowed, euen to the verie gate. But he retired without harme taken; for that they which were vpon the Towers ouer the gate, could not vsether casting weapons against him, without endangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the Citie. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments besides, neere adioyning vnto *Athens*: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, euen vnto the sepulchers of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Egina*; too late, in regard of what was alreadye past: but in good time, to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed thence to *Corinth*: and hearing that the *Achaens* held a Parliament at *Argos*, He came thither to them vnexpected.

The *Achaens* were deuising vpon warre, which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*: who being started vp in the roome of *Archonides*, did greater mischief than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly vpon his Mercenaries; and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; a greedie extortioner vpon those that liued vnder him; and one, that in his naturall condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Ageas* was very fitly matched with him: since his dexteritie was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in fleeing their wives; whom shee could neuer suffer to bee at quiet, till they had presented her with all their iewells and apparell. Her husband was so delighted with her propertie, that hee caused an Image to bee made liuely representing her;

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and apparrelled it with such costly garments as thee vied to weare. But it was indeede an engine, serving to torment men. Hereof he made vse, when hee meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetoric. For calling vnto him some rich man, of whose monie hee was desirous; Hee would bring him into the roome where this counterfite *Aspege* stood, and there vse all his art of perwasion, to get what hee desired, as it were by good will. If hee could not so speede, but was answered with excuses: then tooke he the refractorie denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his wife *Aspege* (who late by in achaire) could perwade more effectually. So hee led him to the Image, that rose vp and opened the armes, as it were for embracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yron nailles, the like whereof were also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith shee griped the poore wretch; to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Governement. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the *Aetolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By these hee grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former warre. Of *Philopamens* vertue hee stood in feare; and therefore durst not prouoke the *Acheans*, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a farre worse Capitaine, was their Prætor; and all or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philopamen* being also gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloued Occupation of warre: then did *Nabis* fall vpon their Territorie; and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their owne safetie in the Townes.

Against this Tyrant the *Acheans* were preparing for warre, when *Philip* came among them; and had set downe, what proportion of souldiours euerie Citie of their Corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themselves with the care of this businesse; forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himselfe. With exceeding ioy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, That, whilst hee made warre vpon *Lacedæmon*, Hee ought not to leaue his owne Townes vnguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to *Corinth*, and some Companies into the Ile of *Eubæa*; that so he might securely pursue the war against *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his deuice: which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his war against the *Romans*. Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing war against *Nabis*; hee brake vp the Assemblie, with euerie mans good liking: whereas in former times, Hee had beene thought no better than one of the Kings Parasites.

It grieved the King to haue thus fayled in his purpose with the *Acheans*. Nevertheless hee gathered vp among them a few Voluntaries; and so returned by *Corinth* backe into *Attica*. There he met with *Philoteles* one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had been doing what harme he might vnto the Countrey. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Caste of *Elcusine*, the Haven of *Pyraus*, and euen the Citie of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made such hast after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into euerie of these places; that hee could no more than wreak his anger vpon those goodlie Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time singularly beautified. So He destroyed all the workes of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble: which they had in plentie, of their owne; or, hauing long agoe bene Masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did he onely pull all downe: but caused his men to breake the verie stones, that they might be vsenueicable to the reparation. His losse at *Chalcis* being thus reuenged vpon *Athens*, Hee went home into *Macedon*; and there made prouision, both against the Roman Consul that lay about *Apollonia*; and against the *Dardaniens*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to in-

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felt him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Aetolians*: to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he sent an Embassage; requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpicius the Roman Consul encamped vpon the River of *Apfus*. Thence he sent forth *Apustius*, his Lieutenant, with part of the Arme to wait the borders of *Macedon*. *Apustius* tooke sundrie Castles and Townes; wing such extremitie of sword and fire at *Antipatria*, the first good Towne which he wan by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, unless they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the Consul with his spoile, He was charged in Rere, vpon the passage of a Brooke, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* Captaine: but the *Romans* had the better; and killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more, to the increase of their bootie, with which they arrived in safety at their Campe. The success of this Expedition, though it were not great; yet serued to draw into the Roman freindship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. These were *Pleuratus*, the sonne of *Sceurdisidas* the *Illyrian*; *Aminander* King of the *Atthamians*; and *Bato*, the sonne of *Longurus*, a Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their assistance vnto the Consul, who thanked them: and said, That hee would shortly make vse of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when hee entred into *Macedon*: but that the freindship of *Aminander*, whose Countrey lay betwene the *Aetolians* and the *Salle*, might be perhaps auailable with the *Aetolians*, to stirre them vp against *Philip*.

So the present care, was wholly set vpon the *Aetolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* spake first: and said, That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace betwene his Master and the *Aetolians*: so was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves without good cause, to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made shew, as if their warre in *Greece* tended onely to defence of the *Aetolians*: and yet notwithstanding had bene angrie, that the *Aetolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer neede of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busie, in obtruding their protection vpon those that needed it not? Surely it was euen the generall hatred, which these *Barbarians* bore vnto the *Greekes*. For euen after the same sort had they leant their helpe to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards deliuered *Syracuse*, when it was oppressed by *Carthaginian Tyrants*: but now both *Syracuse* and *Messana*, were subiect vnto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the same effect he alledged many examples, adding, That in like sort it would happen to the *Aetolians*: who, if they drew such Masters into *Greece*, must not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to consult about Warre and Peace: the *Romans* would ease them of this care, and send them such a Moderator, as went euerie yeere from *Rome* to *Syracuse*. Wherefore he concluded, That it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, vpon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeares agoe made the peace which stil continued; although the same *Romans* were then against it, who sought to breake it now.

It would haue troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good answer to these obiections. For the *Macedonian* had spoken the verie truth, in shewing whereto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were set on by them to speake next: who had store of eloquence, and matter of reprimination enough; to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embassador, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne King had, in few dayes past, made war vpon the gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithall they made a pitifull tearfall of their owne

owne calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might haue his will: *Aetolia*, and all the rest of *Greece*, should feele the same that *Attica* had felt; yea that *Athens* it selfe, together with *Minerva*, *Iupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to haue felt, if the wals and the Roman armes had not defended them.

Then spake the *Romans*: who excusing, as well as they could, their owne oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken armes, went roundly to the point in hand. They said, that they had of late made warre in the *Aetolians* behalfe, and that the *Aetolians* had without their consent made peace: whereof since the *Aetolians* must excuse themselves, by alleging that the *Romans*, being busied with *Cathage*, wanted leisure to giue them aid conuenient: so this excuse being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent against their common Enemie, it concerned the *Aetolians* to take part with them in their war and victorie, vlesse they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be pertueied, that they which were so vehement, in offering their helpe ere it was desired: were themselves carried vnto the war by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to helpe those freinds, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may haue bene the cause, why *Dorymachus* the *Aetolian* Prætor sliuited them off awhile with a dilatorie answer: though hee told his Countreimen, That by reseruing themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in generall termes; That over-much haist was an enemie to good counsell: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming neerer to the matter in hand, He passed a Decree, That the Prætor might at any time call an Assemblies of the States, and therein conclude vpon this businesse, any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: whereas other wise it was vnlawfull to treat of such affaires, except in two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

§. XI.

The meeting of *Philip* with the *Romans*, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The *Aetolians* invade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of *Attalus* and the Roman Fleet.

PHILIP was glad to heare, that the *Romans* had sped no better in their solicitation of the *Aetolians*. He thought them hereby disappointed, in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to disappoint them of another. His sonne *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keepe the streights of *Pelagena* against the *Dardanians*; hauing with him some of the Kings Councill, to gouerne both him and his armie. It was iudged, as may seeme, that the presence of the Kings sonne, how young soeuer, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the enemies; by making them at least beleeue, that he was not weakely attended. And this may haue been the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few yeares before this, was in like manner left vpon the borders of *Aetolia* by his father; whome earnest businesse called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the *Macedonian* Fleet vnder *Heraclides*, would serue to keepe *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romans*, from doing harme by sea, when the Kings backe was turned; who tooke his iourne Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armies met in the country of the *Dassaretij*, a people in the vtmost borders of *Macedon* towards *Thyria*, about the mountaines of *Candavia*; that running along from *Hemus* in the North vntill they ioine in the South with *Pindus*, inclose the Westerne parts of *Macedon*. T wo or three daies they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Consul was the first that issued forth

- of his Campe into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of his horse, to entertaine them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the *Romans*, and driven backe into their Campe. Now although it was so, that the King was vnwilling to hazard all at first vpon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his owne forces: yet being no lesse vnwilling to loose too much in reputation; He made thew a day after, as if he would haue fought. He had found the aduantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and so gaue charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captaines, to prouoke out the *Romans* to fight; instructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behaue themselves respectfully, as opportunitie should fall out. The *Romans* had no mistrust of any ambush; hauing fought vpon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might haue sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had bene well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall backe, they charged him so hotly, that they draue him to an hallic flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not slaying to let them runne into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the
- 20 King had some desire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which he therefore presented the second time; leading forth his Armie, and setting it in order, with Elephants in front: a kind of helpe which the *Romans* had neuer vied before, but had taken the of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce about fourescore yeeres ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of Greece into *Italy*, to alright the *Romans*, who had neuer seene any of those beasts before. But now the same *Romans*, (whilest possibly some were yet aliue, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) came into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greekes* haue none. *Philip* had patience to see the Consul braue him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely: for the *Roman* had
- 30 greater neede to fight, than Hee. *Sulpicius* was vnwilling to loose time: neither could he without great danger, lying so neere the Enemy, that was strong in horse, send his men to fetch in corne out of the fields. Wherefore he removed eight miles off: presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on euen ground; and so the more boldly he suffered his Forragers to ouer run the Countrey. The King was nothing sorry of this: but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleasure: euen till their presumption, and his owne supposed feare, should make them careless. When this was come to passe, he tooke all his horse and light-armed-foote; with which hee occupied a place in the midway, betwene the Forragers and their Campe. There he stayed in Count with part of his forces; to keepe the passages
- 40 that none should escape. The rest hee sent abroad the Countrey, to fall vpon the straglers: willing them to put all to the sword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The slaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scour the fields, lighted all or most of them vpon the King and his companies in their flight: so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there escaped some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his horse, and bids them helpe their fellows where they saw it needfull: He himselfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horse diuided themselves, accordingly as they met with aduertisements vpon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted vpon *Philips* Troupes, that were caualling the field, tooke their taske where they found it. But the maine bulke of them fell vpon the King himselfe. They had the disaduantage: as comming fewer, and vnprepared, to one that was readie for them.

So they were beaten away: as their fellows also might have bene, if the King had well bethought himselfe, and giuen ouer in time. But while, not contented with such an haruelt, he was too greedie about a poore gleaming: the Roman Legions appeared in sight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparant, enforced the *Macedonians* to looke to their owne safetie. They ranne which way they could: and (as men that lie in wait for others, are seldom heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogges, wherein many of them were loit. The Kings horse was slaine vnder him: and there had he bene cast away, if a louing subiect of his had not alighted; mounted him vpon his owne horse; and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foot was ouertaken, and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident rashnesse; and the Consul, with as much dulnesse; for this daies seruice. A little longer stay would haue deliuered the King from these enemies without any blow: since when all the feilds about them were wasted, they must needes haue retired backe to the Sea. On the other side it was not thought vnlike, That if the *Romans* following the King, had set vpon his Campe, at such times as he fled thither halfe amazed with feare of being either slaine or taken; they might haue won it. But that noble Historian *Livie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath iudiciously obserued, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this daies worke. For the maine bodie of the Kings Armie laie safe in his Campe; and could not be so astonishd with the losse of two or three hundred Horse, that it should therefore haue abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himselfe; He was aduertised, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen vpon his Countrey; when they found the passage therinto open, after *Perseus* was called away from custodie of the Streights. This was it which made him aduenture to doe somewhat betimes; that he might let the *Romans* goe the looner, and afterwards looke vnto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to cleere himselfe of the *Romans*, as soone as he might. And to that purpose he sent vnto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in stead of so doing, he marched away by night; and left fires in his Campe to beguile the Enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He ouertooke the *Macedonians* in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a woodie ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the *Macedonian Phalangis* was of little vse; being a square battaile of pikes, not fit for euerie ground. The Archers of *Crete* were iudged, and were indeed, more seruiceable in that case. But they were few; and their arrowes were of small force against the Roman theild. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victorie (such as it was) laid open vnto the Consul some poore Townes there about; which partly were taken by strong hand; partly yielded for feare: But the spoile of these, and of the feilds adioyning, was not sufficient to maintaine his Armie; and therefore he returned backe to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* was come backe, withdrew themselves apace out of the Countrey. The King sent *Athenagoras* to wait vpon them home; whilst he himselfe went against the *Atolians*. For *Damocritus* the Pretor of the *Atolians*, who had reserved himselfe and his Nation vnto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and againe: as also that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardanians* were fallen vpon *Macedon*; grew no lesse busie on the sudden, than before he had bene wife. He perswaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not slaying to proclaim war, ioyned his forces with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; and made inuasion vpon *Thessalie*. They tooke and cruelly sacked a few Townes: whereby they grew

grew confident, as if, without any danger, they might doe what they listed. But Philip came vpon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to haue taken their Campe; if *Aminander*, more warie than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his owne mountainous Countrey.

About the same time; the *Roman Fleet*, assailed by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken some small Islands in the *Ægean Sea*. They tooke likewise the Towne of *Oreum* in the Ile of *Euboea*; and some other places thereabout. The Townes were giuen to *Attalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly beene made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were giuen to the *Romans*; and the people, for slaues. Other attempts on that side were hindred; cyther by foule weather at Seas; or by want of daring, and of meanes.

§. XII.

VILLIUS the *Roman Consul* wastes a year to no effect. Warre of the *Gauls* in *Italie*; An Embasie of the *Romans* to *Carthage*, *Masanissa*, and *Vermina*. The *Macedonian* prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and T. *Quintius Flaminius* is sent against him.



us the time ranne away: and *P. Villius*, a new Consul, tooke charge of the Warre in *Macedon*. Hee was troubled with a Mutinie of his oldest Souldiours: whereof two thousand, hauing serued long in *Sicily* and *Africa*, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not bee suffered to looke vnto their owne estates at home.

They were (belike) of the Legions that had serued at *Cannæ*: as may seeme by their complaint, of hauing beene long absent from *Italie*; whither faime they would haue returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is vncertaine. For the Historie of his year is lost: whereof the misse is not great; since hee did nothing memorabile. *Valerius Antias*, as wee find in *Liuius*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Liuius* himselfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could find no such thing recorded in any good Authour; we may reasonably believe, that *Villius* his year was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian Warre*, the *Romans* found more trouble than could haue bin expected with the *Gauls*. Their Colonie of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Towne, which neyther *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had beene able to force; was taken by these *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted; but saved herselfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamitie. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that had staid behind *Asdrubal*, or *Mago*, in those parts; was now become Captaine of the *Gauls*, in these their enterprises. This when the *Romans* heard: they sent Embassadors to the *Carthaginians*: giuing them to vnderstand, That, if they were not wearie of the peace, it behoued them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made warre in *Italie*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps lest the message might seeme otherwise to haue sauoured a little of some feare) That of the Fugitiue slaues belonging vnto the *Romans*, there were some reported to walk vp and down in *Carthage*; which if it were so, then ought they to bee restored backe to their Masters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadors that were sent on this errand; had further charge to treat with *Masanissa*, as also with *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*. Vnto *Masanissa*, besides matter of complement, they were to signifie what pleasure Hee might doe them, by lending them some of his *Numidian* Horse; to serue in their Warre against

against the *Macedonian*. *Vermine* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of *King*; and promised thereafter to deserue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said, That hauing bene, and being still (as they tooke it) their Enemy, Hee ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of *King*, was an honour which they vsed not to conferre vpon any, saue onely vpon such as had royally deserued it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadours vpon such termes as they should thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him; and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitiues: they had restored as manie as they could finde; and would in that point, as farreas was requisite, giue satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent a great proportion of Corneto *Rome*; and the like vnto the Arme that was in *Macedon*. King *Masaniissa* would haue lent vnto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* Horle: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. *Vermine* met with the Embassadours, to giue them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and, without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gauls*: they laid seige vnto *Cremona*, where *L. Furius* *Roman* Prætor came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battaile: and the fruit of the Victorie was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwarde should haue the manning of warre among those *Gauls*. So was there good leisure to thinke vpon the businesse of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to giue contentment vnto his subjects, by punishing a bad Counsaillour whom they hated; as also to assure vnto himselfe the *Achaens*, by rendering vnto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising and trayning his people, but by fortifying the passages that led threinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing, when *Villius*, hauing vnprofitably laboured to find way into *Macedon*, taking a iournee (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came aduertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Prouince, whose comming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Arme.

§. XIII.

The *Romans* beginne to make warre by negotiation. *T. QVINTIVS* winnes a passage against *PHILIP*. The *Salie* wasted by *PHILIP*, the *Romans*, and *Aetolians*. The *Achaens* forsaking the *Macedonian* take part with the *Romans*. A treatie of peace, that was vaine. *PHILIP* deliuer *Argos* to *Nabis* the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the *Romans*.



He *Romans* had not bene wont in formertimes, to make Warre after such a trifling manner. It was their vie, to giue battaile to the Enemy, as soone as they met with him. If hee refused it, they besieged his Townes: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when hee had long forborne it (as it would bee interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weaknesse. But in this their Warre with *Philip*, they beganne to learne of the suble *Greekes*, the art of Negotiation wherein

wherein hitherto they were not growne so fine, as within a little while they proued. Their treasure was poore, and stood in debted, * manie yeares after this, vnto priuate men, for part of those monies that had bene borrowed in the second Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonaltie auserf from the Macedonian Warre; and had thereby driuen the Senators greedie of the enterprize, to make vse of their cunning. Yet being wearie of the slow pace wherewith their businesse went forward, they determined to increafe their Armie; that they might haue the lesse need to relye vpon their Confederates. So they leauied eight thousand foot and eight hundred Horfe (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius* the new Consul into *Macedon*. Their Naue, and other meanes could well haue serued, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Armie: but by straining themselves to the most of their abilitie, they should (besides other difficulties, incident vnto the sustenance of those that are too manie and too farr from home) haue bred some ieaousie in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby haue lost some friends, yea perhaps haue increased the number of their enemies more than of their owne Souldiours. This present augmentation of the forces was verie requisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himselfe vnto them, by his Embassadors; requesting that eyther they would vndertake the defence of his Kingdome against *Antiochus* who inuaded it; or else that they would not take it vncourteously, that he quitted the Warre with *Philip*, and returned home, to looke vnto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They said, That it was not their manner to vse the aid of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could also bee well contented to afford it; That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though hee were, against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but That they would deale with *Antiochus* by Embassadors, and (as common friends vnto both of the Kings) doe their best to perswade an attennement betweene them. In such louing fashion did they now carrie themselves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*: who reciprocally, at their entreatie, withdrew his Armie from the Kingdome

30 of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these tearmes of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip* it will verie soone appeare.

T. Quintius halting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the supply decreed vnto him; which consisted, for the most part, of olde Souldiours, that had serued in *Spain* and *Africk*. He found *Villus* the old Consul, (whom at his comming hee presently discharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the Riuer of *Apfus* or *Aous*. It was manifest, that eyther the *Romans* must fetch a compasse about, and seeke their way into *Macedon* through the poore Countrie of the *Dassarethans*; or else winne, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two yeares together mispent their time, and beene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of victuals: whereof they could neyther carrie with them store sufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get ouer these Mountaines, which diuided the South of *Epirus* from *Thessalie*: then should they enter into a plentifull Countrie; and which, by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Neuertheless the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the Riuer of *Apfus*, running along through that Valley which alone was open betwene the Mountaines, made it al a deep Marish and vnpassable Bogge; a verie narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine Rock by mans hand.

50 Wherefore *Quintius* assaied to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himselfe disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his Enemie, who neglected not the gard of them that was verie easie; Hee was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing, for the space of fortie dayes.

This long time of rest gaue hope vnto *Philip*, that the warre might bee ended by
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composition, vpon some reasonable termes. He therfore so dealt with some of the *Epirots*, (among whom he had many friends) that He and the Consul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Consul would haue him to set all Townes of *Greece* at libertie; and to make amends for the injuries, which hee had done to many people in his late Warres. *Philip* was contented to giue libertie to those whom hee had subdued of late: but vnto such, as had beene long subiect vnto him and his Ancestors, He thought it against all reason, that he should relinquish his claime and Dominion ouer them. He also said, That as farre forth as it should appeare, that hee had done wrong vnto any Towne or people whatsoever, He could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seeme conuenient in the judgment of some free State, that had not beene interessed in those quarrels. But here withall *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed, (hee said) no judgment or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparant, that *Philip* had alwayes beene the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one prouoked, in his owne defence. After this alteration, when they should come to particulars: and when the Consul was required to name those Townes, that he would haue to be set at libertie; the first that hee named were the *Thessalians*. These had beene subiects (though conditionally) vnto the *Macedonian* Kings, euer since the dayes of *Alexander* the Great and of *Philip* his father. Wherefore, as soone as *Flaminius* had named the *Thessalians*, the King in a rage demanded, what sharper Condition hee would haue laid vpon him, had he beene but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly hee flang away; refusing to heare any more of such discourse.

After this the Consul stroue in vaine, two or three dayes together, to haue preuailed against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had wel wearied himselfe, and could not relouue what course to take: there came to him an *Heardman*, sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that fauoured the *Romans*, who hauing long kept beasts in those Mountaines, was thoroughly acquainted with all by-paths; and therefore vndertooke to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they should haue advantage of the Enemie. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was fast bound: and, being promised great reward, in case he made good his word, had such Companies, as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They trauielled by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and rested in the day-time, for feare of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-toppes, and were about the *Macedonians*, (though vndiscovered by them becaue at their backs) they raised a great smoke; whereby they gaue notice of their successe vnto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilst these were on their iourne, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonians*; thereby to auert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were sent: He pressed as neare as he could vnto the Enemies Campe; and assailed them in their strength. He preuailed as little as in former times; vntill the shoutings of those that ranne downe the Hill, and charged *Philip* on the backe, astonished the *Macedonians*, that they tooke themselves to flight. The King, vpon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to saue himself. Yet anon considering, that the difficultie of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him: He made a stand at the end of fise miles; and gathered there together his broken troupes, of whom hee found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Campe and prouisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the *Macedonians* beganne to stand in feare, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their partie against the Enemie, vpon equall ground. Neyther was *Philip* himselfe much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hastie retreat he could visit, to forsake their Townes and Countrie; carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be persuaded,

swaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him: which they might the better doe, for that hee could not stay to vie any great compulsion. He also himselfe tooke it verie greivously, that he was driven to make such wast of a most pleasant and fruitful Countie, which had euer been well affected vnto him: so that a little hinderance did serue, to make him breake off his purpose; and withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdome of *Assalon*.

- The *Etolians* and *Asiamians*, when this fell out, were euen in a redinesse to inuade *Theffalie*; whereinto the waies lay more open, out of their severall Countreies. When therefore they heard for certaintie, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they forelloved not the occasion; but made all speede, each of them to lay hold vpon what they might. *T. Quintus* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that He, in gleaming after their haruelist, could not finde enough to maintaine his Armie. Thus werethe poore *Theffalians*, of whose libertie the *Romans* a few daies since had made them to bevered, waisted by the same *Romans* and their Confederates, not knowing which way to turne themselves, or whom to avoid. *T. Quintus* wan *Phaleria* by assault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yielded vnto him. *Rhage* he beleiged; and hauing made a faire breach yet was vnable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the inhabitants, and by a Macedonian Garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, hauing somewhat recollected his spirits, hooured about *Tempe* with his Armie; thrulling men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, hauing well neare spent his victualles, & seeing no hope to preuaile at *Rhage*; brake vp his ligges, and departed out of *Theffalie*. Hee had appointed his shippes of burden to meet him at *Antigra*, an Haven towne of *Phocis*, on the Gulfe of *Corinth*: which Countreie being freind to the Macedonian, he presently inuaded; not so much for hatred vnto the people, as because it lay conueniently seated betwene *Theffalie* and other Regions, wherein he had busines, or was shortly like to haue. Many Townes in *Phocis* he wan by assault: many were yielded vp vnto him for feare; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

- In the meane time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admiral for the *Romans* in this war, ioyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They wan two Cities in *Euboea*; and afterward laid siege vnto *Cenchree*, an Haven and Armeall of the *Corinthians* on their Easterne Sea. This enterprife did somewhat helpe forward the *Achaens*, in their desire to leaue the part of *Philip*: sine it might come to passe, that *Corinth* it selfe, ere long time were spent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now verie shortly, should be rendered vnto their Nation, by fauour of the *Romans*.

- But there were other Motiues, inducing the *Achaens*, to prefer the friendship of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*: whereto they had beene long accustomed. For this King had so many waies offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him; whilst being entangled in a dangerous war, he wanted meanes to hinder the execution of such counsaile, as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practises to make himselfe their absolute Lord: His poisoning of *Aratus* their old Gouvernour: His false dealing with the *Messenians*, *Epirians*, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants; together with many particular outrages by him committed; had caused them long since to hold him as a necessarie euill, euen whilst they were vnable to bee without his assistance. But since by the vertue of *Philopamen*, they were growne somewhat confident in their owne strength, so as without the *Macedonians* helpe they could as well subsist, as hauing him to freind: then did they onely thinke how euill he was; and thereupon reioyce the more, in that he was become no longer necessarie. It angered him to perceiue how they stood affected: and therefore he sent murderers, to take away the life of *Philopamen*. But saying in this enterprife, and being detected:

Gggggg 2

He

*Plut. in vita
Philopam. lxx
fin. l. 59.

he did thereby onely set fire to the Wood, which was throughly drie before, and prepared to burne. *Philopamen* wrought so with the *Acheans*: that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to with-draw themselves from the *Macedonian*. *Cybaladas*, a principal man among them, and lately their Prator, was expelled by them, for shewing himselfe passionate in the cause of *Philip*: and *Aristanus* chosen Prator, who laboured to ioyne them in societie with the *Romans*.

These newes were verie welcome to *T. Quintus*. Embassadours were sent from the *Romans*, and their Confederates King *Attalus*, the *Rhoetians*, and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Acheans*; making promise, that they should haue *Corinth* restored vnto them, if they would forsake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Acheans* was held at *Sigion*, to deliberate and resolute in this weightie case. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents desired the *Acheans*, to ioyne with them in making warre vpon *Philip*. Contrariwise, the Embassadours of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this busines, admonishing the *Acheans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due vnto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of *Philip*s Embassadour, did no way aduance his Masters cause. Rather it gaue the *Acheans* to vnderstand, That hee, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himselfe vnable to gratifie them in any reciproall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councel; who remembering the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late iniuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; preuailed against the memorie of those good turnes, which he, (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold vnto them, and partly had vsed as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subiection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance, That the *Romans* were strong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much alteration the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this war. With *Attalus* & the *Rhoetians*: they forthwith entered into societie with the *Romans* (because no League would be of force, vntill the Senate and People had approved it) they forbore to decree any societie at the present, vntill the returne of those Embassadours from *Rome*, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymaans*, & *Argines*, hauing done their best for the *Macedonian*, as by many respects they were bound; rose vp out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the Decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with honestie thereto giue assent. For this their good will, and greater which they shortly manifested, the *Argines* had so little thanke; that all the rest of the *Acheans* may be the better held excused, for elcasing how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, vpon a solemne day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens discovered itselfe so plainly, in the behalfe of *Philip*; that they which were his Partisans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might haue any small assistance. *Philoctes*, a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*; which he had manfully defended against the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to *Argos*: whither comming on a sudden, and finding the Multitude readie to ioyne with him; He easily compelled the *Achaean* Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth* and some other Townes, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, so they gaue him hope to obtaine some good end by Treatie: whilst as yet with his honour he might seeke it, and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consul would shortly be chosen; who should take the worke out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect vnto himselfe; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to praedipose things vnto a conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay.

a Parliament pp 6. 10. 20. 30. 40. 50. 60. 70. 80. 90. 100. 110. 120. 130. 140. 150. 160. 170. 180. 190. 200. 210. 220. 230. 240. 250. 260. 270. 280. 290. 300. 310. 320. 330. 340. 350. 360. 370. 380. 390. 400. 410. 420. 430. 440. 450. 460. 470. 480. 490. 500. 510. 520. 530. 540. 550. 560. 570. 580. 590. 600. 610. 620. 630. 640. 650. 660. 670. 680. 690. 700. 710. 720. 730. 740. 750. 760. 770. 780. 790. 800. 810. 820. 830. 840. 850. 860. 870. 880. 890. 900. 910. 920. 930. 940. 950. 960. 970. 980. 990. 1000.

- then called the *Malian*, or *Lamian Bay*; now (as is supposed) the *Golfe of Zuvon*, in the *Aegean Sea*, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; an Embassador of *Attalus*; the Admirall of *Rhodes*; and some Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Achaïans*. *Philip* had with him some few of his owne Capitaines, and *Cycliades*, lately banished for his sake out of *Achaïa*. He refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he said) none but the immortal gods: yet milder doubting some treacherie in the *Ætolians*. He demands of *Titus* in behalfe of the *Romans* were, That he should set all cities of *Greece* at libertie; deliuer vp to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegado's; likewise whatsoeuer he held
- 10 of theirs in *Illyria*; and whatsoeuer about *Greece* or *Asia* he had gotten from *Ptolemie* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made entire, of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and spoiled in the late warre betweene them. The *Rhodians* would haue againe the Countrie of *Perez*, lying ouer against their Iland; as also that hee should withdraw his Garrisons, out of diuers Townes about the *Helleſpont*, and other Hauens of their friends. The *Achaïans* desired restitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not vniuſtly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their consent. The *Ætolians* tooke vpon them angrily, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Countrie, leaving it free; and withall to deliuer vp vnto them, whatsoeuer he held that had at any time bene theirs. Neither were they here-withall content: but insolently declaymed against him, for that which he had lately done in *Theſſalie*; corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the victors, by destroying, when he was vanquished, those Townes which else they might haue gotten. To answer these malapert *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gallie to row nearer the shore. But they began to plic him a fresh telling him, that he must obey his betters; vnlesse he were able to defend himselfe by force of armes. He answered them, (as he was much giuen to gybing) with sundrie scoffes; and especially with one, which made the *Roman* Consul vnderstand, what manner of companions these *Ætolians* were. For he said, That he had often dealt with them; as
- 30 likewise, the rest of the *Greekes*; desiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them to take spoile from spoile: yet could he get no better an answer, than that they would sooner take *Ætolia* out of *Ætolia*. *Titus* wondered what might be the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as warre happened betweene their friends, to hold vp the quarrell by sending voluntaries to serue on both sides, that should spoile both the one and the other. As for the libertie of *Greece*; He said it was strange that the *Ætolians* should be so carefull thereof, since diuers Tribes of their owne, which he there named, were indeed no *Gracians*: wherefore he would faine know, whether the *Romans* would giue him leaue to make slaves of those *Ætolians*, which were no
- 40 *Greekes*. *Titus* herat smiled; and was no whit offended, to heare the *Ætolians* well ratled vp; touching whom he began to vnderstand, how odious they were in all the Countrie. As for that general demand of setting all *Greece* at libertie; *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well become the greatnesse of the *Romans*; though hee would also consider, what might become his owne dignitie. But that the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other pettie Estates, should thus presume, vnder countenance of the *Romans*, to take vpon them, as if by their great might hee should be hereto compelled: it was, he said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The *Achaïans* be charged with much ingratitude: reciting against them some Decrees of their owne; wherein they had londen both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honors.
- 50 Neuerthelesse he said, that he would render *Argos* vnto them: but, as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himselfe. Thus he addrest himselfe wholly to the *Roman* Generall: vnto whom if he could giue satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late warre, (he said) was onely defensiu; they hauing bene the officers: or if he gaue them any occasion,

it was onely in helping *Prusias*, his sonne-in-law; neither did hee see why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoyleing a Temple of *Venus*, hee had cut downe the Grove and pleasant walkes thereabouts: what could hee doe more, than send Gardiners thither with yong Plants; if one King of another would stand to aske such recompence. Thus he settled the matter out: but offered neuerthelesse, in honour of the *Romans*, to giue backe the Region of *Perraea* to the *Rhodiens*; as likewise to *Attalus*, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that daies conference, because it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leisure to thinke vpon the Articles, which were many; and he ill prouided of Counsaile, wherewith to aduise about them. For your being so ill prouided of counsaile, said *Titus*, you may euen thank your selfe; as hauing murdered all your freinds, that were wont to aduise you faithfully. The next day *Philip* came not, vntill it was late at night: excusing his long stay by the waightinesse of the things propounded; whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolve. But it was beleiued, that hee thereby sought to abridge the *Aetolians* of leisure to raile at him. And this was the more likely; for that hee desired conference in priuate with the *Roman* General. The summe of his discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would giue to the *Acheans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as also that he would render vnto *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the *Aetolians* that hee would grant some part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatsoeuer they did challenge. This when *Titus* his associates heard, they exclaimed against it: saying, That if the King were suffered to retaine any thing in *Greece*, he would shortly get possession of all which hee now rendred vp. The noise that they made came to *Philip*'s care: who thereupon desired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not perswade them, hee would suffer himselfe to be perfwaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King entreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken vnto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had alreadie tendered; or otherwise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadours to *Rome*, where hee would referre himselfe to the courtesie of the Senate.

This was euen as *Quintius* would haue it: who stood in doubt, least a new Consul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which hee expected by ending of the warre. So he easily preuailed with the rest, to assent hereunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, a time vnfit for seruice in the warre; and since, without authoritie of the Senate, he should be vnable to proceed resolutely either in warre or peace. Further he willed them to send their seuerall Embassadours to *Rome*: which intimidating vnto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip*, from obtaining any thing to their preiudice. Among the rest he perswaded King *Antiochus*, to make a iourne to *Rome* in person: knowing wel, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadours, would serue to make his owne actions more glorious in the Citie. All this tended to procure, that his owne Command of the Armie in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had alreadie (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reasons which they alleagued vnto the Senate.

The Embassadours of the *Greekes*, when they had audience at *Rome*, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more desirous of victorie, than of satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the *Romans*, in vndertaking to set *Greece* at libertie. But this (they sayd) could neuer be effected; vntlesse especial care were taken, that the King should be dispossessed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Countrey, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in seruilitie

littie; that the Senate agreed to haue it euen so as they desired. When therefore the Embassadours of *Philip* were brought in, and began to haue made a long Oration; they were breifly cut off in the middelt of their Preface, with this one demand: *Whether their Master should yeeld up Corinth, Chalcis and Demetrius*: Hæreto they made answer, That, concerning those places, the King had giuen them no direction or Commission what to say, or doe. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* desire of peace; wherein they said hee did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadours haue truly said, That neither the *Ætolians, Achæans*, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late Treatie required by name, that *Chalcis and Demetrius* should be yeelded vp. For which of them indeed could make any Claime to either of these Townes? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achæans* had some right; (though their right were no better, than that, hauing stolne it from One *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain vnto an Other) *Philip* had alreadie condescended to giue it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would haue bene allreadged, euen against the *Greekes* in excuse of the King, by some of *T. Quintius* his friends; that so he might haue had the honour to conclude the warre, if a Successor had bene decreed vnto him. But since He was appointed to continue General: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor Hæc himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadours into *Greece*, cared to giue eare vnto any talke of peace.

Philip, seeing that his *Achæans* had forsaken him, and ioyned with their common enemies; thought euen to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himselfe vnto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many yeares past, since the *Lacedæmonians* vnder *Cleomenes*, with little other helpe than their owne strength, had bene almost strong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achæans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted in a manner wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant; though stiling himselfe King. Yet he sorely vexed the *Achæans*: and therefore seemed vnto *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Towne of *Argos*, which could not otherwile be easily defended, should be consigned ouer into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serue to tie him fast vnto the *Macedonian*. *Philoctetes* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deale with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a freight alliance with the *Lacedæmonian*, by giuing some daughters of his owne in marriage vnto *Nabis* his sonnes. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Towne of *Argos*; vnlesse by decree of the citizens themselves He might be called into it. Hereabout *Philoctetes* dealt with the *Argiues*: but found them so averse; that, in open assemblie of the people, they detested the verie name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought hee had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them. So hee willed *Philoctetes*, without more ado, to make ouer the Towne which he was rendie to receiue. *Philoctetes* accordingly did let him with his Armie into it by night; and gaue him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argiues*: who for verie loue had forsaken the *Achæans*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himselfe Master of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, vnderstanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that staid behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of monie was laid vpon all those, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more ado. But if any stood long vpon the matter: or paled the theiues, in purloyning their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and besides losse of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely such, as might serue to make him gracious with the rascall multitude: abrogating

gating all debts, and diuiding the Lands of the rich among the poore. By such hart of oppressing the great ones, it hath bene an old custome of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soone as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, He sent the newes to *T. Quintius*, and offered to ioyne with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as hee tooke the paines to crosse ouer the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They hee saunc agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was present with the Consul, made some cauilt touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent vnto the *Romans* fixe hundred of his Mercinaries of *Crete*: as also hee agreed with the *Acheans*, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, reseruing the small conclusion of peace betweene them vntill the Warre of *Philip* should be ended, which after this continued not long.

¶ XIIIIL.

The battaile at *Cynoscephala*, wherein *Philip* was vanquished by *T. Quintius*.

TITUS QVINTIVS, as soone as he vnderstood that he was appointed to haue Command of the Armie, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate, made all things readie for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did *Philip*: who hauing failed in his negotiation of peace, and no lesse failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that Warre; meant afterwarde wholly to relie vpon himselfe.

Plot. la villa T.
Q. Flam.

Titus had in his Armie about six and twentie thousand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neyther of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemie intended to doe. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Thessalie*; and thereupon addressed himselfe to seeke him out. They had like to haue met vnawares, neare vnto the Citie of *Phera*: where the vantage-courriers on both sides discovered each other; and sent word thereof vnto their severall Captaines. But neyther of them were over-hastie, to commit all to hazard vpon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better discoverie. They met, and fought a long while: returning finally backe into their severall Campes, with little aduantage vnto eyther side. The Countrey about *Phera* was thicke set with Trees: and otherwise full of Gardens and mud-wals, which made it vnproper for seruice of the Macedonian *Phalanx*. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remoue back vnto *Scathysain* in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully serued with all necessaries. *Titus* conceiued aright his meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it onely to wait the Countrey. There lay betweene them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other tooke. Neuertheless they encamped not farre asunder, both the first and the second night; though neyther of them vnderstood what was become of the other. The third daie was verie tempestuous; and forced each of them to take vp his lodging, where he found it, by chance. Then sent they forth discoverers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the *Macedonians* had the worse. But *Philip* anon sent in such strong supply; that if the resistance of the *Aetolians* had not bene desperate, the *Romans* their fellows had bene driuen backe into their Campe. Yet, all resistance notwithstanding, the *Macedonians* preuailed: so that *Titus* himselfe was faine to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battaile in trust that day, with so much of his estate as might thereon depend. But the newes came

came to him thick and tumultuously, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own; if he could vse an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose: inasmuch as he embattailed his men; and climbed vp those hills, which for that the knops thereon had some resemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called, by a word signifying as much, *Cynosephale*. As soone as he was on the hill-top; it did him good to see that they of his owne light armature were busie in sight, almost at the verie Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so farre. He had also libertie to choose his ground, as might serue best his aduantage: forasmuch as the *Romans* were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commoditie he could make no great vse: the roughnesse of the place among those
 10 *Dogs heads*, as they were called, seruing nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Neuerthelesse hee found conuenient roomes, wherein to marshall the one part of his Armie: and gaue order vnto his Captaines, to follow with therelt; embattailing them as they might. Whilest hee was doing this: Hee perceived that his Horsemen and light armature beganne to shrink; as being fallen vpon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driuen to recoyle. He lets forward to helpe them: and they no lesse hastily draw vnto him for succour; hauing the *Romans* not farre behind them.

As the Legions beganne to climbe the Hill; *Philip* commanded those of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Here *Titus* found an extreme difficult peece of worke. For this *Phalanx*, being a great square battaile of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now vsed in our moderne Warrs: and being in like manner vsed, as are ours; was not to bee resisted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it selfe held together vndissolued. The *Macedonians* were embattailed in verie close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the *Romans*; as also the pikes of the first ranke, had their points aduanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no maruel, if the *Romans* gaue back: euerie one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come nearer vnto the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot or thereabout. Thus
 30 finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it; was greatly troubled: for that still the *Phalanx* bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while hee obserued, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able, through the much vneuenesse of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as eyther they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was worse) vpon desire eyther of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to bee partakers in the worke, ranne foolishly along by the side of their fellowes, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder He made great and present vse. Hee caused the right wing of his Battaile to march vp the hill, against these ill ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readier to dispute
 40 what should bee done in such a case, than well aduised what to doe; as hauing no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeed if they should haue done their best, it could not haue serued; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons vnfesall. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* hauing six and twentie thousand in his Armie (as he is said to haue beene equal to the Enemy in number) had foure thousand Horse, foure thousand Targettiers, and foure thousand light-armed: so that there remaine fourteene thousand Pikes; whereof hee himselfe had embattailed the one halfe in a *Phalanx*; the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom *Quintus* is readie now to charge. The *Phalanx* hauing vsually sixteene in File, must, when it consisted of seuen thousand, haue well neare foure hundred and fortie in ranke: but foure hundred would serue, to make a Front
 50 long enough; the other fortie or seuen and thirtie Files might bee cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to euerie man of them three foot of ground: this Front must haue occupied twelue hundred Foot, or two hundred and fortie paces; that

Excerpt: Polybius
Lib. 17.

that is, verie neare a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champlaines free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that mult of necessitie disioyne this close battaile of the *Phalans*; was not euerie where to be found. Here at *Cynoscephale* *Philip* had so much roome, as would onely suffice for the one halfe of his men: the rest were faine to stand still and looke about them; being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughnesse of the *Deget heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from comming vp vnto them; nor found any difficultie in murthering those enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommoditie of the place. The verie first impression of the Elephants, caused them to giue backe; and the comming on of the Legions, to betake themselves vnto flight. A Roman Tribune or Colonell, seeing the victorie on that part assured, left the prosecution of it vnto others: and being followed by twentie Ensignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, tooke in hand a notable peece of worke, and mainly helpfull to making of the Victorie complete. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was runne on so farre; as that himselfe with his fellows, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten about the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand; and making downe the Hill after the Kings *Phalans*, fell vpon it in the Rere. The hindmost ranks of the *Phalans*, all of them indeed saue the first five, were accustomed, when the batailles came to joyning, to carrie their Pikes vpright; and wth the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their foremen: and so were they doing at the present. This was an other great inconuenience in the *Macedonian Phalans*, That it serued neither for offence nor defence, except onely in Front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Mesopotania*, arranged his *Phalans* in such order, that all the foure sides of it were as so many Fronts looking sundrie wayes, because hee expected that he should be encompassed round: yet it is to be vnderstood, that herein he altered the vsuall forme; as also at the same time he embattaild his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turne their weapons, which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That *Alexanders* men being thus disposed, were fit onely to keep their own ground; not being able to follow vpon the Enemy, vnlesse their hindmost ranks could haue marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such prouision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise vnable to helpe themselves, threw downe their weapons, and fled. The King himselfe had thought vntill now, that the fortune of the battaile was euerie where alike, and the day his owne. But hearing the noyse behind him, and turning a little aside with a troupe of Horse, to see how all went: when he beheld his men casting downe their weapons, and the *Romans* at his backe on the higher ground; Hee presently betooke himselfe to flight. Neyther staid he after wards in any place (except onely a small while about *Tempe* there to collect such as were disparted in this ouerthrow) vntill hee was gotten into his owne Kingdome of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* Armie in this battaile, about seuen hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thousand were slaine; and fise thousand taken Prisoners.

p. XV.

T. QVINTIVS falleth out with the *Aetolians*; and grants truce vnto
 PHILIP, with conditions, vpon which the peace is raised.
Libertie proclaimed vnto the Greeks.

The Romans quarrell with
 ANTIOCHVS.

10 He *Aetolians* wonderfully wanted themselves; and desired to haue it
 notified through all *Greece*, that the victorie at *Cynosephala* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootie; by lacking the *Macedonian* Campe, whilst the *Romans* were builed in the chace. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vaine glorie, and at their rauenous condition; purposed to teach them better maners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceiued, that by viling them with any extraordinary fauor, he should greatly offend the rest of his Confederates in *Greece*; who detested the *Aetolians* much more vehemently, than euer they had done the *Macedonians*. But this displeasure brake not forth yet awhile.

20 After the battaile *Titus* made halt vnto *Larissa*, a Citie of *Thessalie*: which he presently tooke. Before his comming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages whatsoeuer in writing, betwixt him and others, of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the carcs of so much aduersitie, he forgot not to provide for the safetie of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of *Larissa* might well perceiue, that he gaue them as alreadie lost. Wherefore we finde not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the Towne of *Leucas* bordering vpon *Acarnania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleet: and verie soone after, all the *Acarnanians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Aetolians* euer true to *Philip*; gaue vp themselves vnto the *Romans*, hearing of the victorie at *Cynosephala*. The *Rhodians* also were then in hand with the conquest of *Peras*, a Region of the Continent ouer against their Iland; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treatie of peace with *Philip*. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greekes*: forasmuch as they awaited not the good leifure of the *Romans*; but with an Armie of their owne, and some helpe which they borrowed of the *Achaens* and other their freinds, gaue battaile to *Dinocrates* the Kings Lieutenant, wherein they had the victorie, and consequently recouered the whole Prouince. It angered *Philip* worse than all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdome; waisting and spoiling, as if all had bene abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Armie in all hast, of six thousand foot and five hundred horse: wherewith comming vpon them, he draue them, with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdome. Which done, he returned to *Thessalonica*.

In this one enterprise He had successe answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdom to yeeld vnto necessity; and therefore sent in all hast *Limnaeus* and *Demofthenes*, with *Cycliades* the banished *Achaean*, in whom hee reposed much confidence, Embassadors vnto *Titus*. These had conference along while in priuate, with *Titus* and some of his *Roman* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in verie freindly wise dismissed. It seemed that they had Commission, to referre all vnto *Titus* his owne discretion; as *Philip* himselfe in few daies after did. There was granted vnto them a Truce for fifteene daies: in which time, the King him selfe might come and speake with the *Roman* General. In the meane season manie

nie suspicious rumors went of *Titus* as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of these bruits the *Ætoli-ans* were chief authors: who being wont to regard neither freindship nor honestie, where profit led them a wrong way, iudged a like of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent letters vnto his Associates; willing them to haue their Agents readie by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treatie should be held. There when they were all assembled, they entred into consultation before the Kings arrivall, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every Estate in particular. The poore King *Aminander* besought them all, and especially the *Romans*, that they would think vpon him; and considering his weaknes which he confessed, make such prouision, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreake his anger vpon him who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander* one of the *Ætoli-ans*: who commending *Titus* for so much as he had thus assembled the Confederates to aduise vpon their owne good, and had willed them to deliuer their mindes freely: added, That in the maine of the purpose which hee had in hand, he was vtterly decciued: for that by making peace with *Philip*, hee could neither assure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their libertie. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the war, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the faire promises made by *Titus* himselfe vnto the *Greeks*, than the chacing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdome. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this *Ætoli-an* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the laudable customes which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to seeke the vtter destruction of any King or Nation, at such time as they first made warre with them; vntill by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessitie, to take such a rigorous course. And herof he alleaged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victorie, to generous mindes, was only an inducement vnto moderation. As concerning the publik benefit of *Greece*: it was (he said) expedient, that the Kingdome of *Macedon* should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should be vtterly destroyed: forasmuch as it serued as a barre, to the *Thracians*, *Gauls*, and a multitude of other savage Nations, which would soone overflow the whole Continent of *Greece*, if this kingdome were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeeld vnto those demands, wherewith he had pressed him in the former Treatie; then was there no reason to denie him peace. As for the *Ætoli-ans*: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their owne pleasure, to take counsaile apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began *Phanceas*, an other of the *Ætoli-ans*, to say, That all was come to nothing; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greekes*, no lesse than hee had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bad him leave his babling; saying, That him selfe would take such order, as that *Philip*, were he neuer so delirious, should thenceforth not haue it in his power to molest the *Greekes*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* vied freindly: and suffering him to repose himselfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded vnto all that had bene required at his hands; offering yet further, to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would haue more added to the Conditions. *Phanceas* the *Ætoli-an*, insulting ouer him, said it was to bee hoped, that he would then at length giue vp to the *Ætoli-ans* a many of townes (which he there named) bidding him speake, whether he would, or not. His answer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himselfe, said it should be otherwise; These were *Thessalian* Townes, and should all be free: one of them only excepted, which not long agoe had refused to commit it selfe to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore should now be giuen to the *Ætoli-ans*. Hereat *Phanceas* cried out that it was too great an iniurie, thus to defraud them of the Townes that had sometime belonged

belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Couenant betweene them and the *Romans*; all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the *Romans* to haue nothing saue the pillage and captiues. It is true, that there had beene such a Condition in the former warre: but it ceased to be of any validitie, as soone as the *Aetolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gaue them to vnderstand, asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the Townes in *Greece*, which had led in the *Romans* by composition, should be deliuered into subiection of the *Aetolians*. Thereist of the Confederates were verie much delighted, with these angry passages betweene the *Romans* and the *Aetolians*: neither had they great reason, to feare any hard measure; since *Titus* was so earnest in behalfe of those *Thessalians*, to giue them libertie, though they had stood out against him, euen till verie feare made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves; but gaue their consent willingly vnto a Tuce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cause that moued *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the *Macedonians*, besides that laudable custome by him before alleadged; was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an Armie from *Syria*, and drawing neere toward *Europe*. He had also perhaps yett a greater motiue; euen the consideration that his succesor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre should happen to be protracted. And hee was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, and sundrie States of *Greece*, came vnto *Rome*, new Consuls were chosen: who, (especially the one of them) stood verie earnestly against the peace; alleadging frivolous matter of their owne suspicion, in hope to get the honour of coneluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, betweene the Embassadors of *Philip* offering to stand to whatsoeuer was demanded; and the letters of *Titus* pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side; and the importunitie of the Consul on the other; who said, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebel, as soone as the Armie was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Assemblie of the People; by whose souereigne authoritie it was concluded, That Peace should be granted vnto the King. Soten Embassadors were sent from *Rome* ouer into *Greece*: in which number were they, that had beene Consuls before *Titus*; and it was ordained by their aduice, That *Titus* should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would verie faine haue retained those three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, vntill the state of *Greece* were somewhat better settled. But finally *Titus* prevailed so, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred vnto the *Achaens*; and all the other *Greece* Townes which *Philip* held, as well in *Asians* as *Greece*, restored vnto libertie.

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next *Jyslimian Games*, He should withdraw his Garrisons out of all the *Greece* Townes which he held, and consigne them ouer to the *Romans*: That he should deliuer vp vnto them all Captiues that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's; Likewise all his shippes of war, referring to himselfe onely five of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinarie greatnesse, wherein sixteene men laboured at euerie oare. Further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres next following, by euen portions. Hereto *Linæ* addes, That he was forbidden to make war out of *Macedon*, without permission of the Senate. But I finde not that he obserued this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Foure hundred talents hee had already deliuered vnto *Titus*, together with his younger sonne *Demetrius*, to remaine as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as he lately sent his Embassadors to *Rome*: when it was promised, that the monie, and his sonne, should be restored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this monie were reckoned as

H h h h h

part

* 2^a Esay. 62.
script. Legat. 61.

* Lin. l. 33;

part of the thousand talents, I cannot find : and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as young *Demetrius*, who together with those foure hundred Talents was giuen for hostage, remained still in custodie of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus* vnto *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* : giuing him to vnderstand, what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalfe of the *Greekes*; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Cians*, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by *Philip* to gratifie this *Bithynian* his sonne-in-law, should be restored to libertie; and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect these letters wrought it was not greatly materially, since the *Romans* were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise that they had not leisure, to examine the conformitie of *Prusias* to their wil.

Al *Greece* rejoyced at the good bargain, which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Onely the *Ætolians* found themselves agrieued that they were vtterly neglected; which was to the rest no smal part of their contentment. The *Bæotians* continued to fauour the *Macedonians*; and thereby occasioned much trouble vnto themselves. There were some among them wel-affecte to the *Romans* : who seeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint vnto *Titus*; saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnlesse at this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Prætor which was head of the opposite Faction might be made away. *Titus* refused to haue an hand in the execution, yet neuertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to haue kept themselves vndiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those that were put to torture : the hatred of the people brake out violently against the *Romans*; in such wise, that howsoeuer they durst not take armes against them, yet such of them as they found stragling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrey. This was detected with-in awhile, and many of the dead bodies found. Herevpon *Titus* requires of the *Bæotians*, to haue the murderers deliuered into his hands; and for five hundred souldi-ors, which he had lost by them, to haue paid vnto him five hundred Talents. In stead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadours to the *Acheans* and *Athenians*, in-
forming them what had happened: and requested them not to take it amiss, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserued. Herewithal he fals to wasting their Countrey; and besiegeth two such Townes of theirs, as did seeme to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadours of the *Acheans* and *Athenians*, (especially of the *Acheans* who offered, if hee needed them, to helpe him in this war; yet besought him rather to grant peace vnto the *Bæotians*) preuailed so farre with him; that he was pacified with thirtie Talents, and the punishment of such as were knowne offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of *Greece* distracted: some among them reioycing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would proue a worse neighbour. The *Ætolians* would haue beene glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumors abroad, That it was the purpose of the *Romans*, to keepe in their owne handes all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greekes*, conceiue, that this *Macedonian* Warre serued as an introduction to the Warre to be made in *Asia* against King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and manie other victories. Wherefore to stay the progresse of bad rumors, when the *Isthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were neuer without great solemnitie and concourse : *Titus* in that great assembly of all *Greece*, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the Generall, hauing vanquished King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did wil to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and liuing at their owne Lawes, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*,

Eubæans, Achæans of Phibiotia, Magnetians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians. The suddenness of this Proclamation astonished men: so although they applauded it with a great shout; yet presently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durst scarce credit their own eares. The *Greeks* were Crafts-masters in the Art of giuing thanks; which they rendered now to *T. Quintus* with so great affection, as that they had well-near smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of all the *Greekes*, was like to bee much more available vnto the *Romans* in their warre against *Antiochus*, than could haue bene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Prouinces which were named in their Proclamation. Vpon confidence hercof; no sooner were these *Asiatick* games at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councell, gave audience to *Hegesfanax* and *Zylis* King *Antiochus* his Embassadors; whom they willed to signifie vnto their Lord, That he should doe well to abstaine from the free Cities in *Asia*, and not vex them with warre: as also to restore whatsoeuer he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptoleme* or *Philip*. Moreouer they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not passe ouer his Armie into *Europe*; adding, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to take with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises vnto the *Greekes*; to the rest they gaue what they had promised. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gaue vnto the *Ætolians*; whom they thought it no wisdome to offend ouer-much, being shortly to take a greater worke in hand. The *Achæans* of *Phibiotia* they annexed vnto the *Thessalians*; all saue the Towne of *Thebes* in *Phibiotia*, the same which had bene abandoned by *T. Quintus* in the last Treatie with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended verie earnestly about *Pharsalus* and *Encosæ*. But they were put off with a dilatorie answer, and reſeſted vnto the Senate: for howsoeuer somewhat the Councell might fauour them; yet was it not meet that they should haue their will, as it were in despite of *Titus*. So the *Achæans* were restored *Corintho*, *Triphyſia*, and *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeede (though the *Romans* yet awhile kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achæan* Commonwealt, enjoyed their libertie in as absolute manner, as they could desire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were giuen one or two places, taken By the *Romans* from *Philip*: and vpon *Aninander* were bestowed those Castles, which hee had gotten from *Philip* during this Warre; to reigne in them and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athenians*. The *Rhodiens* had bin their owne Caruers. *Atalus* was dead a little before the Victorie; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councell, would haue giuen the Townes of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the Ile of *Eubæa*, to his sonne and successeur King. *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the *Eubæans*, should bee suffered to enjoy their libertie. *Orestis*, a little Prouince of the Kingdome of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, had yielded vnto the *Romans* long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at libertie, and made a free Estate by it selfe.

These businesſes being dispatche: it remained, that all care should be vsed, not how to auoid the war with King *Antiochus*; but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperitie. Wherefore Embassadors were sent both to *Antiochus* himselfe, to pick matter of quarrell; and about vnto others, to predispose them vnto the assisting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this King the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Warres of the Romans with ANTIOCHVS
the great, and his adherents.

§. I.

What Kinges, of the races of SELEVCVS and PTOLEMIE, reigned in
Asia and Egypt before Antiochus the great.



ELEVCVS NICATOR, the first of his race, King
of Asia and Syria, died in the end of the hundred
twentie and fourth Olympiad. Hee was treacherously
slaine by Ptolemie Ceraunus, at an Altar called Argos,
hauing (as is said) bene warned before by an Oracle,
to beware of Argos, as the fatal place of his death.
But I neuer haue read that any mans life hath
bene preserved, or any mischance avoided, by the
predictions of such Deuillish Oracles. Rather I be-
lieue, That many such predictions of the Heathen
Gods, haue bene ante-dated by their Priests or by
others; which deuised them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the sonne and heire of this Seleucus, was dearly beloued of
his Father: who surrendered vp vnto him his owne wife Stratonice, when hee under-
stood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore Ptolemie Ce-
raunus had great cause to feare, that the death of Seleucus would not be vengued
by this his Successor. But Antiochus was contented to be pacified, eyther with gifts,
or perhaps onely with faire words; containing himselfe within Asia, and letting Ce-
raunus enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the blood of Sele-
ucus. It is said of this Antiochus, that although he married with the Queen Stratonice in
his Fathers life; yet out of modellie he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was
dead. So that perhaps his incestuous loue was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his
not prosecuting that reuenge; whereunto Nature should haue vrged him. After-
wards he had warres with Antigonus Gonatas, and with Nicomedes King of Bithynia.
Also Lutarius and Lenuarius, Kings or Captaines of the Gauls, were set vpon him by
the same Nicomedes. With these he fought a great battaile: wherein though other-
wise the Enemies had all advantage against him; yet by the terror of his Elephants,
which affrighted both their Hories and them, he wonne the Victorie. Hee tooke
in hand an enterprise against Ptolemie Philadelphus: but finding ill successe in the be-
ginning, he soone gaue it ouer. To this King Antiochus Soter it was, that Berosus the
Chaldean dedicated his Historie of the Kings of Assyria; the same, which hath since
bene excellently falsified by the Friar Annius. He left behind him one sonne, called
Antiochus Theos; and one daughter, called Apame, that was married vnto the
King of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie and ninth Olympiad,
or the beginning of the Olympiad following, in the sixtieth or one and fiftieth
year of the Kingdome of the Greekes; when he had reigned nineteene yeares.

Antiochus, surnamed Theos; or the god, had this vaine and impious title giuen vnto
him, by flatterie of the Asidians; whom hee deliuered from Timarchus, a Tyrant
that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with Ptolemie
Ph.

Polyb.

954

Generard, lib.
Jul. Mart. in
Parat.

Philadelphus King of *Aegypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemie*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Ladie *Berenice*, Saint *Hierome* and other Interpreters haue vnderstood that Prophecie of *DANIEL*: *The Kings daughter of the South, shall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement; and that which loveth loweth.*

Dan. xii. 7. 6.

Ptolemie Philadelphus was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his owne sister *Arifnoe*) a verie excellent Prince: howsoever, the worthiest of all that race. It was Hee, that built and furnished with
10 Books, that famous Librarie in *Alexandria*: which to adorne, and to honour the more, He sent vnto *Elezazar* then high Priest of the *Jewes* for the Bookes of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the *Jewes*, had formerly bin verie great: for He had let at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in slaueerie throughout all *Aegypt*; and hee had sent vnto the * Temple of God in *Ierusalem* verie rich Presents. Wherefore *Elezazar* yielding to the Kings desire, presented him with an *Hebrew* coppie: which *Ptolemie* caused to be translated into *Greece*, by seuentie two of the most graue and learned persons, that could bee found among all the Tribes. In this number of the seuentie two Interpreters, or (as they are comonly called) the *Seuentie*; *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to haue bene one: who that he liued in this Age, it seemes to me verie sufficiently proved by *Iansenius*, in his preface vnto *Ecclesiasticus*. The whole passage of this buisinesse betwene *Philadelphus* and the High Priest, was written (as *Iosephus* affirms) by *Aristeus* that was employed therein. Fortie yeares *Ptolemie Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he ioyntly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly beloued of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end hee grew more voluptuous, than hee had bene in his former yeares: in which time he boasted, that hee alone had found out the way how to liue for ever. If this had bene referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might haue stood with reason: otherwise, the Gowt, with which he was often troubled, was enough to reach him
30 his owne error. He was the first of the Kings, deriued from *Alexanders* Successors, that entred into League with the *Romans*: as also his Off-spring was the last among those Royall Families, which by them was rooted vp.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called *Laodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolemie*. After his second marriage, hee vied his first wife with no better regard, than if shee had bene his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet aduentured not to seek reuenge, vntill her owne sonne *Seleucus Callinicus*, was of abilitie to be King. This was two or three yeares after the death of *Ptolemie Philadelphus*: at what time shee poysoned her husband *Theos*; and by permission of *Seleucus* her sonne, murdered *Berenice*, together with a sonne that shee had borne to *Antiochus*. In time reports, that *Berenice* saued herself, together with the young Prince her child, awhile in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not onely some Cities of *Asia* prepared to succour her, but her brother *Ptolemie Euergetes*, King of *Aegypt*, came to rescue her with an Armie; though too late, for she was slaine before.
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With such cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, succeeding vnto his Father that had fifteene yeares bene King, beganne his Reigne. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they discouered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would haue bene much endangered, if *Ptolemie Euergetes*, who came against him, had not bene drawne backe into his owne Countrey, by some Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes against *Ptolemie*, in defence of their owne King: but rather they sided with the *Egyptians*; who tooke *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as shee had well deserved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this insualion, by occasion of those domestical troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Aegypt*, went about a dangerous
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Hhhhhh 3

gerous

* Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 1. 6. 6. 424

h. Is. xli. 12. 2. 8

Concerning that Booke which now goes vnder the name of *Aristeus*; many learned men, and among the rest *Lodouicus Vives*, hold opinion that it is counterfeit, & the invention of some later Author. Surely if it were to be suspected in the time of *Ptolemie*; it may be now much more iustly suspected: since a new Edition of it is come forth, purged from faults. As the *Papists* terme those bookes, wherein they haue changed what they please; & set forth by *Middendorpius* at *Colen*. An. Dom. 1578. *Iussu* L. 1. 3. 7.

Septuagint 30
p. 293.

gerous peece of worke, euen to make Warre vpon his owne subjects becaufe of their bad affection towards him; when as it had bene much better, by well deferring, to haue changed their hatred into loue. A great Fleet hee prepared: in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that hee scarce left himselfe any other hope, it that should misfarrie. Herein hee embarked himselfe, and, putting to Sea, met with such a tempest, as denoured all saue himselfe, and a verie few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamitie, hauing left him nothing else in a māner than his naked bodie, turned neuertheless to his great good; as anon after it seemed. For when his Subjects vnderstood, in what sort the Gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his estate; and, presuming that hee would then ceforth become a new man, offered him their seruice with great alacritie. This reuiued him, and filled him with such spirits; as thinking himselfe well enough able to deale with the *Egyptian*, he made readie a mightie Armie for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had bene at Sea. He was vanquished by *Ptolemie* in a great battaile; whence he escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late shipwrack. Halting therefore backe to *Antioch*, and fearing that the Enemie would soone be at his heeles; He wrote vnto his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteene yeares olde, yet extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himselfe great. He leuied a mightie Armie of the *Gauls*; wherewith he set forward to helpe his brother, or rather to get what he could for himselfe. Hereof *Ptolemie* being aduertised: and hauing no desire to put himselfe in danger more than needed, tooke Truce with *Seleucus* for tenne yeares. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Egyptian* warre, but his brother *Antiochus* came vpon him; and needs would fight with him, as knowing himselfe to haue the better Armie. So *Seleucus* was vanquished againe; and saued himselfe, with so few about him, that hee was verily supposed to haue perished in the battaile. Thus did Gods iustice take reuenge of those murders, by which the Crowne was purchased; and setled (as might haue bene thought) on the head of this bloudie King. *Antiochus* was glad to heare of his brothers death; as if thereby hee had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gauls*, his Mercenaries, were gladder than He. For when he led them against *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reigne: these peridious *Barbarians* tooke counsaile against him; and deuised how to strippe him of all that hee had, they thought it verie likely, that if there were none of the Royall house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to doe what should best bee pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransom himselfe with monie, as if he had bene their lawfull Prisoner. Neither were they so contented; but made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended little to his honour. In the meane while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more to trie his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit for himselfe, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great meruail; since he had great reason to stand in no lesse feare of the *Gauls* his owne souldiers, than of the enemie with whom hee had to deale. After this, *Eumenes* wanne much in *Asia*; whilest *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battaile, fought betweene the brethren, *Seleucus* had the vpper hand; and *Antiochus Hierax* or the *Hawke*, (which surname was giuen him, becaufe he fought his prey vpon euerie one, without care whether hee were prouoked or not) soared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his owne *Gauls*. Having fetcht a great compasse through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* tooke him vp. Hee was entertained verie louingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him.

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This he soone perceiued : and therefore betooke him to his wings againe; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolued to bestow himselfe vpon *Ptolemie*: his owne conscience telling him, what euill he had meant vnto *Seleucus*, his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelitie can finde no sure harbour. *Ptolemie* well vnderstood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him vp in close prison: whence though by means of an harlot hee got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of the eues, by whom he was murdered. Neare about the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against him, during his warres with his brother. Hee therefore made a iourne against *Araces* founder of the *Parthian* kingdome: wherein his euill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was take prisoner. *Araces* dealt freindly with him, and dismissed him, hauing euery way giuen him royall entertainment; but in returning home, he brake his necke by a fall from his horse, and so ended his vnhappy reigne of twentie yeeres. He had to wife *Laodice*, the sister of *Andromachus* one of his most trustie Captaines: which was father vnto that *Achaus*, who making his aduantage of this affinitie, became (shortly after (as he filled himself) a king) though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laodice* hee had two sonnes; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards the Great.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned onely three yeeres: in which time he made war vpon *Attalus* the first, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weake of bodie through sickness, and in want of monie, He could not keepe his men of war in good order: and finally he was slaine by treason of *Nicanor*, and *Apaturnus* a *Gaule*. His death was reuenged by *Achaus*, who slue the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Armie: which he ruled verie wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*, being then a Child.

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§. II.

The beginning of the Great *ANTIOCHVS* his reigne. Of *PTOLEMIE EVERGETES*, and *PHILOPATOR*, Kings of *Egypt*. War between *ANTIOCHVS* and *PHILOPATOR*. The rebellion of *MOLO*; and Expedition of *ANTIOCHVS* against him. The recontinuance of *ANTIOCHVS* his *Egyptian* warre: with the passages betwene the two Kings: the victorie of *PTOLEMIE*; and Peace concluded. Of *ACHAEVS*, and his rebellion; his greatnesse, and his fall. *ANTIOCHVS* his Expedition against the *Parthians*, *Bactrians*, and *Indians*. Somewhat of the Kings reigne in *India*, after the death of the Great *ALEXANDER*.

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ANTIOCHVS was scarcely fiftene yeeres old, when hee began his reigne, which lasted six and thirtie yeeres. In his Minoritie, Hee was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man; and one which malignd all vertue, that hee found in any of the Kings faithfull seruants. This wilde qualitie in a Counsaillor of such great place, how harmefull it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himselfe; the successe of things wil shortly discouer.

Soone after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reigne, *Ptolemie Evergetes* King of *Egypt* died; and left his heire *Ptolemie Philopator*, a yong boy likewise, as hath els where beene remembered. This was that *Evergetes*, who relieued *Aratus* and the *Achaens*: who afterwards tooke part with *Cleomenes*; and louingly entertained him, when he was chased out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatas*. He annexed vnto his Dominion the Kingdome of *Cyrene*; by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the last good King of the race.

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The name of *Euergetes*, or the doer of good, was given him by the *Aegyptians*; not so much for the great spoiles which hee brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered some of those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when hee conquered *Aegypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was readie to haue made war vpon the *Iewes*, for that *Onias* their high Priest, out of meeke couetousnes of monie, refused to pay vnto him his yeerly tribute of twentie talents; but he was pacified by the wilddome of *Iosephus* a *Iew*, vnto whom afterwards he let in farme the Tributes and Customes, that belonged vnto him, in those parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Calefrya*, with *Palastina* and all those parts of the Countrey that lay nearest vnto *Aegypt*, were held by the *Aegyptian*; either as hauing fallen to the share of *Ptolemie* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slaine in the battaile at *Issus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublesome and vnhappie reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages betweene the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucids*, were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. This *Ptolemie Euergetes* reigned six and twentie yeeres; and died towards the end of the hundred thirte and ninth *Olympiad*. It may seeme by that, which we finde in the Prologue vnto *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* his booke, that he should haue reigned a much longer time. For *Sirachides* there saith, that he came into *Aegypt* in the eight and thirtich yeere, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirtich yeeres, were the yeeres of *Iesus* his owneage; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Iewes* did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*; *Hermias* the Counsaillor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord vnto warre against the *Aegyptian*; for the recouerie of *Calefrya* and the Countreies adioyning. This counsaile was verie vnseasonably giuen; when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out into rebellion, and sought to make himselfe absolute Lord of that rich Countrey. Neuertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained listly, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captain other Capitaines that were faithfully whilest He in person made warre vpon one, that was like himselfe a King. No man durst gainsay the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenetas* an *Assaan*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebell; whilest in the meane season an Armie was preparing for the Kings Expedition into *Calefrya*. The King hauing marched from *Apannea* to *Laodicea*, and so ouer the Desarts into the Vallie of *Musyas*, between the Mountaines of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*; found his way there stopped by *Theodotus* an *Assolian*, that serued vnder *Ptolemie*. So hee consumed the time there a while to none effect; and then came newes, that *Xenetas*, his Captaine, was destroyed with his whole Armie; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrey, as farre as vnto *Babylon*.

Xenetas, whilest he was yet on his iourne, and drew neare to the Riuer of *Tigris*; receiued many aduertisements, by such as fled ouer vnto him from the Enemie, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wils, drawne by their Commandr to beare armes against the King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himselfe stood in some doubt lest his followers would leaue him in time of necessitie. *Xenetas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to passe the Riuer by Botes in face of his Enemie: left in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Armie went ouer *Tigris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Campe. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to giue impediment; but hearing that *Xenetas* could not so be stopped, He himselfe dislodged, and tooke his iourne towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behind him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his owne soldio urs:

souldiours: or whether thereby to deceiue his Enemie; the great follie of *Xenetas* made his stratageme prosperous. For *Xenetas*, hauing borne himselfe proudly before, vpon the countenance of *Hermias*; by whom he was aduanced vnto this charge; did now presume, that all should giue way to his authoritie, without putting him to much trouble of vsing the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast, with the provisions which they found readie in the forsaken Campe: or rather hee commanded them so to doe, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish vp themselves against the iournee, which hee intended to take next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himselfe, in transporting the remainder of his Armie, which he had left on the other side of *Tigris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than hee could easily returne the same night. Wherefore vnderstanding what good rule the Kings men kept: hee made such hast backe vnto them, that hee came vpon them early in the mornings, whilst they were yet heauie with the wine and other good cheare, that they had spent at supper. So *Xenetas* and a verie few about him, died fighting in defence of the Campe: the rest were slaughtered, without making resistance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Campe on the other side of *Tigris*, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captaines flying thence, to saue their owne liues. In the heat of this victorie, the Rebelle marched vnto *Seleucia*, which he presently tooke: and, mastering within a litle while the Prouince of *Babylonia*, and all the Countrie downe to the Red Sea, or *Bay of Persia*, He halted vnto *Susa*; where at his first comming hee wan the Citie: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned backe to *Seleucia*, there to giue order concerning this bulines.

The report of these things comming to *Antiochus*, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Marsyas*; filled him with great sorrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counsaile what to doe in this needfull case; and was well aduised by *Epigenes* the best man of warre behad about him, to let alone this Enterprise of *Celestria*; and bend his forces thither, where more neede required them. This counsaile was put in execution with all conuenient hast. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soone after slaine, by the practise of *Hermias*; who could not endure to heare good counsaile giuen, contrarie to his owne good liking and allowance. In the iournee against *Molo*, the name and preience of the King was more available, than any odde which hee had of the Rebelle in strength. *Molo* distrusted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good successe, nor any other consideration, would serue to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore hee thought it safest for him, to assaile the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this; Hee was discovered by some that fled ouer from him to the King. This caused him to returne backe to his Campe: which, by some error, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giuing battaile to *Molo*, vpon confidence which hee had that many would reuolt vnto him. Neither was hee deceiued in this his beleefe. For nota few men, or Ensignes: but all the left wing of the Enemie, which was opposite vnto the King, changed side forth with as soone as euer they had sight of the kings person; and were readie to doe him seruite against *Molo*. This was enough to haue won the victorie: but *Molo* shortned the worke by killing himselfe; as did also diuers of his friends, who for feare of torments preuented the Hang-man with their owne swords.

After this victorie came ioyfull newes, that the Queene *Laodice*, daughter of *Mithradates* king of *Pontus*, which was married vnto *Antiochus* awhile before had brought forth a sonne. Fortune seemed bountifull vnto the king: and therefore he purposed to make what vse he could, of her frendly disposition while it lasted. Being now in the Easterne parts of his kingdome, He iudged it conuenient to visit his Frontiers; were it onely to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered vpon him. Here vnto his Counsaillor *Hermias* gaue assent: not so much respecting the Kings honours

as considering what good might thereby happen to himselfe. For if it should come to passe, that the king were taken out of the world by any casualtie: then made hee no doubt of becoming Protector to the yong Prince; and thereby of lengthning his owne Government. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; having the greatest part of his kingdom, situate betweene the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous king was verie old and fearefull; and therefore yielded vnto whatsoeuer Conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay vpon him. So in this iourney *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Vpon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly, how odious he was vnto the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly vnto the kings owne life. *Antiochus* beleined this, having long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring, for feare of him, to vtter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done; he being trained forth by a sleight good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or disputation. The king needed not to haue vied so much arte, in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoeuer hee seemed gracious whilst he was aliue: yet they that for feare had bene most obsequious to him, whilst he was in case to doe them hurt, were as readie as the foremost, to speake of him as he had deserved; when once they were secure of him. Yea his wife and children, lying then at *Apanca*, were stoned to death by the wiues and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had bene concealed.

About these times, *Achani* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of those Expeditions which he tooke in hand; was bold to set a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a King. His purpose was to haue invaded *Syria*: but the same of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and studie to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is verie strange, that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achani*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken, of these his traitorous purposes; but wrote vnto him, signifying that he knew aland vpbayding him with such infidelitie, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these meanes he emboldned the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintaine his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recouer *Celestria* or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemie Philopator* in those parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a verie strong Citie neare vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Orontes*; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the great* who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolemie Euergetes* having lately won it, might, if it had so pleased him, haue changed the name into *Ptolemais*. Such is the vanitie of men, that hope to purchase an endlesse memorie vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatnesse, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their owne, than the same greatnesse hath continuance. *Theodotus the Aetolian*, he that before had opposed himselfe to *Antiochus*, and defended *Celestria* in the behalfe of *Ptolemie*; was now growne sorrie, that he had vied so much faith and diligence, in seruice of an vnthankfull and luxurious Prince. Wherefore, as a Mercenarie, he began to haue regard vnto his owne profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himselfe vnto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthie of these two Kings; He offered to deliuer vp vnto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*. Whilst he was deuiing about this treason, and had already sent messengers to King *Antiochus*; his practise was detected; and he belieged in *Ptolemais* by one of *Ptolemies* Captaines, that was more faithfull than himselfe. But *Antiochus* halting to his rescue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession,

not

- not onely of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*, with a good fleet of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in those Hauens: but of so many other Townes in that Country, as emboldened him to thinke vpon making a iourne into *Egypt* it selfe. *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolemie* himselfe being loth to haue his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safetie of his Kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make prouision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the warre: and neuerthelesse, at the same time, to presse *Antiochus* with daily Embassadours to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this busines, Embassadours from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewise from the *Etolians*; according to the vsuall courtesie of the *Greekes*; desiring to take vp the quarrell. These were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*: who entreated them to deale effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this Treatie lasted great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the warre: wherein these two Counsaillors perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victorie would be their owne; if they could get, for monie, a sufficient number of the *Greekes* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard onely what was done at *Memphis*, and how desirous the Gouernours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet; whereunto he gaue the reader beleefe, not onely for that hee knew the disposition of *Ptolemie*, but because the *Rhodians*, and other Embassadours, coming from *Memphis*, discoursed vnto him all after one manner; as being all deuced, by the cunning of *Agathocles* and his fellow. *Antiochus* therefore hauing wearied himselfe, at the long siege of a Towne called *Dura*, which he could not win: and being desirous to refresh himselfe and his Armie in *Seleucia*, during the Winter which then came on; granted vnto the *Egyptians* a Truce for foure moneths, with promise that he would be readie to hearken vnto equall Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would faine haue seemed; but onely to lull his enemies asleepe, whilst he tooke time to refresh himselfe; and to bring *Achens* to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the *Egyptian* would haue vsed, He vsed himselfe; as presuming, that when time of the yeare better serued, little force would be needfull: for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld vnto him, since *Ptolemie* provided not for their defence. Neuerthelesse he gaue audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Egypt*: pleasing himselfe well, to dispute about the iustice of his quarrell; which hee purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were iust or no. He said, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his Ancestor and *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, should be giuen in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargain was afterwards ratified, by generall consent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at *Issus*. But *Ptolemies* men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said, that *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, had won *Calesyria*, and the
- 40 Prouinces adioyning for himselfe: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*; by lending him forces to recouer his Prouince of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whilst neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were, in the end of their disputation, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemie* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also *Ptolemie* would needes haue *Achens* comprehended in the League betwene them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming againe it as a shameful thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and seek to ioyn him in Confederacie with his owne foueraigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field againe: contrarie to his expectation he was informed, That *Ptolemie*, with a verie puissant Armie, was comming vp against him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemie, he was encountred on the way by those Captaines of *Ptolemie*, that had resisted him
- the

the yeere before. They held against him the passages of *Libanus*, whence neuertheless he draue them; and, proceeding onward in his iourne, wan so many places that he greatly increased his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with diuers of the bordering people; to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neare together: many Captaines of *Ptolemie* forsooke his pay, and fled ouer to *Antiochus*. This not withstanding, the *Egyptian* had the courage to meet his Enemie in the field. The battaile was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Egyptians* or *Asiatiques* were the better souldiors (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greekes*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemie*, with *Arfinoe* his sister and Wife, rode vp and downe encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the braue deedes of their Ancestors; as not hauing of their owne, whereby to valwe themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants: as also his, being of *Asia*, had they beene fewer would haue beaten those of *Africa*. Wherefore by the aduantage of these beafts, He draue the enemies before him, in that part of the battaile wherein hee fought himselfe. But *Ptolemie* had the better men: by whose valour he brake the Grosse of his Enemies battaile, and wan the victorie; whilest *Antiochus* was heedlesly following vpon those, whom he had compellied to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the feild aboue secentie thousand foot, and six thousand Horse: whereof though he lost scate ten thousand foote, and not four hundred horse; yet the same of his ouerthrow, tooke from him all those places which he had lately wonne. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: He began to stand in feare, lest *Ptolemie* and *Achaeus*, setting vpon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors vnto the *Egyptian* to treat of peace: which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of *Ptolemie*, to vex himselfe thus with the tedious busines of warre. So *Ptolemie*, hauing slaid three moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt* clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his subiects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothfull condition.

Achaeus was not comprised in the League betweene these two Kings: or if hee had beene included therein; yet would not the *Egyptian* haue taken the paines, of making a second Expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himselfe strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deale with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reason. For besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged vnto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, Hee had also good successe against *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither was he, as *Melo* the Rebelle had beene, one of meaner regard other wife, and carried beyond himselfe by apprehending the vantage of some opportunitie: but Cozen german to the King, as hath beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a yonger daughter of the same *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was also called *Laudice*, as was her sister the Queene, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added maiestie vnto him; and had made his followers greatly to respect him, even as to whome a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a litle for him, that King *Ptolemie* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a freind: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battaile at *Raphia*; and had thereby lost all his gettings in *Syria*. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing. For the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarrell betweene his sonnes-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the *Egyptian*: Hee was not onely slothfull, but hindered by a rebellion of his owne subiects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolemie*, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serue in the late Expedition; began to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferior

- to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: since they lesse esteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings Mercenarie *Greekes*; which had hitherto kept them in strengt subiection. Thus brake out a warre, betwene that King and his subiects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the Multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolemie* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might haue beene spent, as he thought, much better in quelling; or, as others thought, in succouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*: He had no sooner made his peace with the *Egyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of warre against *Achæus*. To this purpose he entred into
- 10 League with *Attalus*; that so he might distract the forces of his Rebel, and finde him worke on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent vp *Achæus* into the Citie of *Sardes*; where he held him about two yeeres belieged. The Citie was verie strong, and well victualled: so as there appeared not, when the second yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first yeeres seige. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Castle it selfe was vpon a verie high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable: as also the Towne-wall adioyning to the Castle, in that part which was called the *Sawes*, was in like manner situated vpon steepe Rockes, and hardly accessible; that hung ouer a deepe bottome, whereinto the dead carcases of Horses and other beasts, yea and sometimes of men, vsed to be throwne. Now it was obserued
 - 20 by *Lagoras*, That the Rauens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food which was there neuer wanting, vsed to flie vp vnto the top of the Rockes, and to pitch vpon the wals; where they rested without any disturbance. Obseruing this often, he reasoned with himselfe, and concluded, that those partes of the Wall were left vnguarded, as being thought vnapproachable. Heereof hee informed the King: who approoued his iudgement, and gaue vnto him the leading of such men, as hee desired for the accomplishing of the enterprize. The successe was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceiued: and, though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those Rockes, and
 - 30 (whilest a generall assault was made) entred the Towne in that part; which was, at other times vnguarded, then vnthought vpon. In the same place had the *Persians*, vnder *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Craesus* thought himselfe secure on that side. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a losse many ages past; and therefore out of memorie. *Achæus* held still the Castle: which not onely seemed by nature impregnable, but was verie wel stored with all necessaries; and manned with a sufficient number, of such as wereto him well instructed. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to wail much time about it; hauing none other hope to preuaile, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the vsual tediousnesse of expectation; his businessse called him thence away into the higher *Asia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdomes taken out of his Dominions, vpon which they still encroched. But he thought it not safe to let *Achæus* breake loose againe. On the other side, there were some Agents of *Ptolemie* the *Egyptian*, and good friends vnto *Achæus*; that made it their whole studie, how to deliuer this beleiged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed, that when he should appeare in the Countries vnder *Taurus*, he would soone haue an Armie at command; and be strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to worke, as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolus* a *Cretan*, that was acquainted well with all the waies in the Countrey; and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rockes, whereon the Castle
 - 40 of *Sardes* stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receiue at the hands of *Ptolemie*, as well as of *Achæus*; to doe his best for performance of their desire. He vndertooke the businessse, and gaue such likeliere reasons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote vnto *Achæus* by one *Arianus* a trustie messenger; whom *Bolus* found meanes to conueigh into the Castle. The faich of these Nego-

tiators *Achæus* held most assured. They also wrote vnto him in priuie characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none saue he and they were acquainted: whereby hee knew, that it was no fained deuice of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messengers, he was a trustie fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found, by examination, heartily affected vnto the side. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were, That he should be confident in the faith of *Bolus*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolus* had worne vnto the businesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him vnknowne: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*, vnder whom he had the command of those *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked vp the Castle of *Sardes*. Neuertheless other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himselfe to some aduerture. When the messenger had therefore passed often to and fro: it was at length concluded, That *Bolus* himselfe should come speake with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, saue onely by *Bolus* and *Cambylus*, which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countreimen,

* Among these few I doe not except one, calling himselfe *Euclæmus* *Iohn Andrew*, a *Cretan*: who in one of his late shamefull ill-
bells, wherein he traduced our King, Re-
fign, and Countrey, with all the good & worthie men of whom he could learne the names, hath by inserting my name, twice belied me; in calling me a Puritan: & one that haue been dangerous vnto my Soueraigne. It is an honour to bee ill spoken of by so diligent a supporter of Treasons, and Architect of Lies: in regard whereof I may not denie him the commendation of Cretifisme no lesse voluminous, than hee in multiplicitie of name is beyond any the *Cretians* in elder times, that were alwaies Lyeis, coull beards, and flow bellies.
ke & Polybius. lib. 8.

* some few excepted, haue bene, and still are) false knaues. These two held a consultation together, that was, as *Polybius* obserues it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the safetie of him whose deluerance they undertooke, nor touching the discharge of their owne faith; but onely how to get most, with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally share betwene them ten Talents, which they had alreadie receiued in hand: and then, That they would reueale the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliuer *Achæus* vnto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present monie, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a seruice, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no lesse glad; than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolus*. At length when all things were in readinesse on both sides, and that *Bolus* with *Arianus* was to get vp into the Castle, and conueigh *Achæus* thence: Hee first went with *Cambylus* to speake with the King, who gaue him verie priuate audience; and confirmed vnto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberrall promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithfull vnto *Ptolemie* whom he long had serued; Hee accompanied *Arianus* vp into the Castle. At his comming thither, Hee was louingly entertained; yet questioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the businesse in hand. But hee discoursed so well, and with such grauitie; that there appeared no reason, of distrusting eyther his faith or judgment. Hee was an old Souldior, had long bene a Capitaine vnder *Ptolemie*, and did not thrust himselfe into this businesse; but was inuited by honorable and faithfull men. He had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Countreiman of his: who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had alreadie fundrie times, giuen safe passage and repassage vnto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an aduerture stirred vp some diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wisely, and said, That hee would yet stay in the Castle a litle longer: but that he meant to send away with *Bolus* three or foure of his friends; from whom hee receiued better aduertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would hee issue forth himselfe. Hereby hee tooke order, not to commit himselfe wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknowne. But, as *Polybius* well notes, Hee did not consider that he plaid the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to say, That he had to doe with one, whose knauerie could not be auoided by circumspection. *Bolus* and *Cambylus* had laid their plot thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then should hee easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; and *Bolus* following behind, should haue an eye vpon *Achæus*, to prevent him not onely from escaping in the tumult, but from bracking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe: to the end that being taken aliue, Hee might bee to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present.

sent. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide; the rest following, as the way serued, and *Bolis* in the Rere. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the verie instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hopes as well as hee could, appointed foure of his especiall freinds to beare him companie. They were all disguised: and one of them alone tooke vpon him to haue knowledge of the *Greeke* tongue, speaking and answering, as need should require, for all, as if the rest had bene *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deuiling vpon his businesse, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*.) *Though hee were of Crete, and prone to surmise anything to the mischeife of another*: yet could hee not see in the darke, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himselfe were there. The way was verie vnease, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to staie in diuers places, and helpe one another vp or downe. But vpon euery occasion, they were all of them verie officious toward *Achæus*, lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gaue *Bolis* to vnderstand, that he was the man: and so by their vnseasonable dutie, they vndid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* late in wait; *Bolis* whistled, and presently clasped *Achæus* about the middle, holding him fast that hee should not stirre. So they were all taken by the ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*: who lat vp watching in his Paulion, expecting the euent. The sight of *Achæus*, brought in bound vnto him, did so astonish the King, that he was vnable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was hee before informed of the plot, which might haue kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes assembling his friends together, He condemned *Achæus* to a cruell death; which argues, that hee was not moued with pittie towards this vnhappy man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes, that wrung from him these teares: as also the raritie of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it bee so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischeiuous knaues against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that Spanish Proverbe, *Aun traydor des aluenses*. The death of *Achæus* brought such astonishment vpon those which held the Castle, that afterwards while they gaue vp the place and themselves vnto the King; whereby hee got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

Some yeres passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was redie for his Expedition against the *Parthians*, and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings; and commonly subiect vnto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Provinces after the death of *Alexander*, the Government ouer them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of small regard: shortly they fell to *Eumenes*: then to *Antigonus*; and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*: vnder whose posteritie they continued vntill the Reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustfull insolencie of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to bee slaine by the *Gauls*, did liure vp *Arfaces*, a Noble man of the Countrie, to seeke reuenge of injuries done, and animate him to rebell. So he slew the Kings Lieutenant; made himselfe King of the *Parthians*; and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke *Seleucus Callinicus* prisoner in battaile, whom heroically entertained, and dismissed. Hereby he wanne reputation as a lawfull King: and by good government of his Countrie, procured vnto himselfe such loue of his subjects, that his name was continued vnto his Successors, like as that of the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cæsars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the same time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging vnto the *Seleucida* beyond *Euphrates*, encreased the *Parthians* Dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an Army, that they durst not meet him in plaine feild; but kept themselves in Woods, or places of strength, and defended

fended the Streights and passages of Mountaines. The resistances they made annailed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well sorted, as hee needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Streights betwene their Mountaines; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compasse about, might cyther get about the Enemies heads; or come behind, and charge them on the backe. Thus did hee often employ against them his light ar mature: wherewith hee caused them to dislodge, and giue way vnto his *Phalanx*; vpon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. *Asiaces*, the second of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though hee was confident in the fidelitie of his owne subiects; yet feared to encounter with so mightie an Inuader. His hope was, that the bad wayes, and desarts, would haue caused *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to giue ouer the iourne without proceeding much further. This not so falling out; He caused the Wells and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his Enemy must passe, to bee dammed vp and spoiled. By which meanes, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not preuaile, He withdrew himselfe out of the way: suffering the Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Countrie; wherein, without some victorie obtained, hee could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Asiaces* was nothing strongly provided for the warre. Wherefore hee marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania*; where hee wanne *Tambrace* the chiefe Citie of that Province. This indignitie and many other losses; caused *Asiaces* at length, when hee had gathered an Armie that seemed strong enough, to adventure a battaile. The issue thereof was such, as gaue to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore *Asiaces* craued peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom Hee could not make a subiect.

The next Expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors; but hauing gotten the Kingdome from those that had rebelled, kept it to himselfe. With *Euthydemus* hee fought a battaile by the Riuer *Arius*, where hee had the victorie. But the victorie was not so greatly to his honour; as was the testimonie which hee gaue of his owne priuate valour, in obtaining it. Hee was thought that day to haue demaend him more courageously, than did any one man in all his Armie. His Horse was slaine vnder him: and hee himselfe receiued a wound in his mouth, whereby hee lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*; Hee withdrew himselfe back into the further parts of his Kingdome; and afterwards protracted the Warre, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadours passed betwene the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrie of his was vniuilly vsurped from him; *Euthydemus* answering, That Hee had wonne it from the children of the Vsurers; and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, saue by a King of their owne; for that they bordered vpon the *Sythians*, with whom if they should ioyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified *Antiochus*; and made him willing to grant peace vpon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father as Embassadour in this Treatie of peace; was not a little auailable vnto a good conclusion. For *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to giue him in marriage one of his owne daughters; and therewithall permitted *Euthydemus* to retaine the kingdome; causing him neuertheless to deliuer vp all his Elephants; as also to binde himselfe by oath, to such Couenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leauing the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a iourne ouer *Caucasus*, and came to the borders of *India*: where hee renewed with *Sophagasenus*, King of the *Indians*, the Societie that had beene betwene their Ancestors. The *Indians* had remained

mained subject vnto the Macedonians, for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his Warre against *Antigonus*, rayed part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* after his victorie turned Westward, and was ouer-
 10 buied in a great ciuill Warre: then did one *Sandrocttus*, an *Indian*, stirre vp his Countreimcn to Rebellion; making himselfe their Capitaine, and taking vpon him as Protector of their libertie. This Office and Title hee soone changed, though not with
 out some contention, into the Name and Maiestie of a King. Finally hee got vnto
 himselfe, (having an Armie of fixe hundred thousand men) if not all *India*, yet as
 much of it as had bene *Alexanders*. In this Estate he had well confirmed himselfe,
 15 are *Seleucus Nicator* could find leisure to call him to account. Neyther did He faint, or humble himselfe, at the coming of *Seleucus*: but met him in field, as readie to defend his owne; so strongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented,
 to make both peace and amicitie with him, taking onely a reward of fiftie Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* kingdomes,
 was continued by some Offices of loue betwene their children, and now renewed
 by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon, by the *Indian*
 King, to an hundred and fiftie: as also he was promised, to haue some treasure
 sent after him; which hee left one to receive. Thus parted these two great Kinges
 20 Neyther had the *Indians*, from this time forwards, in many generations, any bul-
 nisse worthe of remembrance with the Westerne Countreies. The posteritie of
Sandrocttus, is thought to haue retained that kingdome vnto the daies of *Augustus*.
Cesar: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, sent Embassadors with Presents:
 and an Epistle written in *Greece*: wherein, among other things, He said, That Hee
 had command ouer six hundred Kinges. There is also found, scattered in sundrie
 Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdome, in diuers Ages, euen vnto
 the time of *Constantine the great*: being all peradventure of the same race. But *Antiochus*,
 who in this Treatie with *Sophaenus* carried himselfe as the worthier person,
 receiuing Presents; and after marched home through *Drangiana* and *Carmatia*, with
 such reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher *Asia*, but on the
 30 ther side of *Taurus*, humbled themselves vnto him, and called him *The Great*: saw
 end of his owne Greatnesse within few yeares ensuing, by presuming to stand vpon
 points with the *Romans*; whose Greatnesse was the same in deed, that his was onely
 in seeming.

§. III.

The lewd reigne of *PTOLEMIE PHILOPATOR* in *Egypt*: with the tragick end
 40 of his fauourites, when he was dead. *ANTIOCHVS* prepares to warre on the young
 child *PTOLEMIE EPIPHANES*, the sonne of *PHILOPATOR*. His resolution
 in preparing for diuers warres at once. His Voyage toward the Hellespont. Hee
 seeks to hold amitie with the *Romans*, who make friendly shew to him; intending neuer-
 thelesse to haue warre with him. His doings about the Hellespont; which the *Romans*
 made the first ground of their quarrells to him.

His Expedition being finished; *Antiochus* had leisure to repose him-
 selfe awhile, and studie which way to conuert the terror of his puil-
 lance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three
 yeares *Ptolemie Philopator* died: leaving his sonne *Ptolemie Epiphanes*,
 50 a young Boy, his successor in the kingdome, vnlike by him to bee
 well defended, against a neighbour so mightie and ambitious. This *Ptolemie* sur-
 named *Philopator*, that is to say, a lover of his Father, is thought to haue had that sur-
 name giuen him in meere derision; as hauing made away both his Father and Mo-
 ther. His young yeares, being newly past his childhood when he beganne to reigne,

may seeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death : yet the beaſtlineſſe of all his following life, makes him not vnlike to haue done any miſcheiſe, whereof he could be accuſed. Hauing wonne the battaile at *Raphia*, He gaue himſelfe ouer to ſenſualitie; was wholly gouerned by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her inſtigatiō Hee murdered his owne wife and ſiſter ; which had aduentured herſelfe with him, in that onely dangerous Actiō by him vnder taken and performed with honor. The Leutenant-ſhips of his Prouinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices whatſoever, were wholly referred vnto the diſpoſitiō of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and of *Oenambe* a filthie Bawd that was mother vnto them both. So theſe three gouerned the Realme at their pleaſure, to 10 the great greiſe of all the Countrey, till *Philopator* died ; who hauing reigned ſeuenteene yeares, left none other ſonne than *Ptolemie Epiphaneſe* a childe of five yeares old, begotten on *Arſinoe* that was his ſiſter and wife. After the Kings death ; *Agathocles* beganne to take vpon him, as Protector of young *Epiphaneſe*, and Gouernour of this their King, had committed the child into the armes of his ſiſter, but vnto the 20 faith of them on whoſe valiant right hands, the whole ſtate of the Kingdome did now relie. He beſought them therefore that they would bee faithfull, and, as great need was, defend their King againſt the treaſon of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man, who traiterouſly went about to ſet the Diademe vpon his owne head, being a meeke ſtranger to the Royall blood. Here withall hee produced before them a witneſſe, that ſhould iuſtifie his accuſation againſt *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were ſo, that he deliuered all this with a fained paſſiō of ſorrow, and counterfeiting of teares : yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that hee ſpake ; but ſtood laughing, and talking one to another, what a ſhameleſſe diſſembler he was, to take ſo 30 much vpon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And ſo brake vp the Aſſembly : Hee that had called it, being ſcarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings fauour had made mightie, but neyther wiſe nor wel qualified, thought to goe to worke, as had formerly bene his manner, by vſing his authoritie, to the ſuppreſſiō of thoſe that he diſtrufled. Hee haled out of a Temple the mother in-law of *Tlepolemus*; & caſt her into priſon. This filled *Alexandria* with rumors, and made the people (though accuſtomed to ſuffer greater things, whileſt they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and vtter one to another their mindes; wherein they had conceived extreme hate, againſt theſe three pernicious miſgouernours of the old King. Beſides their conſideration of the preſent iniurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were ſomewhat alſo moued with feare of 40 harme; which, in way of requitall, *Tlepolemus* was likly to doe vnto the Citie. For He was, though a man moſt vnapt for Gouernment, as afterwards hee proued ; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloued of the Armie. It was alſo then in his power, to ſtop the prouiſiō of viſtuall which was to come into *Alexandria*. As theſe motiues wrought with the people : ſo by the remedie which *Agathocles* vſed, were the *Macedons* more haſtily, and more violently ſtirred vnto vpror. Hee ſecretly apprehended one of their number, whom he ſuſpected of conſpiracie againſt him ; and deliuered him vnto a follower of his owne, to be examined by torture. This poore ſouldior was carried into an inner roome of the Palace and there ſtripped out of all his apparell to be tormented. But whileſt the whippes were brought forth, and all things euen in a readineſſe for that purpoſe: there was brought vnto the Miniſter of *Agathocles*, a ſad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturres, one after another, went out of the roome ; leauing *Moeragenes* the ſouldior alone by himſelfe, and the dores open. Hee perceiving this, naked as 50 he

he was, conuighed himselfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the *Maccedonians*; of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The *Maccedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priuiledges, as are the *Turkes Janizars*. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus bene viled; they fell to Armes in a great rage, and beganne to force the Palace: crying out, That they would see the King, and not leaue him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no lesse adoe than the Souldiors; though to lesse effect. So the old Bawd *Oenanthe* fled into a Temple: her Sonne and Daughter staid in the Court, vntill the King was taken from them; and they, by his permission which he he easily gaue, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, deliuered vp to the furie of the people. *Agathodes* himselfe was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was dragged naked vp and downe the streetes; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed vpon them a barbarous execution of iustice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in peeces.

These troubles in *Egypt*, serued well to stirre vp King *Antiochus*; who had verie good leisure though he wanted all pretence, to make warre vpon young *Ptolemie*. *Philop* of *Macedon* had the same desire, to get what part he could of the childes estate. But it happened well, that *Ptolemie Philopator* in the Punick Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the *Romans*. Vnto them therefore the *Egyptians* addrest themselves, and craued helpe against these two Kings: who though they secretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into covenant, to diuide betweene them, all that belinged vnto this *Orphan*; whose Father had bene Confederate with them both. So *M. Lepidus* was sent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Egypt*; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the *Maccedonians*; Hee was verie soone found busied, with warre at his owne doores. Also *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, being a Pensioner to the *Egyptians*, was sent into *Greece* to rayle an Armie of Mercenaries; What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I doe not find; and therefore thinke it not improbable, that Hee was sent thither onely one of the three Embassadours, in the beginning of the Warre with *Syria*, as hath bene shewed before. As for *Scopas*; He shortly after went vp into *Syria* with his Armie: where winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, He subdued the *Jewes*; who seeme to haue yeilded themselves a little before vnto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his Warre, and despaired of receiuing helpe from *Egypt*. But it was not long, ere all these Victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the verie next year following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same year that *Philp* was beaten at *Cynosephala*; *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battaile, and recovered all that had bene lost. Among the rest, the *Jewes* with great willingnesse returned vnder his obedience; and were therefore by him verie gently entreated.

The Land of *Egypt* this great King did forbear to inuade; and gaue it out, that he meant to bestow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon *Ptolemie*: either hoping, as may seeme, that the Countrey would willingly submit it selfe vnto him, if this yong child should happen to marrie; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Western parts of *Asia*, whilst *Philp* was held ouer-laboured by the *Romans*. It appears that he was verie much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betweene *Attalus*, *Philp*, and the *Greekes*, promised to afford him great advantage, if he should bring his Armie to the *Hellepont*. On the other side, the state of *Egypt* being such as hath bene declared, seemed easie to be swallowed vp at once. One while therefore hee tooke what hee could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Jewes* among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptian*) to yeeld him obedience. An other while, letting *Egypt* alone, He was about to make inuasion vpon *Attalus* his Kingdome; yet suffered himselfe easily to be perswaded by the *Roman* Embas-

* Insul. 301

o Lual. 311

Vide Ioseph. antiq. Ind. l. 12. c. 3.

qui hinc leuaret

sadors, and desisted from that enterprise. Having thus farre gratified the *Romans*; He sends Embassadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amitie betweene him and them. It is not lightly to be ouerpasse, That these his Embassadors were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this answer of the *Romans* was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not as yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, not standing much vpon the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour; they were content to giue good words for the present. In the meane time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*: and shortly prepares to win some Townes elsewhere, belonging vnto *Ptoleme*; yet withall hee sends an Armie Westward, intending to make what profit hee can of the distractions in *Greece*. Likewise it is considerable; as an argument of his much irresolution, How notwithstanding his attempts vpon both of their Kingdomes, he offered one of his daughters to *Ptoleme*, and another to *Eumenes* the sonne of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: seeking each of their friendships, at one and the same time, when hee sought to make each of them a Spoile. Thus was heacting and deliberating at once: being carried with an inexplicable desire of repugnancies; which is a disease of great, and ouer-swelling fortunes. Howsoever it was, He sent an Armie to *Sardis* by Land, vnder two of his owne sonnes: willing them there to stay for him; whilst he himselfe with a Flecte of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other vessels, intended to passe along by the Coasts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in such places as held for the *Aegyptian*. It was a notable Act of the *Rhodian*s, that, whilst the war of *Philip* lay yet vpon their hands, they aduentured vpon this great *Antiochus*. They sent vnto him a proud Embassage: whereby they gaue him to vnderstand, That if he passed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in *Cilicia*, they would meete him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him; but because hee should not ioyne with *Philip* their enemy, and helpe him against the *Romans*. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwile, to prescribe such limits vnto the King. yet he tempered himselfe, and without any shew of indignation gaue a gentle answer; partly himselfe to their Embassadors; partly vnto their whole Citie, by Embassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire, to renew the ancient Confederacies betweene his Ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, lest his comming should tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the *Romans* whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his verie good friends; whereof, he thought, there needed no better prooffe, than the entertainment and answer by them newly giuen to his Embassadors.

The *Rhodian*s appeare to haue bene a cunning people, and such as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what had passed betweene his Embassadors and the Senate, moued them not a whit; when they were informed shortly after, that the *Macedonian* war was ended at the battaile of *Cyncephala*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still; vnlesse the Townes on the South Coast of *Asia*, belonging to *Ptoleme* their friend and Confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well; for that they had euer bene greatly beholding, to all the race of the *Ptolemies*. They therefore, in this time of necessitie, gaue what aid they could vnto all the subiects of the *Aegyptian* in those parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the sonne of *Attalus*, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed, betwene *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a freindly offer, to bestow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage: Hee excused himselfe, and would not haue her. *Attalus* and *Philetarus*, his brethren, wondered at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would surely make war vpon *Antiochus*; and therein finally preuaile.

naile. Wherefore he said, That by abtaying from this affinitie, it should be in his power to ioyne with the *Romans*, and strengthen himselfe greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as hee must be partaker in his overthrow; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an ouer-mightie neighbour, if he happened to win the victorie.

Antiochus himselfe wintered about *Ephefus*: where hee tooke such order as hee thought conuenient, for the reducing of *Smirna* and *Lampascus* to obedience; that had vsurped their libertie, and obstinately stroue to maintaine it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he sailed vnto the Hellespont: where hauing won some Townes that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he passed ouer into *Europe* side; and in short space mastered the *Chersonesus*. Thence went hee to *Lysimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten and destroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garrison thence, to employ it in the *Roman* warre. The *Aetolians* objected as a crime vnto *Philip*, in the Conference before *T. Quintus*, that he had oppressed *Lysimachia*, by thrusting therinto a Garrison. Hercunto *Philip* made answer, that his Garrison did not oppress the Towne, but saue it from the *Barbarians*: who tooke and sackt it, as soone as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this answer was good and substantiall, though it were not accepted as such; might appeare by the miserable case, in which *Antiochus* found *Lysimachia* at his coming thither. For the Towne was vtterly razed by the *Barbarians*; and the people, carried away into slauerie. Wherefore the King tooke order to haue it redified: as also to redeme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Countrie therabout. Likewise he was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promises, new inhabitants; and to replenish the Citie with the wonted frequencie. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour *Thracians*: he tooke a iourne in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Armie; leauing the other halfe, to repaire the Citie. These paines he tooke; partly in regard of the conuenient situation, and former glorie of *Lysimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recouer and establish the dominion in those parts, which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lysimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearly pay: and as after that victorie against *Lysimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed shortly; so shall a deadlie wound of the Kingdome founded by *Seleucus* ensue verie speedily, after the reconquest of the same Countrie, which was the last of *Seleucus* his purchases.

¶ IIII.

40 The *Romans* hold friendly correspondence with *ANTIOCHVS*, during their warre with *PHILIP*: after which they quarrell with him. The doings of *HANNIBAL* at *Carthage*: whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the *Romans*: His flight vnto the King *ANTIOCHVS*. The *Aetolians* murmure against the *Romans* in *Greece*. The war of the *Romans* and *Acbaens*, with *NABIS* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*. The departure of the *Romans* out of *Greece*. *T. QUINTIVS* his Triumphi. Peace denied to *ANTIOCHVS* by the *Romans*.

50 **E** Or the *Romans*, though they were vnable to smother their desire of war with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was alreadie taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended warre, so long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprize of the Kings about *Lysimachia*. It

was not long, since King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the *Romans* in their war with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help against *Antiochus*, than Embassadors to speake for him; *because* the one of these Kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards passe between them any other offices, than verie friendly. *Antiochus*, at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Inuasion from the Kingdome of *Pergamus*: also verie shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amitie betweene them. This was whilest as yet they were busied with *Philip*; and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward shew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or mozt of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients vnto the *Romans*: then was all this good correspondence changed, into termes of worfe, but more plaine, meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counsaillors sent from *Rome*, required (as hath beene shewed before) with a commination of war, this kings gratulation of their victorie; as also his long-proffiled amitie, and desire to continue in the same.

These ten Counsaillors were able to informe *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable vnto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they diuided themselves to make progresse through diuers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visit King *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion serued, vse diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* vnmindfull of the busines: wherein left *T. Quintius*, with his ten Assisants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* of purpose, to deale with the King about those controuerfies, that were betweene him and *Ptolemie*. What other priuate instructions *Cornelius* had; wee may conjecture by the managing of this his Embassage. For coming to *Selymbria*: and there vnderstanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, having beene sent by *Titus*, were at *Lyfimaehia*, He hastned thither; whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsaillours) from *Burgilla*, to be present at the Conference. *Hegelianax* and *Lyfias* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptorie Conditions, which the Embassadors present shall expound vnto their Master. After a few daies *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment betweene Him and these *Romans*, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the busines in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly deliuered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliuer backe vnto *Ptolemie* those Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that verie earnestly, That he must also giue vp the Townes of late belonging vnto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the *Romans*; as to let *Antiochus* enioy the profit of that war, wherein they had laboured so much, and He done nothing? Further He warned the King, that hee should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally Hee demanded of him, vpon what reason he was come ouer with so great an Armie into *Europe*; for that other cause of his iourne there was none probable, than a purpose to make war vpon the *Romans*. To this the King made answer, That hee wondered why the *Romans* should so trouble themselves, with thinking vpon the matters of *Asia*: wherewith He praied them to let him alone; euen as He, without such curiositie, suffered them to doe in *Italie* what they thought good. As for his coming ouer into *Europe*: they saw well enough what busines had drawne him thither, namely, the warre against the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lyfimaehia*, and the recouerie of Townes to him belonging, in *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his tide vnto that Countrie, He deriued it from *Selencus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victorie against *Lyfimaehus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controuerfie

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betweene him and the other Kings, had beene still of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*; but had beene seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countreies, were hindred by multiplicitie of busines, from looking vnto all that was their owne. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in feare of him, as if he intended ought against them from *Lysimachia*; since it was his purpose to bestow this Citie vpon one of his sonnes, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be grieued with his proceedings in *Asia* either against the free Cities, or against the King of *Egypt*; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himselfe, and to ioynce long with *Ptoleme*, not onely in freindship, but in a bond of neare affinitie. *Cornelius* hauing heard this, and being perhaps vnable to refute it; would needes heare further, what the Embassadors of *Smyrna* and of *Lampsacus*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of *Lampsacus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Iudges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace; forasmuch as he had not chosn the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators betweene Him and them.

Thus the Treatie held some few daies, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, hauing not laide their complaints in such sort, as they might be a conuenient foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet hauing purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace; were doubtfull how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boisterous *Gallies*, pretend onely the goodnes of their swordes; nor yet ouer-modestly, to retaine among the *Greekes* an opinion of their iustice, forbore the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was wearie of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That *Ptoleme* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus*, to take possession of the Kingdome; and *L. Cornelius*, to preuent him thereof, and set the Countrie in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* Embassadour, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptoleme*: which gaue him occasion to take leaue, and prepare for his *Egyptian* voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leaue to depart all together: and the King forthwith made readie, to be in *Egypt* with the first. To his sonne *Selenus* he committed his Armie; and left him to ouer-see the building of *Lysimachia*: but all his Sea-forces He tooke along with him, and sailed vnto *Ephesus*. Thence he sent Embassadors to *T. Quintus*: whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of Peace, after such sort, as might stand with honestie and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage; He was perfectly informed that *Ptoleme* was aliue. This made him beare another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a tempest, with a greiuous shipwracke, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to haue safely recovered his Port of *Selucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered: secure, as might appeare, of the *Roman* war.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the Treatie at *Lysimachia*, (at leastwise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had beene sent vnto the *Macedonian* gaue him counsaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; Not to rest contented with the Peace which was granted vnto him by the *Romans*, but to desire societie with them, whereby they should bee bound to haue the same friends and enemies. And this he aduised him to doe quickly before the Warre brake out with *Antiochus*; lest otherwise he might seeme, to haue awaited some fit occasion of taking Armes againe. They who deale thus plainly, did not meane to be satisfied with weakc excuses. In like manner some of the *Greekes* were solicited; and particularly the *Aetolians*, That constantly and faithfullly they should abide in the friendship of the People of *Rome*. It was needlesse to say plain-ly

ly whereto this entreatie tended: the forward answers were made by the *Aetolians*, declares them to haue well vnderstood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the Victorie, as they had bene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out, that they had bene wronged, and defrauded of what was promised vnto them: vpbrayding withall the *Romans*, as men to them beholding; not onely for their Victorie ouer *Philip*; but euen for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they neuer could haue done. Hereto the *Roman* gaue gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and vnter their griefes; and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their Warre intended against *Antiochus*. The same hereof arriuing at *Carthage*, gaue mater vnto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thank of the *Roman* Senate; and to chace out of their Citie this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Quill administration; and giuen them an ouertrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Iudges at that time bore all the way in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and hauing subiect vnto them, the liues, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neyther did they vse this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any one of them, should haue them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was sure to be soone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the Citie, *Hannibal* was chosen *Prætor*. By vertue of which Office, though hee was superiour vnto them during that yeare: yet had it not bene their manner to beare much regard vnto such an annual Magistrate, as at the yeares end must be accomptable to them, if sought were laid vnto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the *Quæstors*, or officers of the *Treasure*, to come and speake with him: the proud *Quæstor* set lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the aduerser Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place, were to bee chosen into the Order of *Iudges*: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of his future Greatnesse. But he had not to doe with such a tame *Prætor*, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Pursuant; and hauing thus apprehended him, brought him into iudgement before a publique assemblie of the people. There he not onely shewed, what the vndutifull stubbornesse of this *Quæstor* had bene; but how vnsubmittable the insolencie of all the Iudges at the present was: whose vnbridled power, made them to regard neyther Lawes nor Magistrates. To this Oration when he perceiued that all the Citizens were attentive and fauourable, He forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the generall good liking; That the Iudges should be chosen from yeare to yeare, & no one man be continued in that Office two yeares together. If this Law had bene passed, before he passed over *Iberus*: it would not perhaps haue bene in the power of *Hanno*, to haue brought him vnto necessitie of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were laine to leuie by Taxation laied vpon the whole Commonaltie; as wanting monie in their publique *Treasure*, wherewith to defray eyther that, or diuers other needfull charges. *Hannibal* considering this, beganne to examine the publique Reuenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the *Treasure*, by wayes and means whatfocuer; and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinarie charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the *Treasure*: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne vse, were thereby faine to load the people with needlesse burdens. Hereof he made such plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common *Treasure* were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knauerie; and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessitie of making such poore shifts; as formerly they had vsed, when they knew not the valew of their owne Estate. But as

the vertue of *Hannibal*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens; so they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, since the making of the peace vntill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extremely; as being by him stript of their i-gotten goods, and il-employed authoritie, both at once, euen when they thought them selves to haue beene in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong againe, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in armes. Questionlesse, if oppressing the Citie by iniustice, and robbing the Treasurie, were the onely way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome*: these enemies to the *Barchines* might well crie out, That hauing done their best alreadie to keepe all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of Warre. But hauing none other matter to al-ledge, than their owne inuentions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like vnto a wild beaust, which would neuer be tamed: That secret messages past betwene him, and King *Antiochus*: and that hee was wont to complaine of idlenesse, as if it were harmefull to *Carthage*; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These ac-cusations they directed not vnto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, eue ricone to the belt of his owne friends at *Rome*, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neyther publike notice of their Conspiracie was taken at *Car-thage*; nor the authoritie of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Onely *P. Scipio* is said to haue admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become Seconds to the accu-sers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him, the Man, against whom in warre they had not of long time preuailed, nor vsed their Victorie in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all so great-minded as *Scipio*: they wished, for some such ad-antage against *Hannibal*; and were glad to haue found it. Three Embassadours they sent ouer to *Carthage*, *C. Seruilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*; whose verie names import sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These ha-ving past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their commings and, being by them instructed how to carrie themselves, gaue out, That they were sent to end some controuersies, betwene the *Carthaginians* and *Masaniissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espiall vpon the *Romans*, that hee knew their mean-ing well enough: against which he was neuer vnprepared. It were enough to say, That hee escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Hauing openly shewed himselfe, as was his manner, in the place of Asseembly, He went forth of the Towne when it beganne to waxe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his de-termination; though such as hee might well trust. Hee had appointed Horfes to be in a readinesse at a certaine place: whence riding all night, Hee came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-side. There had hee a Ship furnished with all things need-fully; as hauing long expected the necessitie of some such iourneie. So Hee had *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrie, more than his owne. Pas-sing ouer to the Ile of *Cercina*; he found there in the Haven some Marchants ships of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectfully: and the chiefe among them beganne to enquire, whether he was bound. He said, Hee went Embassadour to *Tyre*: and that he intended there in the Iland to make a *Agencie*; whereto Hee invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Shippes. It was hote weather; and therefore Hee would needs hold his Feast vpon the shore; where, because there wanted court, He made them bring thither all their sailles and yards to be vied in stead of Tents. They did so; and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time hee left them there asleepe; and putting to Sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, Hee was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haft to send any newes of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassadour: neyther could they, without some losse of time, such of them as

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made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina*, being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the misde of so great a person was diuersly construed. Some ghesied aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came newes where hee had bin scene: and then the *Roman* Embassadours, hauing none other errand thither accused him (with an euill grace) as a trouble of the Peace, whereby they onely discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate; misting the while their purpose, and caulung men to vnderland, that Hee fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal, comming to *Tyre* the Mother-Citie of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reason of affinity betwene their Cities, thought themselves to haue interest. Thence went he to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, visited his sonne in *Daphne*: who friendly welcommed him, and sent him vnto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly rejoyced at his comming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the *Romans* no great cause to be therefore forrie; or otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discouerie of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrey. For it would not proue alke easie vnto this great Commander, to make stout souldiors of base *Asiaticques*; as it had bene by his trayning and discipline, to make verie seruiceable and skillfull men of Warre of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, and other Nations, that were hardie though vnexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinarie, could alter the nature of a cowardly people; yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the balensell of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would be farre more powerfull in making vnprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*; now a desolate and banished man, than had bene the villanie of *Hianno* and his Complices, hindering him in those Actions wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would onely helpe to ennoble the *Roman* Victorie: or if it further serued to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him lesse carefull to avoid the warre; then should it further serue, to iustifie the *Romans* in their quarrell. And it seemes indeed, that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, hauing newly sent Embassadours to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that Hee had any meaning to take armes; vnlesse by meere violence hee were thereto enforced. Onely the *Asiatics* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of inuouation, and therefore practising with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appeale them; they had of late bene answered with gentle words by one of the tenne Counsaillours, That the Senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should aske, But this promise was too large, and vnauided. For when their Embassadours came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who fauoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves: otherwise than by speaking such words, as might halten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for verie shame; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talke at *Rome* was of warre with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leaue the Countrey. For the *Asiatics* were wont to vpbraid the rest of the *Greekes*, with the vaine libertie which the *Romans* had proclaimed: saying, That these their Deliuerers had laid heauier fetters vpon them, than formerly they did wear; but yet brighter and fairer, than those of the *Macedonian*: likewise, That it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the *Greekes* their chaine, & tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other mening than what they pretended For *Philip* had made no deleaie,

laie, in accomplishment of that which was laid vpon him: all the Townes of Greece were at libertie; and the whole Countrey at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it selfe. As for *Antiochus*: He made it his daily suit, That the Peace betwene him and *Rome*, such as it was, might be confirmed, and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Neuerthelesse *T. Quintus* would needs feare that *Antiochus* meant forth with to seize vpon Greece, as soone as he and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, He retained still in his own hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrius*, and the *Agocorinthus*: by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withstand the dangerous Inuasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Sutable vnto the doings of *Quintus* were the reports of the renne Embassadours, that had bene sent out to assist him; when they returned backe into the Citie. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionlesse fall vpon Greece: wherein he should find not onely the *Atolians*, but *Nabûs* the Tyrant of *Lacedamon*, readie to giue him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe somewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against *Nabûs*, who could worst make resistance; whilst *Antiochus* was farre away in *Syria*, and not intente to his businesse. These reports went not onely current through the Citie, among the vulgar: but found such credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following year, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should bee readie to take his great enterprise in hand; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the African desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, against the King and his *Hunnibals*. For the present, the businesse with *Nabûs* was referred vnto *Titus*; to deal with him as hee thought good. This would be a faire colour of his longer tarrance in Greece. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also hee knew that many of the *Greekes* would not be sorrie; though for his owne part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabûs* had entred into friendship with him, two or three yeares before this; as is already shewed, whilst he had warre with *Philip*; and had further bene contented for the *Romans* sake to bee at peace with the *Achaens*, neyther since that time had he done any thing, whereby hee should draw vpon himselfe this Warre. Hee was indeed a detestable Tyrant; and hated of the *Achaens* as one, that besides his owne wicked Conditions had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Theme: whercon to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities; Which hee caused to meet for that purpose at *Corinth*. He told them, That in the warre with *Philip*, not onely the *Greekes*, but the *Romans* themselves, had each their crimes apart (which he there briefly rehearsed) that should stirre them vp, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabûs*, the *Romans* had none other interest, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in setting all Greece at libertie: which noble Action was in some sort maimed, or incomplete, whilst the noble Citie of *Argos* was left in subjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the *Greekes*, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliuerance of *Argos* a matter worthe to be undertaken; or whether otherwise to avoid all further trouble, they could bee well contented to leaue it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greekes* themselves. The *Athenian* Embassador made answer hereunto verie eloquently; and as pleasing as he could deuise. He gaue thanks to the *Romans* for what was past; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Proposition: wherein vnrrequested they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement request of their poore Associates, they had already of late extended vnto the *Greekes*. To this hee added, That great pittie it was to heare, such notable vertue and high deserts ill spoken of by some: which tooke vpon them; out of their owne imaginations to foretell, what harme these their Benefactors meant to doe hereafter: when as Thankfulness rather would haue required an acknowledgment;

ment, of the benefits and pleasures already received. Euerie one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the *Aetolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Aetolian* rose vp, and told the *Athenians* their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient glorie, in those times when their Citie had bene the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recouerie of the libertie generall: from which honour they were now so farre fallen, that they became Parasites vnto those whom they thought moſt mightie, and by their bale assentation, would lead all the rest into seruitude. Then spake He against the *Achaens*, Clients that had bene a long time vnto the *Macedonians* and souldiors of *Philip*, vntill they ranne away from his aduersitie. These He said had gotten *Corinth*; and must now haue warre be made for their sakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Aetolians*, that had first made warre with *Philip*, and alwayes bene friends vnto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neyther did hee thus containe himselfe, but objected vnto the *Romans* fraudulent dealing: so far as much as they kept their Garrisons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; hauing bene alwayes wont to professe, That *Greece* could neuer be at libertie, whilst those places were not free. Alſo now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with *Nabis*, than businesse wherewith to find themselves occupied, that so they might haue some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Countrey? But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carrie their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Aetolians* themselves did promise, and would vndertake, That they would eyther cause him to yeild to reason, and relinquish *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submit himselfe to the good pleasure of all *Greece*; that was now at vnitie. These words had bene reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common libertie wrought so much with these *Aetolians*; as did their owne rauinous desire of oppressing others, and getting vnto themselves, that worse would vie it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had lost. Neyther could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their greiuance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had bene covenanted, That the *Romans* should enioy the spoile of all, but leaue the Townes and Lands in possession of the *Aetolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole Assembly, especially the *Achaens*, cry out vpon them: entreating the *Romans* to take such order before they went, that not onely *Nabis* might be compelled to doe right; but the *Aetolian* theues be enforced to keepe home, and leaue their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discountenancing the *Aetolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well, that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard vpon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion; it may bee greatly doubted. Hee cast them off with a slight answer: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsailes which had bene sent vnto him from *Rome* to be his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedaemonian* warre; it was verie soone ended. For *Titus* vied the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he should haue had to doe with *Philip*. Besides the *Roman* forces, King *Eumenes* with a Nauie; and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the seruice: as also *Philip of Macedonia* sent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get fauour of the *Romans*, or whether to make one among the number, in seeking reuenge vpon *Nabis*, that had done him iniurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the *Achaens*, who set out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Aetolians*; rather to hold good fashion, and sound their dispositions,

sitions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the *Achaens* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; having remoued the *Aiolians* from that degree of fauour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shal bee supplanted by the same *Lacedemonians*, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argiues* more bold than wise, began a conspiracie against the *Lacedemonians* that held their Towne; meaning to open their gates vnto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew neare, they were all detected and slaine: excepting a verie few, that escaped out of the Towne. The same of this Commotion, cauled the Armie to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no stirre within the Walles; the execution done vpon the first mouers, hauing terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assault *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedemon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*: for the freedome whereof since the war was made pittie it were, that the calamities of the war should thereon fall most heauily.

Nabis had in readines an Armie of fiftene thousand, wherewith to defend himselfe against these Invaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his owne Countrey; but such as were of all others the worst, as manumised slaves, malefactors, and base peasants, vnto whom his Tyrannie was beneficiall. Of the good and worthie Citizens he stood in doubt: and since he could not hope to win their loue, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an Assemblie: and compassing them round in with his Armie, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemie. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were inuited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous treason: it seemed vnto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to arrest before hand and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keepe them innocent perforce; and thereby preserue not onely the Citie and his owne person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might haue incurred. Heereupon he cites and apprehends about fourescore of them; whom he leads away to prison, and the next night puts them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet breake loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad; what could it else doe than terrifie the people; who must thereby vnderstand, that it was a mortall crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose, his crueltie extended it selfe vnto some poore wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemie. These were openly whipt through all the streets, and slaine. Hauing thus affrighted the Citizens; Hee turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemie, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a sallie: wherein, as commonly happens, the souldiours of the Towne had the better at first; but were at length repelled with losse. *Titus* abode not many daies before *Sparta*: but ouer-ran the Countrey; hoping belike to prouoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The *Roman* Fleet at the same time, with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodiens*, laid siege vnto *Gythium*, the onely or principall Haueu-towne that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to haue taken it by force; when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Governours within the Towne, equall in authoritie: whereof the one, either for feare, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, slue the Traitor; after whose death, he himselfe alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Armie came thither to *Gythium*: this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the vttermost, and await what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to giue vp the place; yet vpon Condition, to depart in safetie to *Sparta* with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the sonne-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother vnto his wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Government

with a thousand souldiors Mercinaries, and two thousand *Argines*: it being (as may seeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieue *Gytheum*: which hee thought would haue held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost: then began they to thinke vpon finishing the war, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent Embassador to *Titus*: requesting onely, that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speake with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake verie reasonably for himselfe: prouing, that hee suffered wrong, and had done none; and that by many good arguments; whereof the summe was, That whatsoeuer they now did, or could, obiect vnto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of *Argos*, nor for any other cause by them alleadged, they ought to make warre vpon him; since *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatsoeuer, had not hindred them, in time of their more need of him, from entering into that League with him; which was neuer broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith satisfied. Hee charged him with Tyrannie; and gaue instance, as easily he might, of diuers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, so much as they knew this *Nabis* to be guilty, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Inuasion should bealleged. Wherefore hee said further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Messene*, a Towne Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to ioyne with *Philip*, when he was their enemy, not only in League, but also in affinitie: and That his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracie, since in the Articles by *Titus* propounded vnto *Nabis* there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships by him taken from the *Greekes* his neighbours, with whom he had long held warre: it may seeme to haue bene objected, only by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise verie frivolous. As for *Messene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betwene the *Romans* and this Tyrant; and therefore not to haue bene mentioned. All this it seemes that *Aristonius*, the Prator of the *Achaens*, verie well perceived: who therefore doubting lest the *Romans*, (that were wont to talke so much of their owne iustice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had neuer done them wrong; framed his discourse to an other end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his owne estate; and to settle his fortunes, whilst he might doe it without hazard: alleading the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, & therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and liued in great securitie, honour, and happines, as private men. Thus they discoursed vntill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish *Argos*; and requested them, to deliuer vnto him in writing their other demands, that hee might take counsaile with his friends. The issue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must be, for maintenance of an Armie to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the Citie of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, vpon such Conditions as *Titus* should thinke meete. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them verie greiuous. He would not suffer the *Lacedamonians* to haue ought to doe in the Ile of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that Iland or elfewhere; not to build any Towne or Castle vpon his owne lands; not to keepe any other shipping, than two small Barks; besides many other troublesome iniunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in siluer to be paid out of hand, and fiftie talents yeerely, for eight yeares next ensuing. For obseruance of these Couenants he demanded fife hostages, such as he himselfe should name; and one of them to be the

the Tyrants owne sonne . If it had beene the meaning of *Titus* , to withdraw the war from *Nabis* , because it was not grounded vpon iustice; then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him ; which hee himselfe did offer, though it were forsaie, to deliuer vp . But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the *Roman* faith , in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound vnto the state of their best freinds in *Greece* , by the extirpation of this Tyrannie : then should this enterprize, when once it was taken in hand , haue beene prosecuted vnto the verie vtmost . As for this middle course which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable vnto them , to enrich themselves by the spoile of one that had not offended them : nor pleasing to the *Achaens* , who iudged it euill after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus* ; so did it miniliter vnto the *Aetolians* , and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which tooke vpon them to be Patrons of *Greece* , no barren Subiect of malicious discourse . For since *Philip* , a King, and defended of many famous Kings , might not be suffered by these Masterlie *Romans* , to hold any one of those Countries or Townes in *Greece* , that had belonged vnto his Ancestors : it was thought verie strange, that *Lacedaemon* , once the most famous Citie among all the *Greekes* , was by the same *Romans* left in possession of a Tyrant, that had vsurped it but yesterday : and He therein rooted by their authority, as their freind and Confederate . *Nabis* on the other side thought himselfe vnicersally dealt withall, by the selfe-same *Romans* , whose amitie he had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the lone and affinity of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the Citie of *Argos* into his hands . But fallily had he dealt with the *Macedonian* : and fallily was he dealt with by those, to whom he did betake himselfe . Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him; save only that for the banished *Lacedaemonians* , (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Campe; hauing among them *Agelaspides* the naturall King of *Sparta* , that being a yong child was driven out by *Lycurgus* , the first of the Tyrants) there was made no prouision, to haue them restored vnto their Citie and Estates ; but only leaue required for as many of their wiues, as would be so contented, to liue abroad with them in banishment . Wherefore he forbore to giue consent vnto these demands: and sustained an assault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would soone be wearie . But his fearefull nature shortly overcame the resolution, which the sense of these iniuries had put into him . So yelding vnto all that had bene propounded, He deliuered the hostages ; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People . From this time forward, Hee thought the *Romans* more wicked than himselfe ; and was readie vpon the first advantage, to doe them all mischief that he could .

The *Argines* had heard newes that *Lacedaemon* was euen at point of being taken . This erected them, and gaue them heart to thinke vpon their owne good . So they aduentured to set vpon the Garrison; which was much weakened , by the remouue of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras* , to helpe the Tyrant at *Sparta* . There needed vnto their libertie no more, than that all of them ioyntly should set their hands to the getting of it; which no sooner they did than they obtained it . Presently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos* , where he was joyfully welcommed . He was deferuently acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laied hold without staying for him : and that he might the better entitle himselfe thereto, hee caused the libertie of the *Argines* to be proclaimed at the *Nemean* games; as ratifying it by his authority . The Citie was annexed againe to the Councell of *Achaia* ; whereby the *Achaens* were not more strengthened, than the *Argines* themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped .

After this, *Titus* found little busines or none wherewith to set on worke his Armie in *Greece* . *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassageto *Rome* , desiring peace and friendship of the Senate . Things being therefore in inappearence who

ly disposed vnto quiet; *Scipio the African*, that was cholen Consul at *Rome*, could not haue his desire, of being sent Commander into *Greece*. The vnincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Ætolians*, were held as considerations worthe of regard; yet not sufficient causes of making Warre. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of comforting the *Ætolians*, and of thoroughly perswading all the *Greekes* (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure vnto themselves the Patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Countrey, was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leauing the Nation vnto it self, till occasion should be ripe, and cal them ouer again. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, eyther found, or at anie neare distance appearing; he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where hee meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted vnto them all that had passed since his coming into those parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsaile, touching the moderate vse of their libertie, and the care which they ought to haue of liuing peaceably, and without faction. Lastly hee gaue vp *Acrocrinthus* to the *Ætolians*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garrison, and promising to doe the like (which verie soone hee did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetris*; that so it might bee knowne, what liers the *Ætolians* were, who had accused the *Romans*, of a purpose to retaine those places. With joyfull acclamations did the *Greekes* testifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to raise and enlarge all *Romans*, that had bin sold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happie end: and by leauing the Countrey before his departure was vrged, left therein behind him the memorie of his vertue and benefits, vntainted by ialousie and suspicion of any euill meaning. At his coming to the Citie, He had the honour of a Triumphe; which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had vntill that day beheld. Three dayes together the shew of his pompe continued: as being set out with the spoiles of a Countrey, more abundant in things worthe of such a spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made Warre. All sorts of Armes, with Statues and curious peeces of Brasie or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Siluer: some in the rude Masse vnwrought; some, in diuerse sorts of Coine; and some, in Vessels of fundrie kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were tenne shields, all of Siluer; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himselfe entred the Citie in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteene Crownes of Gold, bestowed vpon him by diuerse Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages; among which, *Demetrius* the sonne of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the sonne of *Nabis*, were principall. After him followed his Armie; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the Shew) the *Roman* Captiues, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in *Greece*.

Not long after his Triumphe, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all verie fauourable answers, excepting those of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to *Q. Quintius*, and the tenne that had bene his Counsaillers, because their bulinesse was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondred. They said vnto *Titus* and his Associates, That they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexitie of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either betwene the Victor and the vanquished; betwene those, that hauing warrd together were vpon equall termes of aduantages; or betwene those that had liued alwaies in good agreement, without any quarrell. Vnto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yeeld; and patiently endure the

the imposition of some Coucnants; that else might seeme vnreasonable. Where Warre had beene made; and no aduantage gotten: there was it vsuall to demand and make restitution, of things and places clamed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts could agree. But between those which had neuer fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establisshing friendship to bee propos'd: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their owne; and neyther carrie it selfe as superiour vnto the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the League and friendship that had beene so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so: they held it strange that the *Romans*

- 10 should thus insist on points no way concerning them; and take vpon them to prescribe vnto the King, what Cities of *Asia* he should set at libertie, from what Cities they would giue him leaue to exact his wonted Tributes; cyther putting, or not putting, his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke fit. Hereto *Quintus* answered, That since they went so distinctly to worke, He would also doe the like. Wherefore he propounded vnto them two Conditions, and gaue them their choice whether to accept: Eyther that it should be lawfull for the *Romans*, to take part in *Asia* with any that would seeke their friendship; Or, if King *Antiochus* misliked this, and would haue them forbear to meddle in *Asia*, that then Hee should abandon whatsoeuer he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plaine dealing; but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, so that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abstaine from *Asia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately wonne in *Europe*: then did not the affaires of *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, or any other *Asiatiques*, whome they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make warre with a King that sought their loue, and had neuer done them iniurie. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliuer vp vnto them the Citie of *Lysimachia*, whereon of late he had bin at so much cost, in building it vp even from the foundations, and repeopling it with inhabitants, that had all bene dispersed, or captiue to the *Barbarians*. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alleadged: saying, that *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans*; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* tooke vpon them as if their cause were farre the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose, to set at libertie those Townes, which the King would oppress and hold in subjection: especially since those Townes were of *Greekish* blood and language; and fell in that regard vnder the patronage, which *Rome* had afforded vnto all *Greekes* besides. By this colour they might soone haue left *Antiochus* King of not many subjects on the hither side of *Euphrates*. Neyther did they forbear to say, That, vnlesse he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not onely to protect those which relied vpon them in *Asia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be vnderstood) with such as were his subjects. Wherefore they vrged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tel them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleasing answer, which the Embassadors could not hereto make; little wanted of giuing presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to bee entreated, and were contented once againe to send ouer *P. Villius*, and others that had bene already with the King at *Lysimachia* by whom they might receiue a small answer, whether these demands made by *Quintus* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitlesse Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two years, or thereabouts, to prepare for warre; finding in the *Romans*, all that while, no disposition to let him liue in peace.

§. V.

Of the long Warres which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. PORCIVS CATO. Injuries done by MASA-

NISSA to the Carthaginians: that sue to
the Romans for iustice
in waime.



He Insulbrians, Bojans, and other of the *Cisalpine*, Gaules, together with the *Ligurians*; made often, and (in a manner) continuall warre vpon the *Romans* in *Italie*, even from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, vntill such time as they themselves were utterly subdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almost at the height of their Empire. These Nations, having serued vnder *Mago* for wages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader vnto them all, as hath bene already shewed; by this their fellowship in Armes, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldome afterwards eyther the *Gaules* or *Ligurians* did stirre alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpina* now called *Lumbardee*; it hath bene long since rehearsed, betweene the first and second *Punicke* Warres. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrey, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there-through. Neyther is it likely that the reconquest would haue bene more difficult or tedious vnto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase; if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed vnto this warre had not bene distracted by the *Ligurians*; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of bodie; well practised in laying ambulches, and not discouraged with any ouerthrow; but forthwith ready to fight againe. Their Countrey was mountainous, rough, woodie, and full of streight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Castles; exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neyther bee taken nor besieged. They were also verie poore; and had litle or nothing that might giue contentment, vnto a victorious Armie that should spoile their Land. In these respects they serued excellently well, to traine vp the *Roman* Souldiours to hardnesse and militarie patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of warre) to endure much, and liue contented with a litle. Their quarrell to *Rome*, grew partly from their lone vnto the *Gaules*; their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territorie of their borderers, that were subiect vnto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begunne, seemed to haue bene grounded vpon the Condition of all Saluages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Iudgment: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vsing their aduantage, or taking reuenge of injuries when they returne to minde. This qualite is found in all, or most of the *West-Indians*: who, if they bee demanded a reason of the Warres betweene them and any of their neighbours, vse commonly this answer, *It hath still bene the custome for vs and them, to fight one against the other.*

Diuers ouerthrows, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gaue vnto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distresse; and brake it againe as often, when they thought it profitable so to doe. The best was, that as their Countrey was a good place of exercise vnto the *Romans*, so out of their own Countrey they did litle harm:

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Chap. 5. §. 5. of
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not sending any great Armies farre from home ; perhaps, because they knew not how to make war, but on their owne ground.

The Countrey of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italie* that became subiect vnto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their Prouinces, which was wholly and thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers vnto an Ox-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the propriety of that Ox-hide, which *Calanus* the *Indian* shewed vnto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading vpon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldome did it happen, that those parts, from which the *Roman* Armies lay furthest, were not vp in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a verie hardie Nation, and easily stirred vp to armes ; but had not much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Capitaines. They wanted also (which was their principall hindrance) good intelligence among themselves: and being diuided into many small Signories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldome or neuer provided in generall for the common good of their Countrey ; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto their owne Territorie. Such priuate respects made them often to fall afunder ; when many had vnited themselves together, for chasing out of the *Romans*. And these were the causes of their often ouerthrowes: as desire of libertie, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking armes.

The *Carthaginians* had beene accustomed, to make euacuation of this Chollerick *Spanish* humour, by employing, as Mercenaries in their warres abroad, those that were most likely to be vnquiet at home. They had also taken souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and vled them in an other: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which they raysed vpon the whole Countrey; as being farre better husbands, and of more dexteritie than were the *Romans*, in that kind. But contrariwise the *Romans*, vsing the seruice of their owne Legions, and of their fire friends the *Latines*, had little businesse for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were faine to haue much businesse with them. *Spain* was too farre distant, and withall too great, for them to send ouer Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the courst that they tooke in *Italie*. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwayes maintaine such Armies in the Countrey, as might serue to hold it in obedience perforce; and such herdfull Capitaines, as might be still readie to oppose the *Barbarians* in their first Commotion. This they did: and thereby held the Countrey; though seldome in peace.

Verie soone after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised warre in *Spain* against the *Romans*, euen vpon the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spanish* warres following. It was thought vnreasonable, that the *Spaniards* should one while helpe the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; basely forgetting to helpe themselves against those that were strangers, yet vsurped the Dominion ouer them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Countrey, being well acquainted with the manner of warre in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with subiection, brought peace vpon the Countrey; which lasted few yeares. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the warre; yet left it still remaining the cause of the warre; which after few yeares brake out againe. The *Spaniards* fought a battaile with the *Roman* Proconsul, whom they slew, and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happie successe of their Warres in *Greece*, made the *Romans* thinke it enough to send thither two Pretors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consul the yeare following, and sent into that Prouince, found at his coming little lesse to doe; than the reconquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one minde: some were faithfull to *Rome*; and some were idle beholders of the paines that

that others tooke. Yet when *Cato* had wonne a great Victorie vpon the chiefe of them; they rose against him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him to much new trouble. Whilst he was about to make a iourne against those that were as yet vnsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were euen readie to rebell. Hee therefore disarmed them: which they tooke so heauily, that many of them slew themselves for verie griefe. Hearing of this, and well vnderstanding, that such desperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called vnto him the principall among them: and commending vnto them peace and quietnesse, which they neuer had disturbed but vnto their own great losse, He praised them to deuise what course might be take, for holding them assured vnto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would giue counsaile in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their inuention barren in this kind of Subiect, He gaue expresse charge, That vpon a day appointed they should throw downe the wals of all their Townes. Afterwards he carried the Warre about from place to place; and with singular indolence finished it in short time. Neyther thought he it any disgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Armie of the *Celiberians*, against other of their Countreymen: excusing the indignitie, such as it seemed, with a iest, That if he were vanquished and slaine, then should hee need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victorie, he could pay them with the Enemies monie. Finally Hee brought the Warre to so good end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. Hee increased also the publike Reuenues in that Prouince, by causing some Mines of Iron and Silver to bee wrought, that had before layne vnregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth, by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar disposition.

(Cato) For this *M. Cato* was not onely verie notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed The Occupation of the *Romans*; but so well furnished with all other vsfull qualities, that verie litle was wanting in him, which might seem requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was verie skilful in the *Roman Lawes*, a man of great Eloquence, and not vnprofitable in any bulines cyther private or publike. Many Bookes he wrote: whereof the principal were, of the *Roman antiquities*, and of husbandrie. In matter of husbandrie he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his House. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: so as hee liued in perfect health to verie old age. But that which most commended him vnto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sinceritie of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himselfe to the ancient laudable Customes of the Citie. Herein he had merited singular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not caused him to maligne the vertue of that Noble *Scipio the African*, and some other worthie men; that were no lesse honest than himselfe, though farre lesse rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise, Hee was a verie good Citizen, and one of such temper, that hee could fashion himselfe to all occasions; as if he neuer were out of his Element. He loved businesse so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; that euen vnto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himselfe, or accusing others. For at the age of foure score and six yeares, He pleaded in his own defence: and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such Nobilitie and greatnesse as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

(Cato Strian) The *Spanish* Warres, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrey, though they were not verie dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrey seldome free from insurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Pretors therefore, of which two euery yeare were sent ouer Commanders into *Spain* (that was diuided into

two euerie year were sent ouer Commanders into *spaine* (that was deuided into two Governments) did rarely faile of such worke, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One slew thirtene thousand *Spaniards* in a battaile; another tooke fittie Townes; and a third enforced many States of the Countrie to sue for peace. Thus euerie one of them, or most of them, did some laudable seruice; yet so, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were slaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof I haue already pointed: and therefore thinke it enough to say, That the businesse in *spaine* required not the employment of a *Roman* Consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, vntill the *Numantian* Warre brake out; which was verie long after.

- In all other Countries to the West of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* House promised al felicitie which *Rome* could grant, vnto themselves and their obedient Citie: *Masaniissa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He beganne with *Emporia*, a fruitfull Region about the lesser *Syria*: wherein among other Cities was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent vnto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Countrie the *Numidian* challenged; and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claime vnto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any Warre, without leave obtained from their Masters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redresse, than by sending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Iudges had bene vnpartiall. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out vnto them their Bounds, had left them the possession of this Countrie: *Masaniissa* himselfe, now verie lately, pursuing a Rebelle that fled out of his Kingdome, desired leaue of the *Carthaginians*, for himselfe to passe through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it other wise bene questionable) that the Countrie was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masaniissa* had wherewith to iustifie his proceedings, especially vnto the *Roman* Senate. Hee gaue the *Fathers* to vnderstand by his Embassadors, what faithlesse people the *Carthaginians* were, and how it affected to the State of *Rome*.
- 30 There had lately bene sent vnto them from *Hannibal* one, that should perswade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined, vpon some suspicion of his errand; yet neyther arresting him nor his shippe, had thereby afforded him meanes to escape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, That certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policie to kecke them downe. As for the Countrie of *Emporia*: it had alwaies, hee said, bene theirs, that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometimes vnto the *Numidian* Kings, though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if truth were knowne: the Citizens of *Carthage* had no verie warrantable title, vnto any more ground, than that whereon their Citie stood; or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in *Africk*, that had gotten leaue there to build vpon so much ground, as they could encompass with an Ox-hide cut into final thongs. Whatsoever they held without such a compasse, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull enroachments. This considered, *Masaniissa* requested of the Senate, That they would not adudge vnto such vipers, the Countrie sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* hauing heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtfull, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore because they would doe nothing rashly, they sent ouer three Embassadors, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chiefe, to decide the controuersie: yet secretly giuing them instructions, to leaue all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that *Masaniissa* with a strong Armie should quickly preuaile, against those that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime against the wrong. By such arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not onely from stirring in fauour of King

Antiochus, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their finall destruction: that came vpon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to expresse the vtmost of their hatred.

B. VI.

The *Ætolians* labour to prouoke *ANTIOCHVS*, *PHILIP*, and *NABIS*, to warre vpon the *Romans*, by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. *NABIS* besiegeth *Gythium*, and wasteth some part of *Achea*. The exact skill of *PHILOPOEMEN*, in advantage of ground: whereby hee utterly vanquisheth *NABIS*. *ANTIOCHVS* being denied peace by the *Romans*, ioyne with the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* surprize *DEMETRIAS*; and by killing *NABIS* their confederate seize vpon *Sparta*. But they are drinen out by the Citizens: who at *PHILOPOEMEN* his perswasions, annex themselves to the *Acheans*.

ALL Greece being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætolians* to thinke, that they who had promised vnto themselves the whole spoile of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the *Greekes*; were not onely disappointed of their courteous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most vnregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had bene taken from the *Macedonian*. This might haue well sufficed them; if their desires had not bene immoderate; and their indignation, more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly displeased, wherein they thought that they had vn sufferable wrong. Wherefore they deuided, in a Parliament which they shortly held; by what means they best might right themselves; and giue the *Romans* a sorrowfull knowledge of the difference, betwene their enmitie and friendship. To this purpose they soone agreed, as concurring all in one affection, That they would not onely perswade *Antiochus* to make warre vpon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused peace; but that they would deale with the King of *Macedon* their ancient Enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, to ioyne all together in a new Confederacie: whose ioynt forces could not in all likelihood but farre surmount those of the *Romans*, *Acheans*, *Rhodiens*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Ætolians* tooke in hand; and well becoming them, for they were great darers. They sent Embassadors to all these Kings, with perswasions as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irresolute; and *Antiochus* willing to trie first all other courses. *Nabis* the *Lacedemonian*, who neyther (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in feare of any warre; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seeke any good pretence, beganne immediately to lay siege to *Gythium*, that had bene lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Acheans*, to whose care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the affaires of *Peloponnesus*, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his dutie: neyther would they haue staied long from repressing his violence by open war; had not some of them thought it wisdom to aske counsaile of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselves in a businesse of such importance. Whilest thus they spent the time in sending Embassadors, and were aduised by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the *Roman* forces that would shortly bee amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to giue them iuster cause of complaint, by wasting their owne Territorie. *Philopomen* was then Prætor of the *Acheans*, who had long bene absent in *Crete*, making

making war there for his mindes lake and recreation. Vnto him the *Achaens* referred themselves, giuing him leaue to order the war at his pleasure; either llaying vntill the *Romans* came; or doing other wise, as he should thinke best. He made all halt to releue *Gythheum*, by Seas tearing leit the Towne, and the *Achaen* Garrison within it, should be lost, if hee vsed any delay. But *Philopamen* was so bad a Seaman, that he knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. He made a *Quadrirème* Gallie his Admirall, that had fourescore yeares agoe bene counted a galliant vskill, in the Nauie of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedamonian*. Oncely it fell out well, that he committed himselfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her tallons. For his Admirall Gallie was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leaks, and tooke in water so fast, that she was faine to yeeld without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was becoming of their Admirall; all were presently discouraged, and saued themselves with what speed they cou'd. But *Philopamen* was not here with danted. If hee had failed in Sea-seruice, which was none of his Occupation; Hee said that hee would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the siege of *Gythheum*, to stop the *Achaens* if they should inuade his Countrie. But vpon these which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopamen* came inexpected; fired their Campe; and put all, saue a verie few of them, to the sword. Then marched he with all his Armie towards *Lacedamon*: within ten mile whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him; that had alreadie taken *Gythheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would haue bene readie for them so soone. Or if hee should come from *Gythheum*, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that he must overtake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long Troupe reaching some five miles: hauing their Horse and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs to beare off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly vnderstood, or at least suspected, what course they would take: appeared in the front of them with all his Armie; encamped there where they meant to haue lodged. It was the custome of *Philopamen*, when he walked or trauelled abroad with his friends, to marke the situation of the Countrie about him; and to discourse, what might befall an Armie marching the same way. Hee would suppose, That hauing with him there such a number of souldiours, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were vpon that ground encountered by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would he put the question, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? what peece of ground it were meete for him to seize vpon? and in what manner he might best doe it? in what sort he should order his men? where bestow his Carriages, and vnder what Gard? in what fort encampe himselfe? and which way march the day following? By such continuall meditation Hee was growne so perfect, that he neuer met with any difficultie, whence he could not explicate himselfe and his followers. At this time he made a stand: and hauing drawne vp his Reare, He encamped neare vnto the place where he was; within halfe a mile of the Enemie. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rocke; encompassing them round with his souldiours. The ground was rough, the waies bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brooke; whereto the *Achaens* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. *Philopamen* vnderstood this; and layd an ambush in place conuenient; wherinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell; and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, he caused one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitiue, and tell him, that the *Achaens* had a purpose to get betweene him and *Lacedamon*; whereby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people, to take armes for the recouerie of their

freedom. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwife would haue bene forced. Some Companies he made to stay behind, and flew themselves vpon the Rampart, thereby to concale his departure. But *Philopemen* was not so to be beguiled. He easily won the Campe; and gaue chase to *Nabis*: whose followers being ouertaken, had no courage to turne about and make head. The Enemies being thus disperfed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in couert all that day; *Philopemen* conceived a right, that their feare and necessity would teach them to creepe homewards, and saue them selues, when it grew darke. Wherefore in the Euening, when he had gathered together all those of his Light-armature, which had followed the chase whilst it was day; He led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinarie passages vnto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was darke night, perceiving in *Philopemen*'s Campe great store of lights; thought that all had bene at rest; and therefore aduentured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirtie daies together after this, did *Philopemen* wait the Countre round about, whilst *Nabis* durst not issue forth of his Towne; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The Roman Embassadours were then in Greece, and *T. Quintius* among them; labouring to make their partie strong against *Antiochus* & *Nabis*, whom they knew to be sollicitied by the *Æthians*. Vene faire countenance they also made vnto *Philipp*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatsoever he thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore vnto him his sonne: and were contented to let him hope, that hee should receiue other fauours at their hands; and regaine possession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for war against *Antiochus* in Greece, whilst their Embassadours that were with him in *Asia*, denied otherwise to grant him peace, than if he would yeelde vnto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long absence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accomplished the marriage between *Ptolemie* and his daughter: together with the death of yong *Antiochus* the Kings son, which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King, from giuing audience in person to the Embassadours; caused them to returne home to Rome; as vncertaine of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might haue bene, and partly was, beneficial vnto them, they brought to passe during their abode at *Ephesus*; either by cunning, or (as *Linie* rather thinks) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fled vnto *Antiochus*, vpon a causelesse suspicion wherein hee held the Romans: that honoured his verue, and intended him no harme. Many haue affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these Embassadours; and that he, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded once, Which of all the famous Captaines that had liued, *Hannibal* iudged the most vertuous? So *Hannibal* gaunto *Alexander* of Macedon the first place: to *Pyrrhus* the second: and the third he challenged vnto himselfe. But *Scipio* who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be so forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldst thou haue said then *Hannibal*, if thou hadst vanquished mee? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I haue giuen the first place to *Alexander*, but haue claymed it as due vnto my selfe. Now whether this were so, or otherwise: the often and freindly conference of *Hannibal* with the Roman Embassadours, made him suspected of *Antiochus*: who therefore did forbeare a while to vse his counsell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King: and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; He easily recovered his former grace, and credit. For he told how his Father had caused him to sweare at the Altars, when hee was a little boy, That hee neuer should be freind vnto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine fumes:

mises: but to know thus much, That as long as hee thought vpon war with *Rome*, so long would *Hannibal* doe him all good seruice: whereas contrariwise if he intended to make peace, then should it behoue him to vse the counsaile of some other man.

- The *Ætolians*, and their freinds, were no lesse busie all this while, in making their partie strong against the *Romans*: than were the *Romans*, in mustering vp their freinds in *Greece*. They had so often dealt with *Antiochus*, vauing much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victorie against *Philip*, that finally they preuailed with him: especially when the *Roman* Embassadors had left him, without hope of peace, vnesse he would buy it at too deare a rate. They dealt in like sort with the *Macedonian*. But in vaine. Hee vnderstood the *Romans*, and himselfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improoue their owne forces to the vtmost: as knowing, that all the burthen must lie vpon *Antiochus* and themselves, without helpe from anie; saue only from some few that were discontented in *Greece*. Whilest they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King *Antiochus* that animated them to resolution: the *Athenian* Embassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to bear their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the *Romans*, that lay neare at hand. For want of a readie answer hereto they were contented to approue the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the busines worthe of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himselfe against the *Romans*: it would be no small peece of seruice, to with-draw from his freindslipe, those by whose encouragement he had made the aduenture. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or Great Assemblie of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serue to appease them. Hee willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they tooke in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champagne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Countrie, the *Romans*, and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Maisterie: the *Ætolians*, as Masters in that kind of fence, setting them on, and becomming * the *Sticklers*. As for those greiuances which did thus exasperate them, and vrge them to such violent courses, He willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might doe to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should either plead their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to haue what they desired: than thus to set the world in an vpror, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what hee said or could say, it skilled not much. They had alreadie done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose helpe they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the *Romans*. Neither was it newes vnto them to heare those comfortable words, That, by sending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtaine what they desired either as their right, or else by way of fauour. For with such termes had they beene feasted once alreadie: and were by the Senate erected vnto *Titus*: who, hauing it in his owne power, gaue them no satisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This were onely losse of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more adoe they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus* the great should be entreated to come ouer into *Greece*, as well to set the Countrie at libertie, as also to decide the controuersies depending betwene the *Romans* and *Ætolians*. Such a Decree they would not haue made, had they not vnderstood the Kings minde before. Hauing made it; they forgot no point of brauerie, whereby to vant themselves to the Kings Embassadors, and against the *Romans*. *Titus* desired of their Prætor, to let him see a Copie of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to doe: but that this Decree, & their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their camp in *Italie* vpon the river of *Tiberis*. Gentler words would haue

done better as the *Ætolians* are like to vnderstand herafter. But hauing thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to worke. The care of the war they referred vnto the more private Councell of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the authoritie of a generall Assemblies. The *Apulei* (so were the Priue Councell of *Ætolia* called) went as holly to worke, as any of the yongest heads could haue done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they tooke vpon the sudden: entering, some of them as freinds to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had bene driuen to flie thence, but was, by intercession of those that loved him, againe recalled. His *Ætolian* companions that were not many, seized vpon a Gate: whereat they let in a Troup which they had left not far behind them; and so fell to murdering the chiefe of the *Roman* faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came too strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Towne prepared to defend it selfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostilitie, they gaue a gentle answer: saying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliuer the Towne from the *Romans*: who more insolently domiered ouer it, than euer the *Macedonians* had done. By such Rhetorick they preuailed no more, than they could doe by plaine force. For the Towne-men replied, That they neither found any abridgment of their libertie, nor needed any Garrison to keepe them from the *Romans*; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received iniurie. So this busines was dashed. The attempt vpon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good freind, was Lord of the Towne: styling himselfe King; but, more truly, by all men called Tyrant. He had wel-neare lost all, by means of the ouerthrow which *Philopomen* had lately giuen him: since, he durst not stirre abroad; and daily expected the mischeife, that on all sides threatned him. Wherefore he sent messingers, one after other, to the *Ætolians*: requesting them, That as He had not bene slow to stirre in their behalfe, but aduentured himselfe vpon the vtmost of danger, when all others were backward; so They would be pleased to send him what helpe they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath bene often said, That the rauous *Ætolians* were onely true to themselves, & regarded neither faith nor freindship otherwise than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercinarie forces, which vpheld his Tyrannie, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to assure *Lacedamon* vnto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a worke. To him they gaue a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirtie were by *Damocritus* the Pretor brought into the Councell of the *Apulei*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be; nor to thinke that they were sent to make war with the *Achasians*, or to doe ought else, saue onely what *Alexamenus* should command them: which were it neuer so desperate; and in seeming against all reason; yet must they vnderstand, that vntlesse they performed it, they should haue no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with braue wordes: telling him, that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to couer all the Land and Sea with his mightie Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to finde other manner of work, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this great King, without other helpe, would suffice to tread them downe. As for the *Ætolians*, He said, that if need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedamon* all the forces that they could raise: But that they were verie desirous at the present, to make as goodlie a muster as they could before the great King; which caused them to send him thither a force with

Ed 473. 526. 452. 586. 612. 609. 670. 9. 066. 06. 720. 1. 4.

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- with no greater companie. Hercupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had bene long pent vp in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field; riding vp and downe with his *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion to step aside alone to his *Aetolians*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned againe to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great worke that he had in hand: Hee then went aside to his thirtie Horsemen, and bad them remember the taske enioyned them at their setting forth; telling them that they were all in case of banished men, vnlesse they would anon come vp to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neare them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and struck him down. The thirtie *Aetolians* neuer stood to deliberate vpon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently vpon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ranne vnto the dead bodie: where in stead of seeking reuenge they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Aetolians* hastied into the Citie, and seized on the Palace: where hee fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himselfe with none other care, as though all were alreadie done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Towne, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to see those that had flaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Towne was shortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall stocke, that had bene brought vp with *Nabis* his children; whom they mounted vpon a Good Horse, and made him their chiefe. So they fell vpon the *Aetolians* that were idely stragling about; and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenus* with not many of his Companie, were slaine in keeping the Citadell: and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtfull Estate of things at *Lacedamon*, *Philopoemen* came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such words vnto them, as *Alexamenus* should haue done after hee had slaine the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their owne good and safetie, to incorporate themselves with the *Achaens*. Thus by the enterprise, no lesse dishonourable than difficult, of the *Aetolians*, and the small but effectuell, trauaile of *Philopoemen*; the *Achaens* made a notable purchase: and *Lacedamon*, that had hitherto bin gouerned eyther by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth; whereof the name had scarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled ouer all Greece.

B. VII.

ANTIOCHVS, perswaded by THOAS the *Ætolian*, comes ouer into Greece, ill attended. Sundrie passages betwene him, the *Ætolians*, *Chalcidians* and others. Hee winnes *Chalcis* and therby the whole Ile of *Euboea*. The vanitie of the Kings Embassadors and the *Ætolians*, with the ciuill answer of TITVS to their discourse, before the *Achaens*. That it concerned the *Greekes* to haue desired peace, betwene the *Romans* and ANTIOCHVS; as the best assurance of their owne libertie. Of many petite Estates that fell to the King. Of AMINANDER, and an idle vanitie, by which King PHILIP was lost. HANNIBAL giues good counsaile in vaine. Some Townes wonne in *Thessalie*. The King retires to *Chalcis*; Where hee marieth a young wife, and reuels away the rest of Winter. Vpon the comming of the Roman Consul all forsake ANTIOCHVS. Hee with two thousand *Ætolians* keeps the Streights of *Thermopylae*. Hee is beaten, and flies into *Asia*: leauing all in Greece vnto the Victors.



ANTIOCHVS was troubled much in *Asia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampacæ*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leaue them Enemies behind him and to winne them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was hee desirous with all speed conuenient to shew himselfe in Greece; where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Countrie there was a verie small number, which bore heartie affection vnto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already vp in Armes: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chaine, desiring nothing more than to breake loose; and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could haue done, were readie to conserue vpon him the greatnesse, which they had vnworthily bestowed vpon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise, as added credit vnto all the rest. Whilst therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africa*, there to molest the *Romans*, and so giue him the better leisure of viding his owne opportunities in Greece: THOAS the *Ætolian* came ouer to him, and bad him lay all other care aside; for that his Countymen had already taken *Demetrias* a Towne of maine importance, that should giue him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatnesse of his vertue and fortune. This did serue to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*: THOAS was bold to tell the King, first, That it was not expedient for him to diuide his forces at such a time, when the verie reputation of his numbers, brought into Greece, might serue to lay open vnto him all places, without need of vsing violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more vnfit man to be employed in the Kings seruice, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said, That the King should as greatly feele the losse of a Fleet or Armie, perishing vnder such a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried vnder one of meaner qualitie: whereas neuertheless if *Hannibal* preuailed, *Hannibal* alone should haue all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, That such a renowned Warriour should be alwayes neare vnto the Kings person, to giue aduice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good successe would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the soueraine Command; euen of the King himselfe. *Antiochus* gladly hearkned vnto this admonition; being ialous of the vertue, that shined brighter than the Maiestie of his owne fortune. And thereupon hee laid aside the determination; which tended more to the aduancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought vpon.

Presently after this He made readie for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a friuolous

lous pomp of ceremony, he went vp from the Sea-side to *Ilium*; there to do sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence passing ouer the *Aegean* Sea, Hee came to *Demetrius*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnetian*, the same whome the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they wanne *Demetrius*; was now the chiefe man and Ruler of his Nation. Hee therefore with his Countreimen, in great frequency, came to doe their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcomé. The King was glad of this; and tooke it as a signe of good lucke, to bee so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the *Magnetians* found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Armie somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred ships, of which no more than fortie were seruicable for the Warres; with an Armie of tenne thousand Foot, fise hundred Horse, and fixe Elephants. The *Ætolians* no sooner heard of his comming, than they called a Parliament; and made a Decree, whereby they inuited him into their Countrie. He knew before that they would so doe; and was therefore wel onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his comming to *Lamia*, the *Ætolians* gaue him as ioyfull entertainment as they could deuise. Being brought into their Councell, He made an Oration: wherein hee desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he said, in true estimation a signe of his good will: in that hee shaid not to make all things readie; but hasted vnto their aid, euen whilst the season was vnfit for navigation. Yet it should not bee long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neyther would hee spare for any charge, trauaile, or danger, to follow the businesse which hee had vndertaken; euen to drine the *Romans* and their authoritie out of *Greece*; leauing the Countrie free indeed, and the *Ætolians* therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be verie great: so was it his meaning, that all prouisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not bee any way burdensome vnto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs entreat them, hauing thus hastily come ouer vnto their aid, vnprovided of manie necessaries; that they would helpe him with Come and other victuals, whereof hee stood in need. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the *Romans* and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*. That they would yeild vnto the Kings desire, and assit him with all their forces. Here we may obserue, how vaine a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did *Antiochus*, in a businesse of dangerous importances, vpon the promised assurance of a State that is meereely popular. For if the vehemencie of *Thous*, and some other of that Faction, had not preuailed in this Councell: the *Ætolians*, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea for hope of such gaine that might haue deceived them; were like to haue abandoned this King their friend, vnto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedie had there been, if this had so fallen out? He could haue bemoaned himselfe to *Thous*, and complained of the wrong; but he must haue bin contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom *Thous* would therefore haue pronounced to bee verie wicked men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it proued much worle, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was chosen Generall of all their forces: and thirtie Commissioners were appointed to bee about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilst it was in dispute where they should beginne the Warre. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first vndertaken: whether if they came suddenly, they should not peraduenture need to vse much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thousand Foot; leauing the rest behind him at *Demetrius*. With these hee hasted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being ouertaken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which

which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætolians* beganne, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and false semblance, set *Greece* at libertie. But such libertie, as might be true and vsfull, they said would neuer be obtained; vntill by removing the necessitie of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, euery seuerall Estate had where to find redresse of any p'ressure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King wel able to counterpoise, yea to ouerweigh the *Romans*: who neuertheless desired them only, so to joyne with him in League, as that if eyther the *Romans* or Hee should offer them wrong, they might keepe it in their power, to seeke redresse at the other hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginarie, but absolute; for which they were to thanke the *Romans*; without whole good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirme of all the *Greekes*: forasmuch as none of them payed any Tribute; was kept vnder, by any Garrison; or liued otherwise than by their owne *Lanes*, and without being tied vnto condition which displeased them. Wherefore they wondred, why the King should thus trouble himselfe, to deliuer Cities that were already free. But since he, and the *Ætolians*, requested their friendship: they besought both him, and the *Ætolians*, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leauing them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But verie soone after, hee brought thither a greater power, which terrified them, and made them yeeld: before all the succours could arriue, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chiefe Citie of *Euboea* being thus gotten; all the rest of the Iland shortly yeelded to *Antiochus*. Foure or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came ouer late to haue defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little Towne of *Boeotia*, lying ouer against the Iland; where was a Temple and Grove, consecrated vnto *Apollo*, that had the priuiledge of an inuioable Sanctuarie. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to bee seene, whilst others were busied as they found cause: without feare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But *Memippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captaines, that had wearied himselfe in manie vaine Treaties of peace; tooke aduantage of their carelesseness, and vsed them with all extremitie of warre. Verie few of them escaped: s'fise were taken; and the rest slaine. Herat *Quintus* was grieved: yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more iust cause than before, to make warre vpon the King.

Antiochus liked wel these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. The wiser fort returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some referred themselves vntill hee should come among them: knowing that eyther, if hee came not, Hee must holde them excused for not daring to stirre; or, if hee came, the *Romans* must pardon their iust feare, in yeelding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, joyned with him in true meaning; save the *Eleans*, that alwayes fauoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Acheans*. Little reason there was, that he should thinke to draw the *Acheans* to his partie. Neuertheless hee assayed them, vpon a vaine hope that the enuie, which *Titus* was said to beare vnto *Philopamen*'s vertue, had bred a secret dislike betwene that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both Hee and the *Ætolians* sent Embassadors to the Councell at *Aegium*; that spared not braue words, if the *Acheans* would haue so bene taken. The Kings Embassadors told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming: reckoning vp the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimians* and *Cadusians*; names that were not euery day heard of, and therefore as hee thought, the

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the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydonians*, *Tyrrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphylians* were; such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning monie, and all warlike furniture: it was, he said, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of *Asia* had alwaies thereof great plentie. So as they were much deceived: who considering the late war made against *Philip*, did thinke that this with *Antiochus* would proue the like: the case was too farre different. Yet this most powerfull King, that for the libertie of *Greece* was come from the vtmost parts of the East; requested no more of the *Achaens*, than that they would hold themselves as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whilst He tooke order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Aetolian* Embassadour: and further added, That in the battell at *Cynosephala*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good fouldiours: but that both He and his Armie had bene there destroyed, had they not bene protected by vertue of the *Aetolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could haue bene desired. He told the *Achaens*, that neither the Kings Embassadour, nor the *Aetolian*, did so greatly labour to perswade those vnto whom they addressed their Orations; as to vnto themselves the one vnto the other. So as a man might well discern, what good correspondence in vanitie it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Aetolians* together. For euen such bragges as here they made, before the *Achaens* who knew them to be liars, had the *Aetolians* also made vnto king *Antiochus*: proclayming the victorie ouer *Philip* to be merely their Act: and the whole Countrie of *Greece* to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they bene feasted by the King, with such tales as his Embassadour told euen now; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimeans*, and a many others: that were all but a companie of *Syrrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bondslauens, and good for little else. These diuerse names of rascall people were, he said, like to the diuersitie of Venison, wherewith a freind of his at *Chalcus* (no such vanter as were these Embassadours) had sometime feasted him. For all that varietie, wherent hee wondered, was none other, as his Host then merily told him; than so many peeces of one tame swine, dressed after severall fashions with varietie of sawces. Setting therefore aside this vanitie of idle pompe: it were good to make iudgment of the great King, by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noyse, no more than ten thousand men about him: for which little Armie he was faine, in a manner, to beg victualles of the *Aetolians*; and take vp monie at vsurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ran vp and downe the Countrie; from *Demetrias* to *Lamis*; thence backe to *Chalcis*; and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* againe. These were the fruits of lies: wherewith since both *Antiochus* and the *Aetolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wiser men tooke heed by their example. To a favourable Auditorie much persuasion is needlesse. The *Achaens* did not loue so well the *Aetolians*, as to desire that they should become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to harken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Euboea*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaymed war against him, and against the *Aetolians*.

How the hatred betweene these two Nations grew inueterate; sufficiently appears in the storie foregoing. Now haeth they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them vnwisely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid, on the turbulent spirits of the *Aetolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Countrie at rest: there was nothing more greatly to haue bene desired, than that they might neuer finde occasion to returne with an Armie thither againe. And in this respect ought the *Greekes* to haue fought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampsaes* might recouer their libertie (which had neuer bene held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, diuided and kept asunder by their Countrie, as two

Seas by an *Isthmus* or necke of land, might be kept from ouerflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiatiques*, which originally were *Greekish*; than the generall applause, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their louing offer. Yet were *Lysimachus*, and the Townes in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a verie great cause of feare, that should moue them to take armes euen in their owne defence. But if all *Greece* would haue made intercession, & requested that things might continue as they were, promising ioyntly to asslist the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stirre against them: then had not onely this quarrell bene at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage ouer the Countrey, had been far from growing, as soone after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achaens* were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their freinds and benefactors. All the rest gaue doubtfull answers of hope vnto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firme against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrell, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Boeotians* willingly receiued him, as soone as he entered vpon their borders, not so much for feare of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had bene somewhat hardly vied. *Aminander* the *Athamian*, besides his old freindship with the *Aetolians*, was caught with a bait; which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and wanted himselfe to be defended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two sonnes, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poore Court of *Athamania*: where hauing made his follie knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; He was iudged by *Antiochus* and the *Aetolians*, a man fit for their turnes. They made him beleue, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memorie of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to doe their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoofe: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behoued him to draw *Aminander* to their partie, that so they might the sooner haue done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himselfe, or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first peece of seruice done by this imagine King (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie, in hope to get loue of the *Macedonians*; that should be his subiects; or whether from some vanitie in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harme to his freinds, than he and *Aminander* were able to doe good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched vnto *Cynosephale*, there to gather vnto the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie vnburi- ed. The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to thinke on this charitable act, as it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* tooke it in high indignation; as intended merely vnto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent vnto the *Romans*; and gaue them to vnderstand, that hee was ready with all his power to aid them wherein fouer they should be pleased to vse him.

The *Aetolians*, *Magnetians*, *Euboeans*, *Boeotians*, and *Athamians*, hauing now all ioyued with him; *Antiochus* tooke counsaile of them about the prosecution of the warre in hand. The chiefe question was, Whether it were meet for him to inuade *Thessalie*, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let alone vntill the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another: confirming each his owne sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting; who had long bene cast aside, as a vessell of no vse; but was now requi- red to deliuer his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now vt- ter,

was, was such the like before bene asked and other their good they cleane from themselves for be- wards, when they the same feare win King Philip of ged, he should not 10 here) was a might with his proper lo them; the benefit strong Argument the likelihood of ly this T is a v, a be- doer of good to reas- ould so that P is a mens: knowing that and would I am be- 20 that he may requi- Enemies to v, a di- gnation: when they might the Roman part of your deue in residence, as I al- without putting any in Greece. But man- now could speed it: you then quarrel: as in Embroas as a little to their com- into Italie. *Nicomedes* sent for all your E- with them, I aduise hands, as I am man- you in person with I for the officers of C- sion to v, a Italie aduise: vnto though the Roman, I haue this counsaile: but what counsaile were pleased with of all this was not things redie the which they had many other places. But *Larissa*, that was threat of the King and courage was vnto *Antiochus* did send hispe into *Antiochus* such, as wrought r *Antiochus* perceiui

ter, was euen the same which he would haue spoken, had his counsaile at any time before beene asked since their coming into Greece. For the *Magnetiens*, *Bootians*, and other their good freinds, which now so willingly tooke their parts: what were they else than so many poore Estates, that, wanting force of their owne, did adioyne themselves for feare vnto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as readie to fall to the contrarie side, all leading the same feare for their excuse? wherefore he thought it most behouefull, to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* vnto their partie: who (belides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards haue power to recoyle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mightie Prince, and one that had meanes to sustaine the *Roman* warre with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easly perswaded to ioyne with them; the benefit likely to redound vnto himselfe, by their societie, was a verie strong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of prouing by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, said Hee, These *Aetolians* here present; and namely this *TROAS*, being lately Embassador from them into *Asia*, among other Motiues which been vsed to excite the King vnto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told vs that *PHILIP* was moued beyond all patience, with the Lordly insalence of the *Romans*: likening that King to some wild beest, that was chained or lockt up within some grate and would faine breake loose. If this be so: let vs breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate: 20 that he may regaine his libertie, and satisfie his angrie stomack, vpon those that are common Enemies to vs and him. But if it proue otherwise, and that his feare be greater than his indignation: then shalt it behoue vs to looke vnto him, that he may not seeke to plesse his good master the *Romans*, by offending vs. Your sonne *SELEVCVS* is now at *Ejymachia*, with part of your Armie: if *PHILIP* will not hearken to your Embassage; let *SELEVCVS* be in readines, to fall vpon *Macedon*, and finde him worke to defend his owne on the other side, without putting vs here to trouble. Thus much concerning *PHILIP*; and the present war in Greece. But more generally for the managging of this great enterprize, wherein you are now embarked against the *Romans*; I told you my opinion at the beginning. Whereto had you then giuen care, the *Romans* by this time should haue heard other newes, than that *Chalcis* in *Euboea* was become ours. *Italie* and *Gule* should haue beene on fire with warre: and, little to their comfort, they should haue vnderstood, that *HANNIBAL* was againe come into *Italie*. Neither doe I see what should hinder vs euen now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Armie hither (but in any case let Ships of burden come along with them, laden with store of victualles: For as the case now stands, we haue here too few hands, and too many mouthes.) Whereof let the one halfe be employed against *Italie*; whilest you in person with the other halfe, tarrying on this side the *Ionian* Sea, may both take order for the affaires of Greece, and therewithall make countenance, as if you were euen readie to follow vs into *Italie*: yea and be readie to follow vs indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my aduice: who though perhaps I am not verie skillfull in all sorts of warre: yet how to war with the *Romans*, I haue beene instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine owne. Of this counsaile which I giue, I promise you my faithfull and diligent service for the execution: but what counsaile sooner you shall please to follow; I wish it may be prosperous. Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said he had spoken brauely: but of all this was nothing done; saue onely that one was sent into *Asia*, to make all things readie there. In the meane while they went in hand with *Thessalie*; about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa*, that was cheife of the Countrie, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the wals with his whole Armie. T his their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Babius*, a *Roman* Proprietor did send helpe thither. Likewise *Philip* of *Macedon* professed himselfe Enemye vnto *Antiochus*: whereby the fame of the succour comming to *Larissa* grew such, as wrought more than the succour could haue done, had it arriued. For *Antiochus* perceiuing many fires on the Mountaines tops afarre off; thought that

a great Armie of Romans and Macedonians had bene comming vpon him. There-
fore excusing himselfe by the time of the year; Hee brake vp his seige, and
marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in loue with a yong Maiden, daughter vnto
a Citizen of the Towne: whom, without regard of the much disproportion that
was betwene them, both in yeares and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent
the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking vpon the war
in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the souldiers as
readily imitated their Captaines: in such wife that when he took the feild, he might
evidently perceiue in what loose manner of discipline his Armie had passed the
Winter. But *M. Atilius Glabrio*, the Roman Consul, shall meet him verie shortly,
and helpe him to reclaim them from this loosenesse of nuptial Ruel; by setting
them to harder exercise.

M. Atilius was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The warre a-
gainst *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise He was no way so honoura-
ble, as *Nasica* his Colleague: vnto whom fell a charge, of farre lesse credit and im-
portance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobilitie of his Familie, had bene long since, in
time of the *Punicke Warre*, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the
Senate, for verie feare and superstition, durst not haue so pronounced him, had
they not so thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man
than the verie best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Diuelt then taught
them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue, or good
Opinion, gaue such aduantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne
Prouince; or arrogate more vnto himselfe, than his lot should afford him. This
vnpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and con-
cord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make war against the *Boians*: wherein
he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Col-
league; though purchased with harder serue, requiring the more abilitie in mat-
ter of war. But *M. Atilius* went ouer into *Greece*, with ten thousand Foot, two thou-
sand Horse, and fiftene Elephants. *Ptolemie* King of *Aegypt*, notwithstanding his
late Alliance with King *Antiochus*; and *Philip* King of *Macedony* had lately sent
Embassadours to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces
into *Aetolia*, there to assist the Consul in this warre. *Ptolemie* sent also gold and sil-
uer, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good car-
nest. But he was too yong, and dwelt too farre off. So his monie was returned
vnto him with thanks; and his louing offer as louingly refused. Vnto *Philip*s Em-
bassadors answer was made, that this his freindly offer was gratefully accepted: and
that the Senate and People of *Rome* would thinke themselves beholding to him;
for the assistance that He should giue to *Atilius* the Consul. *Masanissa* likewise,
and the *Carthaginians*, did strue, which of them should be most forward in gratify-
ing the Romans. Each of them promised a great quantitie of graine; which they
would send partly to *Rome*, partly to the Armie in *Greece*. And herein *Masanissa* far
out-went the poore Citie of *Carthage*: as also, in that he offered to lend the Consul
foure hundred Horse, and twentie Elephants. On the other side, the *Carthaginians*
vndertooke to set out a Fleet at their own charges; and to bring in at one payment
all the Tribute-monie, which was behinde, and ought to be discharged by many
yeerely penfions. But the Romans did neither thinke it good, to let them arme a
Fleet; nor would let them redeem themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once.
As for the Corne; it was accepted with Condition, That they should be content
ted to receive the price of it.

The haste and ridiculous issue of this war, that began with such noyse and pre-
parations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, betwene
the Roman and the *Asiatic* Souldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few townes
of *Acarnania*, after the same manner as hee had preuailed in other parts of *Greece*;
partly by faire words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terrour, that was like to
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proue their excuse, when they should againe forsake him. But King *Philip* and *Bibius*, hauing recovered many places; and the *Roman* Consul being arruied, against whom none made resistance; He was glad to withdraw himselfe. *Aminander* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* tooke and enioyed; as in recompence of his good seruice to the *Romans*. *Philip*, the brother of *Aminanders* wife, was taken by the Consul; made a mocking stocke: and sent away prisoner to *Rome*. The *Thessalians* vsed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their Cities, one after other, gaue vp themselves: the Garrisons of *Antiochus*, compounding onely for their owne liues, and departing vnarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them staid behind, and tooke pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*: who hauing withdrawne himself to *Chaleis*, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his freinds and said, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toile during one halfe of a Winter, and spent the other halfe in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, He found all the promises of the *Aetolians* merely verbal: and himselfe reduced into termes of great extremitie. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wise man, yea a verie Prophet, that had foreseene all this long before. Neuertheless He sent word to the *Aetolians*, that they should now make readie all their forces: as considering their owne need to be no lesse than his. But the *Aetolians* had cause to thinke, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by *Antiochus*: who hauing promised to doe great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of *Asia* than so many as would fill vp the same ten thousand which he first brought ouer. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which ioyned with him. Hereat the King was angrie: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thoon* and his fellows had done their best, in vaine, to haue made all the Nation take armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came ouer to him out of *Asia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appeare in this time of danger: He seized vpon the Streights of *Thermopyla*: as meaning to defend them against the *Romans*, vntill more helpe should come. Of the Streights of *Thermopyla* there hath beene spoken enough * before, vpon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Armie of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceiued, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and so came onwards into *Thessalie*, were vnable to passe that Ledge of Mountaines, diuiding the one halfe of *Greece*: vnlesse they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betweene *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handfull of men, defended this passage two or three daies together, against a World of men comming to inuade the Countrey. The latter, hauing taken vpon him to doe great miracles, and effect what he listed himselfe in *Greece*: did commit himselfe vnto the safetie of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Armie. There whilst he lay: He sent earnest messages one after other to the *Aetolians*, entreating them not to forsake him thus: but at least wile now to helpe, and keepe the tops of the Mountaines, lest the *Romans* finding any by-path should come downe vpon him. By this importunitie, he got of them two thousand, that undertooke to make good the few passages: by which onely, and not without extreme difficultie, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The *Roman* Consul in like sort, prepared to force the Streights: without staying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by sickness from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them beene Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to trie whether by any means they could get vp to the *Aetolians*. He himselfe encouraged his Armie: not onely by telling them, with what bafe-conditioned enemies they had to deale: but what rich Kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that should bountifullly reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that night *Cato* had a sore iourne (for what

happened vnto *L. Valerius* it is vncertaine, saue onely that hee failed in his inteny and so much the worse, for that he had no skillfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbing vp steepie Rocks and crooked wayes: Hee commanded them to repose themselves whilst He, being a verie able man of bodie, tooke in hand the discouerie, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to him selfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path: which he tooke to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward breake of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no such trouble of climbing: neyther had this entrance of the *Thermopylae* bene so often the Seat of Warre, as might cause any tra-
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The losse of *Heraclæ* did so affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent vnto King *Antiochus* presently after his fight: entreating him not to forsake them vterly, but eyther to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing with-held him from comming in person, at least wife to help them with monie and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour; but appertained vnto his owne safetie: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any Enemies at their backes, might set vpon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore He deliuered vnto *Nicanor*, one of their Embassadors, a summe of monie, that might serue to defray the charges of the Warre: promising that ere long he would send them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thous*, another of their Embassadors, He retained with him: who willingly staid, that he might vrge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclæ* was taken from them: then did the *Ætolians* lay aside all hope, of amending their fortune by the helpe of *Antiochus*; and made suit vnto the Consul to obtaine peace, vpon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to giue them audience, but said Hee had other buisnes in hand: onely He granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would haue deliuered vnto himselfe. At their comming to *Hypata*; they began, as men fauouring their own cause, to alledge how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Where to *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memorie of all such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore hee willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so euen betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into termes of more extremitie. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves vnto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of committing vnto the faith, signified, in their vse of it, little else, than the acknowledgment of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* vsed those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as *yielding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speake in this manner: Hee asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then sayd Hee, I command you first of all, That none of yee presume to goe into *Asia*, vpon any buisnesse priuate or publike; then, That yee deliuer vp vnto me *Dicarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Menestatus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athsmanian*, and such of his Countreimen as haue followed him in reuolting from vs. Whilest hee was yet speaking: *Phameas* the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the Custome of the *Greekes*, who had yielded themselves vnto his faith; not vnto slaverye. What? (said the Consul) Doe yee stand to plead Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chaine. With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto euerie one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deale thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He nor yet the *Aposterior* ordinarie Council of the Nation, were able to fulfill these iniunctions; without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause He entreated yet further ten dayes respit; and had granted vnto him Truce for so long.

This surcease of warre, during tenne and other tenne dayes together, began presently after the taking of *Heraclæ*; when *Philip* had bene commanded away from *Lamia*, that else he might haue wonne. Now becaufe of the indignitie herein offered vnto that King, and to the end that hee might not returne home with his

Armie, like one that could not bee trusted in employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to haue further need of him, in the continuance of this Warre: He was desired to set vpon the *Athamanians*, and some other pettie Nations their borderers, whilst the Consul was buile with the *Ætolians*; taking for his reward, all that He could get. And Hee got in that space all *Athamania*, *Perrebalia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians*, hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for Warre; yet they could not endure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened, that *Nicanor* about the same time was come backe from *Antiochus*, with monie and hopefull promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heraclea*; and *Philip* hauing lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His monie *Nicanor* conueighed into *Lamia*, by verie vnusall dexteritie. But hee himselfe being to passe further to the Assembly of the *Ætolians*, thereto make report of his Embassage; was verie much perplexed about this iourney, which lay betwene the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Campes. Yet hee made the adventure: and keeping as farre as hee could from the *Roman* side, fell vpon a Station of *Macedonians*, by whom hee was taken, and led vnto their King. He expected no good; but cyther to bee deliuered vnto the *Romans*, or vsed ill enough by *Philip*. But it seemes, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignitie, of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For Hee commanded his seruants to entreat *Nicanor* friendly: and he himselfe being then at supper, did visit him as soone as he rose vp: giuing him to vnderstand; That the *Ætolians* did now reape the fruits of their own madnesse, forasmuch as they could neuer hold themselves contented, but would needs bee calling strangers into *Greece*. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*: but himselfe, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therefore, He said, high time for them to haue regard vnto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had neuer made any triall: for surely their good affection, one vnto the other, would be much more auailable vnto each of them; than their mutuall catching of aduantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the King willed *Nicanor* to signifie vnto his Countreymen; and priuately to hold in mind the courtesie which hee then did him, in sending him safe home. So giuing him a Conuoy to gard him to *Hypata*; He louingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicanor* was alwayes after dutifully affected to the Crowne of *Macedon*: so as in the warre of *Perseus* hee made himselfe suspected vnto the *Romans*; and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where hee ended his life.

When the Consul vnderstood, that the *Ætolians* refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it: he forthwith meant to prosecute the warre against him, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at *Naupactus*: whither he therefore directly marched, to trie what they could or durst. The seige of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceiued it: for it was a strong Citie, and well manned. But *Scyllus* stood vpon point of honours, wherein he thought that he should haue beene a looser, by rising from before it without Victorie. So He staid there welneare all the following time of his Consulship; whilst the *Macedonian* King and the *Acheans*, made farre better vse of the *Roman* Victorie. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted vnto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, wan the strong Citie of *Demetrias*; and with an hastie course of Victorie, subdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Acheans* called to accompt the *Eleans* and *Messenians*: which had long beene addicted to the *Ætolian* side; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gaue good words; whereby they saued themselves from trouble awhile. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were inuaded; had none other helpe when the *Achean* Prætor wasted their Countreie, than to offer themselves vnto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whome they sent word,

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word, That at his Commaundment their gates should be opened; but that vnto the
Achaens it was not their meaning to yeeld. A messiage from *Titus* to the *Achaens*
 Prætor, did suffice to call home the Armie, and finish the Warre: as also the per-
 emptorie Command of the same *Titus* caused the *Messenians* to annex themselves
 vnto the *Achaens*, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the
 Majestie of a *Roman* Embassador. *Titus* did fauour the *Achaens*; yet could not like
 it wel, that eyther they or any other should take too much vpon them. He thought
 it enough, that they had their libertie, and were strong enough to defend it against
 10 of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and
 to dispute with the *Romans* vpon euen termes; it was no part of his desire. They
 had lately bought the Ile of *Zacynthus* which had once been *Philips*, and was after-
 ward giuen by him to *Aminander* who sent a Governour thither. But when *Amin-*
 15 *ander* in this present Warre, was driuen out of his owne Kingdome by *Philips*:
 then did the Governour of *Zacynthus* offer to sell the Iland to the *Achaens*; whom
 he found readie Chappmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That
 the *Romans* would be their owne Caruers, and take what they thought good, of the
 Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the victorie which they had ob-
 tained. It was bootlesse to dispute. Wherefore the *Achaens* referred themselves
 vnto his discretion. So he told them, that their Common-wealth was like a Tor-
 20 toise, whereof *Peloponnesus* was the shell: and that bolding themselves within that
 compass, they were out of danger; but if they would needs bee looking abroad,
 they should lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Having settled
 things thus in *Peloponnesus*, Hee went ouer to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the
 Consul had laine two monethes, that might haue bene farre better spent. There,
 whether out of compassion which Hee had vpon the *Ætolians*, or out of
 dislike of King *Philips* thriving too fast: Hee perswaded the Consul to grant
 vnto the besieged, and to the whole Nation, so long Truce, that they might send
 Embassadors to *Rome*; and submitting themselves craue pardon of the Senate.
 Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the *Ætolians*
 30 haue made such earnest suit as they did vnto *Titus*, for procuring of this fauour. But
 if *Glabrio* had bene sure to carrie it, in any short space: it may well be thought he
 would not haue gone away without it; since the winning of that Towne, where-
 in was then the whole floure of the Nation, would haue made the promised sub-
 mission much more humble and sincere. When they came to *Rome*: no entreatie
 could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of these two: That eyther they
 40 should wholly permit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay
 a thousand Talents, and make neyther Peace nor Warre with any, further than as
 the *Romans* should giue approbation. They had not so much monie: neither
 could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they should giue themselves a-
 way vnto discretion; which what it signified, they now vnderlood. Wherefore
 they desired to haue it set downe, in what points, and how farre forth, they should
 yeild vnto the good pleasure of the Senate. But herof they could get no certaine
 answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vaine attendance.

Whilest the *Ætolians* were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Consul had little
 to doe in *Greece*; and therefore tooke vpon him grauely to set things in order among
 the tractable *Achaens*. Hee would haue had them to restore the banished *Lacedæ-*
 50 *monians* home into their Country; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowship of
 their Common-wealth. This the *Achaens* liked well enough: but they did not
 like it, that the *Romans* should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they de-
 ferred the restitution of the banished *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act
 of their owne meere grace. As for the *Eleans*: they were loth to bee beholding to
 the *Romans*, and thereby to disparage the *Achaens*: into whose Corporation they
 were desirous to be admitted; and law that they should haue their desire, without
 such compulsiue mediation.

The Roman Admirall C. *Liuius*, much about the same time, fought a battaile at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admirall to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twentie saile of *Rhodian* came after the battaile, when they were following the Chace. The Kings Fleet was the better of saile: but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soone as he betook himselfe to a speedie retreat.

And such end had the first yeares warre, betweene King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greekes* as had followed the vaine hopes of the *Ætolians*, were glad to excuse themselves by feare; thinking themselves happie when by Embassidours they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie side, *Philip of Macedon*, Arch-enemie of late vnto the *Romans*, did now send to congratulate this their Victorie: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored vnto him *Demetrius* his yonger sonne; whom some few yeares they had kept as an hostage. Also King *Ptolemie of Ægypt*, congratulating the Roman Victorie, sent word how greatly all *Asia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard Hee desired the Senate not to foreflow time; but to send an Armie, as soone as might be, into *Asia*: promising, that his assistance, wherein foueuer it pleased them to vlie it, should not be wanting. This *Ptolemie* was the sonne-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but hee was the friend of Fortune. He vnderstood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the Contention, that the *Romans* were like to haue the vpper hand. The same did *Antiochus* now beginne to suspect, who had thought himselfe awhile as safe at *Ephesus*, as if he had bene in another World: but was told by *Hannibal*, T hat it was not so farre out of Greece into *Asia*, as out of *Italie* into Greece; and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would soone be there, and make him trie the chance of a battaile for his Kingdome.

§. VIII.

LVCIVS SCIPIO, hauing with him *PVLIVS* the African his elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the *Ætolians*, that so he might at leisure passe into *Asia*. Much trouble some businesse by Sea; and diuers fights. An inuasion vpon *EUMENES* his Kingdome; with the siege of *Pergamus*, raised by an handfull of the *Achaens*. *L. SCIPIO* the Consul comes into *Asia*: where *ANTIOCHVS* most earnestly desireth peace and is denied it. The battaile of *MAGNESIA*: wherein *ANTIOCHVS* being vanquished, yeildeth to the *Romans* good pleasure. The Conditions of the peace. In what sort the *Romans* vsed their Victorie. *L. CORNELIVS SCIPIO* after a most sumptuous triumph ouer *ANTIOCHVS*, is surnamed The *Asiatique*, as his brother was stiled The *African*.



LVCIVS CORNELIVS SCIPIO, the brother of *P. Scipio* the African was chosen Consul at Rome with *C. LELIVS*. *Lelivus* was verie gracious in the Senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be so pleased, the disposition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazard of a Lotterie. *Lucius* hauing talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time bene put vnto the *Fathers*: who therefore were the more desirous, to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent; *P. Scipio* the African said openly thus much, T hat if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre against *Antiochus*, He himselfe would follow his brother in that warre, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controuersie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied

relyed vpon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Capitaine: what better man could they oppose, than *Scipio*; that had bene victorious against the same Great Worthie. But indeed a worser man might haue serued well enough the turne. For *Hannibal* had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation; where his wisdom was much approued, but his libertie and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthe of remembrance, as a signe of the freedom that he vsed in his censures, euen whilst he liued in such a Court. *Antiochus* multered his Armie in presence of this famous Capitaine: thinking, as may seeme, to haue made him with, that hee had bene serued by such braue men in *Italie*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with such costly furniture of Gold, Silver, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible brauerie on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, well pleasing himselfe with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what hee thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. Enough (said *Hannibal*) were the *Romans* the most couetous men in all the World: meaning, that all this Cost vnto the backs of Cowardly *Asiatiques*, was no better than a spoile to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the King; it is ealie to ghesse. The little vs that hee made of this *Carthaginian*, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to loose the vs of his seruice, when he stood in greatest need thereof.

- 20 The *Scipio's* made all haile away from *Rome* as soone as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly prest to the warre, about fise thousand Voluntaries, that had serued vnder *P. Africanus*. There was also a Fleet of thirte Quinquereme Gallies, and twentie Triremes newly built, appointed vnto *L. Aemilius Regillus*, that was chosen Admirall the same year for that Voyage. At their comming into *Greece*, they found the old Consul *Glabrio* besieging *Amphissa* a Citie of the *Aetolians*. The *Aetolians* after that they were denied peace, had expected him once again at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not onely fortified that Towne: but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlesly, as in a time of confusion, they had left vngarded the last yeare. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and sel vpon *Lamia*: which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden; was carried at the second allault. Thence went hee to *Amphissa*: which he had almost gotten; when *L. Scipio*, his successor, came with thirteene thousand Foot and fise hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of *Amphissa* was presently forsaken by the inhabitants: but they had a Castle, or higher Towne, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Aethian* Embassadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalfe of the *Aetolians*: entreating him to stand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words: and willed them to perswade the *Aetolians*, that they should faithfully and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Consul made still the same answer, with which they had bene chased from *Rome*. The conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from warre: whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senate; or any helpful commoditie which time should afford. So they obtained halfe a yeares Truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another halfe yeares leisure of breathing. Hereof were not they more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time lost, which with-held the Warre from passing ouer into *Asia*.

- The busines of *Aetolia* being thus laid aside: and the old Consul *Glabrio* sent home into *Italie*: the *Scipio's* marched into *Thessalie*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* vnto the *Hellaspont*. Yet they considered, That hereby they must commit themselves vnto the loyalty of King *Philip*: who might either doe them some mischeife by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable aduantage: or at the least, would be vnfaithfull, though he were not so couragious;

courageous; yet might he take such order with the *Thracians*, that euen for want of victuall, it by no greater inconuenience, they should be disgraciously forced to returne. He had promised them the utmost of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some triall; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post vnto him, and obferue his doings as hee should take him on the sudden. The King was merrie at a feast, and drinking, when the Messenger came: whom he louingly bad welcom; and shewed him the next day, not onely what prouision of victuall he had made for the Armie, but how he had made bridges ouer the riuers, and mended the bad waies by which they were to passe. With these good newes *Gracchus* returned backe in half vnto the *Scipio's*: who entring into *Macedon*, found all things in a readines, that might helpe to aduance their iourne. The King entertained them royally; and brought them on their way, euen to the *Hellefont*: where they staid a good while, vntill their Nauie was in readinesse to transport them into *Asia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admirall of *Antiochus*, was a banished *Rhodian*: true to the King; and desirous of reuenge vpon his Countymen that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* hauing not as yet put to Sea; thought to doe somewhat vpon those that were so early in their diligence, before their fellows should arrive to helpe them. Yet went he craftily to worke; and sent word, as in great secrecie, to the *Rhodian* Admirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requital thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was belieued: and the *Rhodian* Admirall grew so careless, expecting stil when he should receiue a watchword from *Polyxenidas*, that he himselfe was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his owne Hauens. The Kings Fleet setting forth from *Ephesus* by night; and, for feare of being discouered, resting one day in harbour by the way; came the second night to *Samos*: where, by morning, it was readie to enter the Hauens. *Pausistratus* the *Rhodian* Admirall seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Hauens; so to gard the mouth of it: for that he saw no likelihood of defending himselfe by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed some companies, in another part of the Iland: which falling vpon the backe of *Pausistratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies tooke him out of all order; and sunke or boorded all his Nauie, five excepted, that by a sudden deuice made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cresset vpon two poles, at the Beake-head: and then rowed forwards directly vpon the Enemy: who hauing not bethought himselfe what shift to make against such vnexpected danger of firing, was content to giue way vnto these desperate Gallies; for feare lest they should burne, together with themselves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had some losse by tempest: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take such aduantage as he had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, He was driuen backe againe by the like foule weather. But the *Rhodians*, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twentie other Gallies: the *Romans* also with King *Eumenes* repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great braverie, presented battaile to *Polyxenidas* before the Hauens of *Ephesus*. When he durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as eether they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perfwaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet perfwormed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by storms at Sea; and another while by strong resistance, made against them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forsake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For *Antiochus* wasted all the grounds about *Elaa* and

CHAP. 5. § 8
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and Pergamus : and leauing his sonne *Selenus* to besiege the royall Citie of *Pergamus*, did with the rest of his Armie spoile the whole Countrie thereabout. *Attalus*, the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; hauing with him no better men to defend the Citie, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore hee had reason to stand in feare; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse of the *Acheans*: old souldiers all, and trayned vnder *Philopemen*; whose scholler, in the Art of war, *Diophanes* their Commander was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the walles of *Pergamus*, which was an high Towne, the demeanour of the Enemie; began to diddaine, that such men as they should hold him besieged. For *Selenus* his Armie which was encamped at the hill-foot, seeing that none durst fallie forth vpon them, grew so carelesse: as otherwise, than by spoiling all behind their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrie. *Diophanes* therefore spake with *Attalus*: and told him that lre would goe forth to vilit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this aduenture; for he said, that the match was nothing equall. But the *Achean* would needs haue his will: and issuing forth, encamped not far from the Enemie. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers; they wondered at first what his meaning was: but when they saw that he held himselfe quiet, they made a ielt of his boldnes; and laughed to see with what an handfull of men he looked so stoutly. So they returned vnto their former negligence and disorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiuing, Hee commanded all his men to follow him, euen as fast as they well might: and he himselfe, with the hundred Horse, brake out on the sudden vpon the Station that was next at hand. Verie few of the enemies had their Horses readie saddled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to make resistance: so as Hee draue them all out of their Campe; and chased them as far as hee might safely aduenture, with great slaughter of them, and no losse of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had couered the wals of the Towne, men and women, to beholde this spectacle) were verie ioyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of these *Acheans*. Yet would they not therefore issue forth of their gates, to helpe the *Acheans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Selenus* encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than hee had done before: and against him went forth *Diophanes* the second time; who quietly rested awhile in his old Station. When they had staid many houres, looking who should begin: *Selenus*, in faire order as he came, withdrew himselfe toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moued not whilest the Enemie was in sight: but as soone as the ground between them hindred the prospect, he followed them in all hast, & soone ouertaking them with his Horse charged them in Rere; so as he brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heeles, to their verie Trenches. This boldnes of the *Acheans*, and the basenes of his owne men, caused *Selenus* to quit the seige, little to his honour. Such being the qualitie of these *Asiatiques*; *Philopemen* had cause to tell the *Romans*, That he enuid their victorie. For when *Antiochus* lay searling at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his souldiers betooke themselves to Riot, as it had beene in a time of great securitie: a good man of war might haue cut all their throates, euen as they were tipling in their victualing houses; which *Philopemen* said that hee would haue done, had He bin General of the *Acheans*; & not, as he then was, a priuate man. *Antiochus* was full of busines: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of trauaile, brought almost nothing to passe. He had bene at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leauing the *Romans*, did put himselfe with a few of his Horse and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his sonne as before hath beene shewed, and went to *Elea*: whither hee heard that *Emylus* the *Roman* Admirall was come, to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There hee made an Overture of peace: about which to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Emylus*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul; this Treatie brake off. Then followed the Querthrow newly menti-

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oned; which caused *Seleucus* to give over the seige of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, foure or five Townes of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of seven and thittie Saile, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victorie the *Rhodians* had no great cause to reioyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admirall of the *Syrians*, did them in manner as great hurt as they could doe to *Apollonius*; and hauing the victorie taken out of his hand by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not farre aduenture vpon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Praefaces vnto the war; the last and greatest was a victorie of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admirall. The battaile was fought by *Myonnesus* a Promontorie in *Asia*: where *Polyxenidas* had with him fourescore and nine Gallies; and five of them greater, than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanitie of those bragges, wherewith *Antiochus* vanted the last yeare, That his Armada should couer all the shores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fittie Gallies; the *Rhodians*, two and twentie: the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodian* more light-timberd and thin plankt, hauing all aduantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themselves by the lame deuice; with which, five of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their prowes they ran vpon the Enemy: who declining them for feare, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Naue hoysed faile: and hauing a faire wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet forie of their Gallies they left behind them: wherof thirtie were taken: all the rest burnt or sunke. The *Romans* and their fellows lost onely two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Materie of the Sea.

The report of this misaduenture, may seeme to haue taken from *Antiochus* all vse of reason. For as if no hope had beene remaining, to defend those places that he held in *Europe*: Hee presently with-drew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily haue beene kept, euen till the end of Winter following, and haue reduced the besiegers (if the siege had beene continued obstinately) to termes of great extremitie. Hee also gaue ouer the seige of *Calophon*: and laying aside all thought saue onely of defence, drew together all his Armie; and sent for helpe to his father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consul, without impediment, not onely came to the *Hellspont*; but had yielded vnto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was then also in readines, to transport him ouer into *Asia*: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that He landed quietly at his owne good ease; euen as if the Countrie had beene his alreadie. The first newes that hee heard of the Enemy, was by an Embassadour that came to sue for peace. This Embassadour declared in his Masters name, That the samethings which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perswade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and *Lysimachia*, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now alreadie given ouer *Lysimachia*; and was further purposed, not to sturue with the *Romans* about *Lampsacus* and *Smyrna*: what reason was there, why they should neede to trouble him with war? If it was their desire, that any other Townes vpon the Coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at libertie, or other wise deliuered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of *Asia*: so as the bounds, diuiding them from the King, might not be vnertaine; and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough: the King would likewise beare halfe the Charges, wherat they had bene in this war. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too insolent vpon confidence of their fortune, Hee expected their

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their answer. These offers which to the Embassadour seemed so great, were judged by the *Romans* to be verie little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should beare all the charges of the warre, since it began through his only fault: and that He should not onely depart out of those few Townes, which he held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*; but quite out of *Asia the lesse*, and keepe himselfe on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embassadour therefore saw, that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in priuate: and to him hee promised a great quantitie of gold, together with the free restitution of his sonne; who (it is vncertaine by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor other wife to the restitution of his sonne, than vpon Condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a priuate man. As for the publike busines: Hee onely said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lysimachus*, and suffered the war to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said He, tell your King in my name, that I would aduise him to refuse no Condition whereby he may haue peace.

The King was not any whit moued with this aduice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no lesse, than if he had beene already subdued; a little reason there was, that he should feare to come to battaile; wherein he could loose, as hee thought, no more, than by seeking to avoid it he must giue away. He had with him threethore and ten thousand Foot, and twelue thousand Horse; besides two and fiftie *Indian* Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or sythes, according to the manner of the Easterne Countries. Yet was hee nothing pleased, to heare that the Consul drew neare him apace, as one hastning to fight. But howeuer he was affected; Hee made so little thew of feare, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sick at *Eles*, He sent thither vnto him his sonne without rancome: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sickness, and withall not desirous to retaine the yong Gentleman for a pledge of his owne safetie. Thus thought his bountie to be constant. Other wise it might be suspected, That herein he dealt craftily. For since he could haue none other rancome of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe such a courtesie before the battell, as would afterwards haue bene little worth; than to slay vntill the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recouerie of his sonne: so as the ioy thereof was thought, to haue bene much auailable vnto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanitie, He said onely thus much vnto those that brought him this acceptable Present, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by aduising him not to fight, vntill wee shall heare that I am in the Campe*. What he meant by this, it is hard to conceiue. *Antiochus* resolved to follow his counsaile: and therefore withdrew himselfe from about *Thyatira*, beyond the Riuer of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, vnto *Magnesia* by *Sipylus*: where encamping, He fortified himselfe as strongly as hee could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul; and late downe within foure miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them *Gallo-Greekes*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at first they slue some; and were anon, with some losse driven backe ouer the Riuer. Two daies were quietly spent, whilest neither the King nor the *Romans* would passe the water. The third day the *Romans* made the aduantage: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, vntill they came within two miles and an halfe of *Antiochus* his Campe. There, as they were taking vp their lodging, they were charged by three thousand, Horse and Foote: whom the ordinarie *Corps du gard* repelled. Foure daies together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without aduancing any further. The fift day the *Romans* came halfe way forward, and presented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul

ful tooke aduise what was to be done. For either they must fight vpon whatfoeuer disadvantage, or else resolute to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore subiect vnto many difficulties: vnlesse they would staine their honour by returninge farre backe, to winter in a more conuenient place; and so deferre the war vntill the next Spring. The *Roman* souldiour was thoroughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the generall Crie, that this great Armie should be assailed, euen in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were so many beausts to be slaughtered, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discouering the fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to let vpon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loath to disharten his men, by seeming to stand in feare of the Enemy; resolu'd to put the matter to triall. So when the *Romans* tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battailles: He also did the like; and aduanced so farre, that they might vnderland his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Armie consisted of foure Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latine*: in each of which were fife thousand and foure hundred men. The *Latines*, as vsually, were in the points; the *Romans*, in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were diuided into Maniples. The *Hyspans* had the leading: after them followed the *Principes*, at such distance as was vsual; and last of all, the *Triarij*. Now beside these, there were about three thousand Auxiliaries; partly *Achians*; and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Vmost of all (saue some fife hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trauians* were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the riuer: yet foure Troupes of horse were placed there; though such helpe seemed in a manner needlesse. Two thousand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Campe. The Consul had with him fixeene *African* Elephants, which hee bellowed in his Rere: inasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they only would haue serued to discourage his men; as being sure to be beaten: the Indian being farre the greater, and more courageous beausts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much aduantage in number.

The Kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diuersly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the severall kinds, in such wise as each might be of most vse. The maine strength of his Foot consisted in fixeene thousand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. These hee placed in the midst, and diuided into tenne Battalions: euery one hauing two and thirtie in File, and fiftie in Front. Betweene euery Battalioe were two Elephants goodly beausts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their backs, and besides him that governed the Elephant, foure men in euerie Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fiftie hundred Horse of the *Gallo-Greekes*: then, three thousand Barbd Horse: and Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Countrey, and accompanied by some others. All which Troupes of Horse, diuided in their severall kinds, doe seeme to haue followed one another in depth, rather than to haue beene stretched out in Front. Adjoining to these were fixeene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment: called the *Argyraspides* or *Siluer shields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had serued vnder Great *Alexander*: then, twelue hundred *Archers* on horsebacke, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand and fife hundred Archers of *Assyria*; with foure thousand slingers and Archers of the *Circians*, and *Elymaans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greekes* and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were sent from *Arriathes*, with two thousand and feuen hundred of diuers Nations,

Nations: and a Regiment led the *Argyraspides*; so that the *Argyraspides* were the Champions of the *Arrian* with them. Beyond this, with them were the *Assyrian* and *Elymaean* Phalangiers.

The first onse was the onse, being like to the Foot, *Eumenes* with his Army made frustrate the noyles, and some were vpon their owne men. Wherefore the left wing: who others being without it may hardly seeme to be charged. One of his owne battalions, led with Horse; gave *Antiochus*, that had power to helpe his fence the fight. So abroad victorions: ly turned his Horse at the Campe was deli- 30 great multitude of fiftie thousand Foot, the *Romans*, there were Horse: of *Eumenes* *Antiochus* tied to that *Seruas* was gone there, to one whom hee so dismayed with the nothing. All the Towr themlous by Emba- 40 the way. Neyther was the Campe: hauing *Roman* to imple vpon there: who obtained required no more than abandon his Dominions: they required fiftie hundred, and the peace; and the other Nations. Likewise they de- 50 Come: that was due which they recovered, that the *Arrian*, will be into their hands: would be their purpose.

Nations; and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called the *Kings Troupe*; being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon sat *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would scur to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Pisidians*, *Cyrtians*, *Elymans*, and many others, having also with them sixteene Elephants. *Antiochus* himselfe commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principall Captaines commaunded ouer the *Phalangiers*.

- 10 The first onset was given by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse; the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foot, *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatned by them both. For with throwings, and noyles, and some wounds, they were driuen out of the field; and running backe vpon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horse following this aduantage, charged vpon the left wing: where they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shamefull to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with such varietie of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in manner, as soone as they were charged. Onely the King, *Antiochus* himselfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaile: and seeing the *Latines*, that stood opposit vnto him, weakly flanked with Horse; gaue vpon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Aemilius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Campe, issued forth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the *Romans* were already victorious; whereof when *Antiochus* discovered the approach, He not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away vpon the spur without further variance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to haue lost in this battaile fiftie thousand Foot, and foure thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the *Romans*, there were not slaine above three hundred Foot, and foure and twentie Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers sixe and twentie.

- Antiochus* fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the custodie of *Sardes*, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Townesmen and Souldiors were so dismayed with the greatnesse of the Ouerthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yielded vpon themselves by Embassadors: whom they sent to the *Romans*, whilst they were on the way. Neyther were many dayes spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassadour was in the Campe: having none other errand, than to know what it would please the *Romans*; to impose vpon the King his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother: who obtained leaue to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, That hee should quite abandon his Dominions on this side of *Taurus*. For their charges in that warre they required fiftene thousand Talents: sixe hundred in hand; two thousand and sixe hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* should haue confirmed the peace; and the other twelue thousand, in twelue yeares next ensuing by euen portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and some more of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now besides twentie hostages which they required, verie earnest they were to haue *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoenas* the *Etolian*, with some others who had stirred vpon the King to this warre, deliuered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily haue perceived, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demands; as no great

art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassadour had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enjoyed. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to send immediately to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the meane while at Rome, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*. The *Aetolians* desired peace, but could not obtaine it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make Warre vpon the *Aetolians*, the other, vpon *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now though shortly there came newes, that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in battaile, and had submitted himselfe vnto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of *Asia* was not like to bee so thoroughly setled by one Victorie, but that many things might fall out worthe of the *Romans* care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whome *Asia* fell by lot, had not his Prouince changed.

Soone after this came the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* to Rome, accompanied with the *Rhodians* and some others: yea by King *Eumenes* in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no disputation: it was generally approved. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned vp his owne deserts: and comparing himselfe with *Masaniissa*, hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountifull to him than they had bene to the *Numidian*, since they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Masaniissa* was onely such in title; and since both he and his father had alwayes bene their friends, even in the worst of the *Roman* fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what he would haue: He still referring himselfe to their courtisie; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At length he craued that they would bestow vpon him, as much of the Countrey by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpose to keepe in their own hands. Neyther thought hee it needfull, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giuing libertie to many of the Greeke Townes, that were on *Asia* side. For since the most of those Townes had bene partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reason that they should be gainers by his ouerthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They desired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the *Græcians* libertie; and to call to minde, that no small part of Greece it selfe had bene subiect vnto *Phillip*, and serued him in his Warre: which was not alledged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Phillip* was overcome. But the maine point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victorie of the *Romans* against King *Antiochus* was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifullly gaue away so much, that every one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the Warre against King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumphe: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, but of anie ten that Rome had beheld vntill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had bene giuen vnto *P. Scipio*, it was thought conuenient by some, to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Asiatick*: which the fortune of his Victorie had no lesse deserued; though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

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§. IX.

The *Ætolians*, and the *Galgreekes*, vanquished by the Roman Consuls *FVLVIVS* and *MANLIVS*. *MANLIVS* hardly obtains a *Triumph*: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to haue passed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by *SIBYLL*. Of *SIBYLLS* Prophecies; the Bookes of *HERMES*; and that Inscription, *SIMONI DEO SANCTO*. The ingratitude of Rome to the two *SCIPIOES*; and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobilitie.

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MARE *FVLVIVS* and *CN. Manlius* had the same charge diuided betwene them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now styled *Asiaticus*, had lately vndergone. It was found more than one in his worke, to looke at once to Greece and to Asia. And for this reason was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had graunted so long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But since, in this long *Interim* of Truce, that haughtie little Nation had not sought to humble it selfe to the Roman *Majestie*, it was now to be brought vnto more lowlie termes than any other of the *Greekes*. The best was, that so great a storme fell not v unexpected vpon the *Ætolians*. They had foreseene the danger, when their Embassadors were vtterly denied peace at Rome: and they had provided the last remedie; which was, to entreat the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become intercessours for them. Neither were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well deuise, euen vpon helping themselves, by repurchase of Countreys lost, where they spied aduantage.

Poore King *Aminander* liued in exile among them, whilst *Philip* of *Macedon* kept, for him, possession of his Lands and Cattles. But the *Atbamians* (besides that manie of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) hauing beene long accustomed to serue a Mountaine Lord, that conuersed with them after an homelie manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, vsed by the Captaines of *Philip* his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their seruice toward his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which vndertooke the worke. Yet assurance, that all the rest would follow, made *Aminander* willing to trie his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand *Ætolians*, vpon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers hauing diuided themselves into foure parts, occupied, by the readie assistance of the multitude, foure the chiefe Townes in the Countrey, to his vs. The fame of this good successe at first, with letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action: made the Lieutenants of *Philip* vnable to thinke vpon resistance. One of them held the Towne of *Theium* a few daies; giuing thereby some leasure vnto his King to provide for their rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could onely tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home fix thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all saue two thousand behind him, & so came to *Athenaum*, a little *Atbamian* Castle; that still was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying ouer *Argitheas*, that was chiefe of the Countrey. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King, had the boldnesse to descend vpon *Argitheas*; for that they might perceiue the *Atbamians*, all along the hill sides, readie to come downe vpon them, when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat: specially when *Aminander* came in sight with his thousand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back, from wards *Argitheas*, and presently withdrawne by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet, at their pleasure.

The *Athamanians* and *Ætolians* way-layed them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plaine flight, with great losse of men and armes; few of those escaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Countrey, vntill *Philip* his returne.

The *Ætolians*, hauing found the businesse of *Athamania* so easie, made attempt, in their owne behalfe, vpon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. These had belonged vnto their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently reuolted, and became *Ætolian* againe. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had bene cuer belonging to the *Macedonian*, and so did still purpose to continue. These tooke armes at first: but soone layed them away, seeing their neighbours readie to fight with them in the *Ætolian* quarrell, and seeing their owne King so hastily gone, as if he meant not to returne.

Of these victories the idy was the lesse; for that newes came of *Antiochus* his last ouerthrow, and of *M. Fulvius* the new Consull his halting with an armie into *Greece*. *Aminander* sent his excuses to *Rome*, praying the Senate, not to take it in despight, that he had recovered his owne from *Philip* with such helpe as he could get. Neither seemes it that the *Romans* were much offended to heare of *Philip* his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharpe correctors, nor earnest reprouers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the businesse, about which he came, and layed siege to *Ambracia*, a goodly Citie, that had bene the chief seat of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdome. 20 With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Ætolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, vnlesse they would adventure to fight vpon equall ground. To helpe the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at sea, and readie to be driuen from their new conquest, by *Perseus* the sonne of *Philip*, who invaded the Countreies of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were vnable to deale with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the *Romans*, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the meane while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors came; who besought the Consull to graunt them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made strong resistance, and would not be terrified, by any violence of the assaillants, or danger that might seeme to threaten. The Consull had 30 no desire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and so be driuen to leaue vnto his successors the honour of finishing the warre. Wherefore he gladly hearkened vnto the *Ætolians*, and bad them seeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouer-deare, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the same purchase. He also gaue leaue to *Aminander*, offering his seruice as a mediatur, to put himselfe into *Ambracia*, and trie what good his persuasions might doe with the citizens. So, after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such, as was grievous to the weaker, but not vsufferable. The same Embassadours of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians* accompanied those of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of peace. 40 Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession, for that *Philip* had made verie grievous complaint about the losse of those Countreies, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice, though it hindered not the peace, which those good Mediators of *Rhodes* and *Athenians* did earnestly sollicite. The *Ætolians* were bound to vphold the maine of the people of *Rome*, and to oblerue diuers articles, which made them lesse free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any people of *Greece*; they hauing bene the first that called these their Masters into the Countrey. The Isle of *Cephallenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since 50 they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achaens*, by stiffly pressing their owne right) that so they might haue possession along the coast of *Greece*, whilist they seemed to forbear the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claime, there was set downe an Order so perplexed, as would necessarily require

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The *Ætolians* were bound to vphold the maine of the people of *Rome*, and to oblerue diuers articles, which made them lesse free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any people of *Greece*; they hauing bene the first that called these their Masters into the Countrey. The Isle of *Cephallenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achaens*, by stiffly pressing their owne right) that so they might haue possession along the coast of *Greece*, whilist they seemed to forbear the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claime, there was set downe an Order so perplexed, as would necessarily require

require to haue the *Romans* Iudges of the controuerfies, when they ſhould ariſe. And hereof good uſe will be ſhortly made : when want of employment elſewhere, ſhall cauſe a more Lordlie Inquiſition to be held, vpon the affaires of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

Cn. Manlius, the other Conſul, had at the ſame time warre in *Aſia*, with the *Gallogreekes* and others. His Armie was the ſame that had followed *L. Scipio* ; of whole victorie, his acts were the conſummation. Hee viſited thoſe Countreies on the higher ſide of *Taurus*, that had ſcarce heard of the *Romans* ; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among theſe there were ſome petty Lords, or Tyrants, ſome free Cities, and ſome that were together at warres, without regard of the great alteration hapned in *Aſia*. From euery of theſe he got ſomewhat ; and by their quarrels found occaſion to viſit thoſe Prouinces, into which hee ſhould elſe haue wanted an errand. He was euen loaden with bootie, when, hauing fetcht a compaſſe about *Aſia*, he came at length vpon the *Gallogreekes*. Theſe had long dominated ouer the Countrey : though of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their forepaſſed acts, than any preſent vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately ſuch trial, when they ſerued vnder King *Antiochus*, as made them to know themſelves farre the worſe men. Wherefore they thought it no ſmall part of their ſaſetie, that they dwelt vpon the River *Halys*, in an Inland Countrey, where thoſe enemies were not likeli to ſearch them out. But when ſuch hopes failed ; and when ſome Princes of their owne Nation, that had bene friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the reſt to yeeld : then was no counſaile thought ſo good, as to forſake their houſes and Countrey, and with all that they could carrie or drue, to betake themſelves vnto the high mountaines of *Olympus* and *Margana*. Theſe mountaines were exceeding hard of aſcent, though none ſhould vndertake the cuſtodie. Being therefore well manned and vittailed for a long time ; as alſo the naturall ſtrength being helpt, by ſuch fortification as promiſed greateſt aſſurance : it was thought, that the Conſul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or eaſily be repelled ; and that finally,

30 when he had ſtaied there a while, winter, and much want, ſhould force him to diſlodge. Yet all this auailed not. For whereas the *Gallogreekes* had bene careleſſe of furniſhing themſelves with caſting weapons, as if the ſtones would haue ſerued well enough to that purpoſe : the *Romans*, who came farre otherwiſe appointed, found greater aduantage in the difference of armes, than impediment in diſaduantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did eaſily preuaile againſt caſters of ſtones, eſpecially being ſuch as were theſe *Gallogreekes*, neither exerciſed in that manner of ſight, nor hauing prepared their ſtones before hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, other than thoſe of a fit ſize. Finally, the *Barbarians*, wanting deſenſiue armes, could not hold out againſt the arrowes and

40 weapons of the *Roman* light armature : but were driuen from a peece of ground, which they had vndertaken to make good, vp into their campe on the top of the mountaine ; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to caſt themſelves headlong downe the ſteep rocks. Few of the men eſcaped aliue ; all their wiues, children, and goods, became a prey vnto the *Romans*. In the very like manner, were the reſt of that Nation overcome ſoone after, at the other mountaine : onely more of them ſaued themſelves by flight, as hauing fairer way at their backs.

Theſe warres being ended : *Fuluius* and *Manlius* were appointed, by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconſul his Prouince for another yeare. *Fuluius*, in his ſecond yeare, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gaue peace to thoſe whom hee had vanquiſhed ; as likewiſe to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and ſome others, not by him vanquiſhed, but ſubmitting themſelves for leaſe of the *Roman* armes. Hee drew from them all what profit he could : and laid vpon them ſuch conditions, as hee thought expedient. He alſo did finiſh the league of peace with *Antiochus*, whereto

he swore, and received the Kings oath by Embassadours, whom hee sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the matters of *Asia*, he tooke his way toward the *Hellepont*, laden with spoile, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallogreckee* had in so many yeares extorted, from the wealthie Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armie of *Manlius* returne home, rich in money alone, or cattail, or things of needfull use, which the *Roman* souldier had beene wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous houldstuffe, and slaves of price, excellent Cookes, and Multicians for banquets, and, in a word, with the seedes of that luxurie, which finally over-grew and choked the *Roman* vertue.

Lib. 139.

The Countrie of *Thrace* lay betwene *Hellepont* and the Kingdome of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his iournie homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he passed through them, without any such bootie as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stirre. But when *Manlius* came along with an huge traine of baggage; the *Thracians* could not so well containe themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* tooke it other wise than verie pleasantly, to haue this *Roman* Armie robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angrie; seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he vnderstood, and afterwards gaue the *Romans* to vnderstand, that *Eumenes* could not haue abidden in his owne Kingdome, if the People of *Rome* had not made warre in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered vnto himselfe three thousand talents, and fiftie ships of warre, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*; promising moreover to restore vnto him all the *Grecke* Cities, that had beene taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference betwene him and *Eumenes*, when the warre began: he thought it no euen dealing of the *Romans*, after their victorie, to giue away not onely the halfe of *Asia*, but *Chersonesus* and *Lyfimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas vpon himselfe they bestowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobilitie, to goe to *Rome* and begge Provinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodiens* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipio's*, whom he thought the most honourable men in *Rome*; and was growne into neare acquaintance with *Puklus*, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himselfe acquainted with the warres in *Spain* and *Africke*. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* tooke a surer way. For the *Scipio's* had not the disposing of that which they wanne from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw these vpstart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himselfe; yea himselfe vnregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wile, that he had not so hastily declared himselfe against *Antiochus*, or rather that hee had ioyined with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might haue beene freed from his insolent masters. But what great argument of such discontentednesse the *Macedonian* had, we shall verie shortly be vrged to discourse more at large. At the present it was beleueed, that the *Thracians* were by him set on, to saile the *Romans* passing through their Countrie. They knew all advantages: and they fell, vnexpected, vpon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so farre advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leaue behinde: though both the getting, and the sauing, did cost many liues, as well of the *Barbarians* as of the *Romans*. They fought vntill it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves; not without as much of the bootie as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though lesse dangerous, before the

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the Armie could get out of Thrace into Macedon. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into Epirus; and so to Apollonia, which was their handle of Greece.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*; whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to assit him, did very bitterly tax, as an unworthie Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that he made good answer, and was approved by the chiefe of the Senate. One clause is worthie of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindred the peace with *Antiochus*; they said, That with much ado he was kept

10 from leading his Armie over *Taurus*, and adventuring upon the calamitie threatned by *Sibylls* verses, unto those that should passe the fatal bounds. What calamitie or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibylls* prophetic threatned the Roman Capitaine or Armie, that should passe over *Taurus*; I doe not conceive. *Pompey* was the first, that marched with an Armie beyond those limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened vnto him the way, and had before hand wonne, in a fort, the Countreies on the other side of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the Romans. But we finde not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyll*. Indeede the accomplishment of this prophetic, tell our neare about

20 one time, with the restitution of *Ptoleme* King of *Egypt*; that was forbidden vnto the Romans; by the same *Sibyll*. It may therefore seeme to have had reference, vnto the same things, that were denounced, as like to happen vpon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyll* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tulius* noteth, saved at random in the large field of Time, there to take root, and get credit by euent; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptoleme* to his Kingdome by *Gabinus* the Roman, should have any way tokened the coming of our Saviour: as some both ancient and moderne Christian Writers, have bene well pleased to interpret *Sibyll* in that prophetic. Of the *Sibylline* predictions I have sometimes thought reverendlie: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke, few men know) yet following the common beleefe and good authoritie. But observation of the shamefull

30 Idolatrie, that vpon all occasions was advanced in Rome by the bookes of *Sibyll*, had well prevailed vpon my credulitie, and made mee suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the iudgement of *Eusebius*: when that learned and excellent worke of master *Cassaubon* vpon the *Annales* of Cardinall *Barenus*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent, That not only those propheticies of *Sibyll*, wherein *Christ* so plainly was forehewed, but euen the bookes of *Hermes*, which have borne such reputation, were no better than counterfitted peeces, and at first entertained (whosoever deuised them) by the vadicreec zeale of such, as

40 delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with foreine proofes. And in the same ranke, I thinke, we ought to place that notable Historic, reported by *Eusebius* from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in Rome; namely of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, To *Simon* the holy God. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publike, should have beene quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it beene true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an Argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded,

50 that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad Criticisme, taken amisse in place of *SEMONI SANGO*: a title four hundred yeares older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruvius* a Rebel, had many ages before beene consecrated *SEMONI SANGO*, that is, To the Spirit or Demi-god *Sangus*, in whose Chapell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman letters,

Liv. 38.

Tulius Diuina. l. 2.

Istac. Cassaub. Expositat. 1. ad Roman. l. 1. n. 10. & 11.

Euseb. Eccl. hist. l. 6. c. 13.

letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought vpon them; it might easily come to passe, that the words should be misse-read, *SIMONI SANCTO*; and that some *Christian* who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sanguis*, thereupon should frame the coniecture, which now passeth for a true Historie. Such coniectures, being entertained without examination, finde credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more historiceall, than was conceiued by the Author. But it cannot be faile, to let our faith (which ought to stand firme vpon a sure foundation) leane ouer-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten, post.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a few of the richest, which euer the Citie beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasurie, was made the last payment of those monies, which the Common-wealth had borrowed from priuate men, in the second *Punicke warre*. So long was it, that *Rome* had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memorie, of any danger. His Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, euen as long as he well could: for that he thought it not faile, to make his entrance into the Citie, vntill the heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipios* were called, one after other, into iudgement, by two Tribunes of the People; men, only by this accusation, knowne to Posteritie. *P. Scipio the African*, with whom they began, could not endure that such vnworthie men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasurie, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Countrey. When therefore his day of answer came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the middelt of the Assemblie, and offered himselfe to speake. Having audience, he told the People, That vpon the same day of the yeare he had fought a great battaile with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Punicke Warre* by a signal victorie. In memorie whereof, hee thought it no fit season to bragge at the Law; but intended to visit the Capitall, and there giue thanks to *Iupiter* and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weightie businesse of the Common wealth. And hereto he inuited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, That if euer since the seventeenth yeare of his life, vntill he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred vpon him, had exceeded the capacitie of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatnesse of those honourable places; then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their Citie might still be like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the people, euen the Officers of the Court, followed *Scipio*; leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their owne slaves and a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to iudgement, vntill for verie shame, as not knowing what else to doe, they granted him, vnrequested, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: he willingly relinquished the Citie, and his vnthankfull *Romans*, that could suffer him to vndergoe so much indignitie. The rest of his time he spent at *Literum*: quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing *Rome* againe. How many yeares he liued, or whether he liued one whole yeare, in this voluntarie banishment; it is vncertaine. The report of his dying in the same yeare, with *Hannibal* and *Philopamen*, as also of his priuate behaviour at *Literum*, render it probable, that he outliued the Tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to haue drawne him backe to his answer, if one of their Colleagues (as one 50 of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. How foueuer it was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to worke with *L. Scipio the Asiaticus*. They propounded a Decree vnto the People, touching monie recieued of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasurie; That the

Senate

Senate should giue charge, concerning the same; that the author of these contentions, should not perfectly vertue, but nor perfectly vertue, both of the publicke and private, though he would not be so blameable, in seeking to warre, Ambition was humble; and the whole to hate the Nobilitie; especially to bite at such uncontentment were like to Licentiate he had been and likely to occur in, rather than malicious persons: velle of gold and which he bare vnto the blame) from his owne name, who brooked none to himselfe in the *African* Case did vnder his dislike be no better) in some no need of such double what lies he published, that was farre above generally; whose noble deeds thus began the hatred: oes, which it was nought against *L. Scipio*, his brother judgement being appointed he was soone condemned. For non payment, his bountie of the Law he was caused the last against the rothe of the Citie, vnto beholding to *Antiochus*, to pay; then fell his accusation of the People, friends, and Clients made charge than before, if he goods were of necessity. And thus began the Warre. Securities of damages were especial help on that great Worthie, great security but entered while contained the commission the Art of leading the men, they were found the weapon, began to make swords; and finally, proceeded into the open field. Cap, that in honour of her

Senate should giue charge vnto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and iudicially determine, thereof. In fauour of this Decree an Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed author of these contentions, and instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue: temperate, valiant, and of singular industrie; frugal also, both of the publike, and of his owne; so as in this kinde he was euen faultie: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he vnmercifull and vnconscionable, in seeking to encrease his owne wealth, by such means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poyloned with enuie, troubled both himselfe, and the whole Citie, whilest he liued. His meane birth caused him to hate the Nobilitie; especially those that were in chiefe estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his owne ranke, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whose Lieutenant he had bene at *Thermopyle*, was his Competitor for the Censorship, and likely to carrie it, he tooke an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perurie, That he had not brought into the common Treasurie some vessels of gold and siluer, gotten in the Campe of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare vnto the *Scipios* grew partly (besides his generall spight at the Nobilitie) from his owne first rising, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from some checks, that was giuen vnto himselfe, in the *African* voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whose Treasurer he then was. For when *Cato* did vtter his dislike of the Consuls bad husbandrie (judging Magnificence to be no better) in some premporie manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of such double diligence in his Treasurie. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he published, or for want of judgement thinking vnworthily of the vertue that was farre aboue him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with vttrue reports against his General; whose noble deeds confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the *Scipios*, whilest it was nourished by their enemy, brake out vpon aduantage, especially against *L. Scipio*, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A seuerie inquirie and judgement being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was soone condemned in a summe of money, farre exceeding his abilitie to pay. For non payment, his bodie should haue bene layed vp in prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suit against the *African* to be let fall. In his citize, which was confiscated to the vse of the Citie, when there neither appeared any signe of his hauing bene beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had bene condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had bene against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and clients made such a collection for him, as would haue sethim in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. He tooke no more than such of his owne goods, as were of necessarie vse, being redeemed for him by his neerest friends.

And thus began the ciuile warre of the *Tangue*, in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not bene, or not bene much regardable, vntill now, since the Panicke Warre. Securitie of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especiall helpees to the kindling of this fire, which first caught hold vpon that great Worthie, to whose vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great securitie her extream danger. But these factious contentions did no long while containe themselves within heat of wordes, and cunning practise. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarrelsome businesse, grew to perfection, they that found themselves ouer-matched by their aduersaries, at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first with clubs and stones, afterward with swords; and finally, proceeded from frays and murders in the streets, vnto battaile in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Ladie of rare vertue, that in honour of her two sonnes was more commonly named *Mother of the*

Græchi,

soeuer it rest, namely, To make Lawes, To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To beate Mones, and To reserve (as the French call it) le dernier resort, or the last Appeals, the Romans had assumed foures, and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, The Appeals, or last resort, as euerie pettie iniurie offered to each other by the fore-named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the Roman Embassadors, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senatours themselves within Rome: from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Commonweales, declined, He or they, were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities vtterly dissolved. Neuerthelesse it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Officers of their owne ordaining: yet so, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the Romans interposed their will to the contrarie; neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especial regard vnto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of seruitude the seuerall Estates of Greece did bow verie gently: either as being thankful for their deliuerance from a yoke more sensibly grievous, or as being skillfull in the art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chiefe hope of thriving; or, as being more fearefull of displeasing the strongest, than mindfull of their owne honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, and being most obsequious vnto the Romans, was not of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformitie vnto them in matter of warre and peace, together with the diuersion of their thoughts another way, giuing him leaue to vse his owne euen as he listed, vntill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little auailable to him, that his Kingdome bordered vpon the Nations, by them not thoroughly subdued. For vpon the same reason (as well as vpon his owne high deserts) were they verie louing vnto *Masaniissa*, and to his Houe, vntill *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion sealed in *Africke*: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others: holding people in subiection vnto themselves, by the ministerie of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were vfeall and obsequious vnto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper; and shewed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But such magnanimitie was none otherwise construed by the Romans, than as want of due reuerence to their Estate, and a valuation of himselfe against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithstanding that hee had lately giuen passage to their Armies through his Countrey, prepared the wayes for them, and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needfull, to transport them ouer the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, against *Antiochus*: yet vpon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the States of *Thessalie* and *Thrace*, he was commaunded to abandon the Cities of *Enus* and *Marene*, with all Peeces and Places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof manie of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, euen from the Romans themselves.

These Townes of *Enus* and *Marene* had bene part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdome: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the North west, extended his dominion verie farr. He is thought to haue made himselfe Lord of *Transylvania*: in which Prouince it is said, * That innumerable Medals of gold haue bene found, in the age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victorie*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he liued notto settle his estate in Europe) fell to *Seleucus* *Nicator* by right of warre, wherein he vanquished and slue *Lysimachus*: as also, by the like right, *Ptolomie* *Ceraunus* thought them his owne, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gauls*, which the Kingdome of *Macedon* could not sustaine, did shortly and easily walke away from that Crowne, together

Hist. of Hungarie by Mart. Eumenes, lib. 6.

together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigenus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, and his successours: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The furie of the *Gauls* being ouer-past, those Countries which lately had bene oppressed by them, recovered their libertie; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wild *Thracians*, to finde their aduantages, and make vse of them, euen vpon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, King *Philip* did provide the most conuenient remedies: by shutting vp the wayes, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying *Ezrimachia*, with some other Townes in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of his owne Countrey, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne estate: yet forasmuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of iustice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Ætoli-ans*, of wrongfull vspuration and oppression, in his hauing occupied *Ezrimachia*. Hereto he made a good answer, That his Garrison did onely saue it from the *Thracians*: who, as soone as hee thence withdrew his men, did seize vpon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might haue said, touching *Enus* and *Maronea*: That they were Places vnable to defend themselves, and Gates by which the *Barbarians* might haue entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not auayled him, 20 in the disputation about *Ezrimachia*: and in the present question, the *Romans* were not without their owne title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Countrie thereabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former warre; and since they, by their victorie had gotten vnto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he onely submitted his right vnto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it vnto their disposition, Whether *Enus* and *Maronea* should be set at libertie, whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed vpon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Ezrimachia* and *Oberfonnesus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceiue, by the demanour of their Embassadors towards him; who sitting as Iudges betweene him and all that 30 made complaint vpon him, gaue sentence against him in curie controuersie. Neuertheless, he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, there to maintaine his right vnto these Townes; wherein he thought, that equirie (if it might preuaile) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the warre against *Antiochus* and the *Ætoli-ans*: wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two Townes, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his owne ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By such allegations either hee was likely to preuaile, or at leastwise to gaine time, wherein he might berhinke himselfe what he had to 40 doe. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had bene their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaued themselves, in plading against him for their libertie, he tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature hee was verie cruell) gaue order to *Onomasus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might haue little joy of the libertie by them so earnestly desired. *Onomasus* employed *Cassander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might sacke the Towne, and vse all cruelties of warre. This was done, but so ill taken by the *Roman* Embassadors, who had better notice, than could haue bene 50 feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majestie, to an accompt. He would haue remoued the blame from himselfe, and layed it euen vpon the *Maronites*; affirming, That they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable

to him, other some to
another shores. And
Antiochus them-
selves friends; or to
among them, that
must more leaue,
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thereto be examined
10 him. Yet he collected
fiction: but concern-
it, hee requested them
lightly to give away his
he tooke order to ha-
taine, which *Antiochus*
actions and after wards
was not of his owne im-
politicke, the latter haue
the reigne of *Rome* the
therein especially the
himselfe had deuided.
Such a sort of *Philip*
brought vpon him the
gaine. Wherefore he
vnto the Senate: giving
and willed to deliuer
yet might it appeare
the summe of his title
for the present. *Doma-*
Senate as hauing bene
and therefore seemed
gated that would be bo-
Whilst this busines
his readinesse to make
ther way the *Roman* ar-
tweene him and his neig-
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40 as, That vnto this
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mea, who had themsel-
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Romans; and the *Ætoli-*
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ing downe the wall of
ordinance: who, haui-
ne by their proper vertu-

to him, other some to *Enmenes*, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one another's throates. And hereof hee willed the Embassadors to inquire, among the *Maronites* themselves: as well knowing, that they who furnished were either his owne friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But hee found the *Romans* more severe, and more thoroughly informed in the businesse, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, That if he would discharge himselfe of the crime objected; he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a litle trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and said that *Cassander* should be at their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not bene at *Marones*, nor neare to it, hee requested them not to presse him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to give away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because he should tell no tales; hee tooke order to have him poisoned by the way. By this wee see, That the doctrine, which *Machiavel* taught vnto *Cesar Borgia*, To employ men in mischievous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they haue performed the mischiefe, was not of his owne invention. All ages haue giuen vs examples of this goodliest policie, the latter hauing bene apt schollers in this lesson to the more anckent: as the reigne of *Henry* the eighth here in *England*, can beare good witness; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same vniust Law that himselfe had deuised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions, of *Philip* made an vnpleasant noise at *Rome*, and were like to haue brought vpon him the warre which hee feared, before hee was readie to entertaine it. Wherefore hee employed his younger sonne *Demetrius* as Embassador vnto the Senate: giuing him instructions, how to make answer to all complaints; and withall to deliuer his owne grievances, in such wise that if ought were amisse, yet might it appeare that hee had bene strongly vrged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacifie the *Romans*, and make all euen for the present. *Demetrius* himselfe was knowne to be verie acceptable vnto the Senate as hauing bene well approved by them, when hee was hostage in *Rome*; and therefore seemed the more likeli, to preuaile somewhat; were it onely in regard that would be borne vnto his person.

Whilest this businesse with the *Macedonians* hung in suspense, and whilest he, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likeli to diuert from himselfe some other way the *Roman* armes: the same Embassadors, that had bene Iudges betwene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of *Greece*; and tooke notice of the controuersies, which they found betwene some Estates in the Countrey. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedemonians* against the *Achaens*. It was objected vnto the *Achaens*, That they had committed a grieuous slaughter vpon many Citizens of *Lacedemon*: That vnto this crueltie they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walles of the Citie: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycurias*, then Pretor of the *Achaens*, made answer; That these banished *Lacedemonians*, who now rooke vpon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously knowne to be the men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamefully they laid the blame vpon others: the *Achaens* hauing onely called those vnto iudgement, that were supposed to be chiefe authors of a Rebellion against both them and the *Romans*; and these plaintifes hauing slaine them, vpon priuate, though iust hatred, as they were coming to make answere for themselves. Concerning their throwing downe the walles of *Lacedemon*, hee said it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus* his ordinance: who, hauing perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and liberty by their proper vertue, did inhibit vnto them all kindes of fortifications; as the

Retraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Vsurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these walles, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had also quiteabolished *Lycurgus* his ordinances; and gouerned the Citie by their owne lawlesse will. As for the *Achaens*; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soone change them and take better, vnto the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius* the chiefe of the Embassadours, That hee and his Countreimen held it strange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the *Romans*, to see themselves thus contrained to answere and giue account of their actions; as vassals and slaues vnto the *People of Rome*. For if they were indeed at libertie: why might not the *Achaens*, as well require to be satisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capus*, as the *Romans* did busie themselves, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? For if the *Romans* would stand vpon their greatnesse, and intimate, as they began, that the libertie of their friends was nothing worthy longer than should please themselves to ratifie it: then must the *Achaens* haue recouerie vnto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without perurie could not be violated; as reuerencing, and indeed fearing, the *Romans* but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold answere of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to replie. Yet taking stace vpon him, hee pronounced more like a Master than a Iudge, That if the *Achaens* would not be ruled by faire meanes, and earne thanks whilst they might; they should be compelled with a mischief, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This alteration was in the Parliament of the *Achaens*; which groned to heare the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet Feare preuailed above Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the *Romans*: to doe as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadours restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman Senate*, verie soone after, did make void all Iudgements of death or banishment, that had bene laid by the *Achaens* vpon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territorie of *Lacedæmon*, should be suffered to continue a member of the *Achaen* Common-wealth; or taken from them, and made, as it had bene, an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, That they held it to depend vpon their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enioy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Councell of *Achaia*, they discouered no lesse, as to them seemed, the loue which they bare vnto the *Achaens*, than the power which they had ouer them.

Into such slavery had the *Greekes*, and all Kings and Common-wealths whatsoever, bordering vpon any part of the *Mediterran* Seas, reduced themselves; by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsaile and persuasions of many wise and temperate men among them; They had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*, and, by seeking Patronage, made meere vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policie so preuaile with them, but their priuate passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath euermore bought reuenge at the price of selfe-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enioyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearfulle servilitie.

All this made well for *Philip of Macedon*: who though he saw the *Greekes* verie farre from daring to stirre against those, by whom both hee and they were kept in awe; yet was hee not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his subiection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affection all the Countreie would be his, whensoever he should take armes, as short-

lie he was like to doe. Vnto him the desired reason was following. He had now in the Senate. The interest his youth, were: it was permitted from his father, that more for *Demetrius* his own for any good will in the decrements of his sonne appeared) from this haue, and breed in him a these passions, there can one commandment: things, which had bene there waiting that obser was required at his hand willingly, and would be of bassadours young *Demetrius* forth that they made more than was pleasing to *Them*, That *Perseus*, the other; but that the *Dacian* other pretence, yet by *me* far, but *Philip* himselfe his owne; and according the utter fruits of this re- ble accidents that were

He *Romans*, *Greekes*, had seemed not that they will were become of a contrarie Fate that Societie, with purpose communion with any out their Citie: who finding over, strongly affected in things to such passe, than ding out, and of not return to doe some acts of bold drawne, and either side so be left. Vpon the fame of *Perseus* of the *Achaens* leu them. Many principall ge- res gone in a rash and to

lie he was like to doe. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired ratification of peace, though qualified with much indignitie soone following. He had beene lovingly vsed at *Rome*, and heard with great fauour in the Senate. There being confounded with the multitude of obiections, whereto his youth, vnskillfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer: it was permitted vnto him, to reade such briefe notes as hee had receiued from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his owne sake, as they then said and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodnesse in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the entreatie of his sonne, together with some insolence of his sonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the *Romans*; did increase in *Philip* his hatred vnto *Rome*, and breed in him a ialousie of his too forward sonne. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadours from *Rome*; some bringing one commandement; some another; and some, requiring him to fulfill those things, which had beene imposed vpon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that obserued his countenance: and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that hee had done things vnwillingly, and would be obedient, no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadours young *Demetrius* was conuerfant: rather perhaps out of simplicitie, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respects; yet a great deale more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, that *Perseus*, the elder sonne of the King, should not succeed vnto his father; but that the Diademe should be conferred vpon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by meere fauour of the *Romans*. This offended not only *Perseus*, but *Philip* himselfe: who suspected his younger sonne, as more *Roman* than his owne; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere wee proceed vnto the bitter fruits of this ialousie; it will not be amisse, to speake of some memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

§. II.
The death of PHILOPOEMEN, HANNIBAL, and SCIPIO. That the military profession is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstanding some examples, which may seeme to proue the contrarie.

THe *Romans*, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of Greece, had of late beene so peremptoric with the *Achaens*; that they seemed not vnlike to take part against them, in any controuersie that should be moued. Hereupon the *Messenians*, who against their will were annexed vnto the *Achaean* Common-wealth, hauing long beene of a contrarie Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Societie, with purpose to set vp againe an Estate of their owne, leuered from communion with any other. This was the deuice of some that were powerfull in their Citie: who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpose, and not ouer-strongly affected in the businesse; were carefull to seeke occasion of reducing things to such passe, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessitie of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achaean* League. And hereupon they began to doe some acts of hostilitie; whereby it was probable that blood should be drawne, and either side so farre exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Vpon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopamen*, then Pretor of the *Achaens*, leuied such forces as hee could in haste, and went against them. Many principall gentlemen of the *Achaens*, especially of the *Megalopolitans*, were soone in a readinesse to wait vpon him. Besides these, which were all, or for

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent Embassador to *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the warre against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him, that he would deliuer *Hannibal*, the most spitefull enemy in all the world vnto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein vnworthie of the Crowne he ware) did readily condiscend: or rather (as *Luie* thinkes) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliuer him aliue to *Flaminius*. For vpon the first conference betweene the King and *Flaminius*, a troupe of Souldiors were directed to guard and enuiron the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captaine hauing found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had deuised some secret sallies vnder ground to saue himselfe from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedie: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing ouer him, as to saue himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way of escape, nor counsell to resort vnto, he tooke the poyson into his hand, which he alwayes preferred for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of aduerser fortune; which being readie to swallow downe, he vttered these wordes: *I will now (saide he) deliuer the Romans of that feare, which hath so many yeeres*

20 *possessed them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victorie of FLAMINIUS ouer me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall neuer be numbred among the rest of his heroiuall deedes: No; it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the World, how farre the ancient Roman vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the noblenesse of their forefathers; as, when PERSEUS invaded them in Italie, and was readie to giue them battaile at their owne doores, they gaue him knowledge of the treason intended against him by person: whereas these of a later race haue employed FLAMINIUS, a man who hath heretofore bene one of their Consuls, to practise*

30 *with PRUSIAS, contrarie to the honour of a King, contrarie to his Faith giuen, and contrarie to the Lawes of Hospitality, to laughter or deliuer vp his owne Guest. He then cursing the person of Prusias, and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to reuenge his iniudicie, dranke off the poyson, and died.*

103. In this yeare also (as good Authors haue reported) to accompanie *Philopamen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio the African*: these being, all of them, as great Capitaines as euer the world had; but not more famous, than vnfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedie we haue now finished, had he bene Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authoritie might haue commanded such supplies, as the Warre which he vndertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torne vp the *Roman* Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and enuious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to sustaine it, did

40 lastly dissolve it selfe in his owne, and in the common miserie of his Countrey and Commonweale.

Hence it comes to wit, from the enuie of our equals, and jealousie of our Masters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, that there is no Profession more vnprosperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Capitaines, being no Kings. For besides the enuie and jealousie of men; the spoiles, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, with a world of miseries layed on the labouring man, are so hatefull to God, as with good reason did *Aeneas* the Marshall of *France* confesse, That were not the mercedes of God infinite, and without restriction, it were in vaine for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. Howsoeuer, this is true, that the victories, which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serue vnder them, to Fortune, or to the cowardice of the Nation against whome they serue. For the most of others, whose vertues haue rayed them above the leuell of their inferiours, and haue surmounted their enuie: yet haue

most famous capitaine

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haue they beene rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the *Romans* we finde many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Lucius*, *L. Emilius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we haue lately buried. Among the *Greekes* we read of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea long before these times, it was a Legate that *Darius* bequeathed vnto his victorious Capitaine *Josh*. With this fare *Alexander* casted *Armenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereto *Valentinian* the Emperour inuited *Aetius*: who, after many other victories, ouerthrew *Attila* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battaile, for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that euer was stricken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, besides runne-awaies, an hundred and fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Aetius*, he had cut off his owne right hand with his leit: for it was not long after that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* slew *Aetius*) murdered the Emperour, which hee neuer durst attempt, *Aetius* living. And, besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Aetius*, the glorie of the Westerne Empire was rather dissolved, than obscured. The same vnworthie destinie, or a fare worse, had *Bellisarius*; whose vnder takings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Iustinian*: and he died a blinde begger. *Narjes* also, to the great preiudice of *Christian* Religion, was disgrac'd by *Iustine*. That Rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath beene well obserued in euerie age since then, to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence haue the *Turkes* drawne another Principle, and indeed a *Turkish* one, That euerie warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of warre, than suffer his owne glorie to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Baiaet* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomat*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes, bring to ruine the most of their *Viziers*. Of the *Spanish* Nation, the great *Galua*, who draue the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Earles of *Edmond* and *Horn*, had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Captaines of all Nations, haue beene paid with this copper coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrarie it may bee said, That many haue acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of warre. This I confesse. Yet must it be had withall in consideration, that these high places haue beene giuen, or offered, vnto verie few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many haue vsurped them, by the helpe and fauour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which haue oppressed the libertie of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which haue traitorously cast downe their Masters, and stepped vp into their seats; were not all of them good men of warre: but haue vied the advantage of some commotion, or many of them, by base and cowardlie practices, haue obtained those dignities, which vnderferuently were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those, that haue purchased absolute greatness by the greatness of their warlike vertue; is farre more in seeming, than in deed. *Phocas* was a souldiour, and by helpe of the souldiours, hee got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but hee was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, seldome found in any other than cowards, hee slue first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that neuer had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himselfe. This his bloudie aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him againe by *Heracius*: who took from him the Imperial Crowne, vniuilly gotten; and set it on his owne head. *Leontius* laid hold vpon the Emperour *Iustine*, cut off his nose and eares, and sent him into banishment: but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*: to whose charge hee had left his owne men of warre, *Iustine*, hauing recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same

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CHAP. 6. §. 2.
banishment. *Phocas*,
Emperour and his sonne.
Make *Phippus*, and the
least more gently: for he
had to become a *Prætor*.
rewards this *Theodosius*
one crucie, by men
dett bound, being of
justice mutually perished
of threatening by the practice
of Enemies, and the vber
both well obserued. But
for that observation, may
found belonging to all *Cato*
great King came against it,
there was found a pore and
had none remained, thou
thinks, least thereby the
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preiudice in themselves.
id: which proues that w
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yet so, as those thanks
which their Captaines ha
come, they are vryling in
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In my last Soueraigne
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For as his herold Cap
rie, *Basileus* of *Leontius*,
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Thomas *Barrage*, and
and exceeding valiant Co
Tales and Estates.
That her Majestie in
other men than her selfe
haue beene subiect, I say
transferre their Noble Na
selfe. And exceeding fir

- same fashion. *Philippicus*, commanding the forces of *Iustine*, murdered both the Emperour and his sonne. *Anastasijs*, the vassall of this new Tyrant, surpris'd his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastasijs*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for hauing wrested the Scepter out of his hands, hee enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endlesse, and a needlesse worke to tell, how *Theodosius* rewarded this *Theodosius*; how many others haue bene repayed with their owne crueltie, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thousand, hoping of Captaignes to make themselves Kings, haue by Gods iustice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the best way of thriving, by the practise of armes, is to take what may bee gotten by the spoyle of Enemies, and the liberalitie of those Princes and Cities, in whose seruice one hath well deseru'd. But scarce one of a thousand haue prospered by this course. For that obseruation, made by *Salomon*, of vnthankfulnesse in this kind, hath been found belonging to all Countreys and Ages: *A little Citie, and few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poore and wise man therein, and he deliuered the Citie by his wisdome: but none remembered this poore man.* Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thanks, least thereby they should acknowledge themselves to haue bene indebted for great benefits: which the vnwiser sort of them thinke to fauour of some impotencie in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes couens'd and abused: which proues that weaknesse to be in them indeede, whereof they so gladly shunne the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountifull in giuing thanks; yet so, as thole thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Capitaines haue made, by enriching themselves with the spoile of the enemy, they are very inquisitiue to search into it, and to strip the well-deseruers out of their gettings: yea most iniuriouly to rob them of their owne, vpon a false supposition: that euen they whose hands are most clean from such offences, haue purloyned somewhat from the common Treasurie. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipios* being solately recited.
- 30 In my late Soueraignes time, although for the warres, which for her owne satisfaction shee was constrained to vndertake, her Majestie had no lesse cause to vse the seruice of Martiall men both by Sea and land, than any of her Predecessors for many yeares had, yet, according to the destinie of that profession, I doe not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldest and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any seruice by them performed. And that her Majestie had many aduised, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperitie of her affaires did well witness, who in all her daies neuer receiued dishonour, by the cowardise or infidelitie of any Commander, by her selfe cholen and employed.
- 40 For as all her old Capitaines by Land died poore men, as *Malbey*, *Randell*, *Drenrie*, *Reade*, *Wilsford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Cunsfable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkley*, *Bingham*, and others: so those of a later and more dangerous imploiment, whereof *Norice* and *Vere* were the most famous, and who haue done as great honor to our Nation (for the meanes they had as euer any did: those (I say) with many other braue Collonels, haue left behinde them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many traualles and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posteritie. As for the *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie* *L. willoughbie of Ershby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.
- 50 That her Majestie in the aduancement of her Men of warre did sooner belecue other men than her selfe, a discale vnto which many wise Princes, besides her selfe, haue bene subiect, I say that such a confidence, although it may seeme altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weaknesse. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where

Eccles. 9. 14.
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where the prosperous Actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actions are so vnprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, & among all Nations, is this, that those which are nearest the person of Princes (which martial men sildome are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifie a Profession farre more noble than their own, seeing therein they should only mind their Masters of the wrong they did vnto others, in giuing lesse honour and reward to men of farre greater deservings, and of farre greater vse than themselves.

But his Majestie hath alreadye payed the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieuing by Pensions all the poorer sort, he hath honored more Martiall men 10 than all the Kings of England haue done for this hundred yeares.

He hath giuen a *Coronet* to the Lord *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable seruice, as well in the year 1588, as at *Calize*, the *Islands*, and in our owne Seas; hauing first commanded as a Capitaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Majestie hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* and *Barley* into Earldomes, and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knollys*, *Russel*, *Carew*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of *Warder*, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, Barons, for their governments and seruices in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elsewhere.

§. III.

PHILIP making prouision for warre against the Romans, desires hardly with manie of his owne subiects. His negotiation with the *Bathians*. His cruelty. He suspecteth his sonne DEMETRIVS. DEMETRIVS accused by his brother PERSEVS; and shortly after slaine, by his fathers appointment. PHILIP repenteth him of his sonnes death; whome he findeth to haue bene innocent: and intending to reuenge it on PERSEVS, he dieth.

QVINTVS MARTIVS the Roman Embassador, who trauailed vp and downe, seeking what worke might be found about *Greece*, had received instruction from the Senate, to vse the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of *Macedon*. At his returne home, that he might not seeme to haue discovered nothing, hee told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done what soeuer they enioyned him; yet so, as it might appeare, that such his obedience would last no longer, than mere necessitie should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which he was deuising. Now it was so indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithfull obsequiousnesse to the Romans, 40 and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with sacrifice of their honour, if they could finde conuenient meanes; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparant) by what meanes soeuer. He was in an ill case: as hauing been alreadye vanquished by them; hauing lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; hauing subiects that abhorred to heare of Warre with *Rome*; and hauing neither neighbour nor friend, that if he were thereto vrged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could deuisse against the necessity which hee daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad seruice against the Romans, hee compelled to forsake their dwellings and removed them all 50 into *Emathia*. The Cities and Countrey, whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured, against those enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he deuised vpon alluring the *Bastians*, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the river of

same fashion. The Emperour and his matter Philippus dealt more gently him to become. Leo rewarded thine craine, by ther shoulde, justice most ably of enemies, and bath well deserveth. For that chieftest great belonging from being a thettas found a bat oue a comenbr thanks, lest there for great bene 20 perence in them fed: which prou shame the opinion yet so, as those which their Capte enemies they are of their gettings: polition: that euen loyned some what amply: that of 30 In my late Son tie the was conit vice of Marshall at years had, yet, that any of hers, the mander, were crie perionied. And the prosperie of her prosperie of her thancour, by the co and employed. 40 For as all her ob rit, zeale, wifed, thers: to those of For were the most the meanes they b neth, haue left bel many trauails and Vnappre Capte oncame to bege by keeping thome 10 That her Majellie other men than her haue bene subiect to excuse her Noble. And exceed

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30 In my late Soueraignes time, although for the Warres, which for her owne safetie she was constrained to vndertake, her Majestie had no lesse cause to vse the seruice of Marshall men both by Sea and Land, than any of her predecessors for many yeares had, yet, according to the desir of that profession, I doe not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admirall excepted, her eldest and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any seruice by them performed. And that her Majestie had many aduised, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperitie of her affaires did well witness, who in all her dayes neuer receiued dishonour, by the cowardise or infidelitie of any Commander, by her selfe chosen and employed.

40 For as all her olde Capitaines by Land died poore men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drenrie*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pelam*, *Gilbert*, *Constable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkeley*, *Bingham*, and others: so those of a later and more dangerous employment, whereof *Norice* and *Yare* were the most famous, and who haue done great honour to our Nation (for the meanes they had) as euer any did: those (I say) with many other braue Colonels, haue left behinde them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many traualles and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posteritie.

Vnthappie Capitaines, and happie Clarkes, with what labour and perill doth the one attaine to beggerie, and what Places and goodly Estates doe the other obtaine by keeping themselves warme.

50 That her Majestie in the aduancement of her Men of Warre did sooner beleene other men than her selfe, a discale vnto which many wise Princes, besides her selfe, haue bene subiect, I say that such a confidence, although it may seeme altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weakenesse. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifestly enough, that
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Eccl. vi. 14. &c.
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§. III.

PHILIP making provision for warre against the Romans, deales hardly with manie of his owne subjects. His negotiation with the *Bastarnæ*. His crudelie, &c. suspecteth his sonne DEMETRIUS; DEMETRIUS accused by his brother PERSEVS; and shortly after slaine, by his fathers appointment. PHILIP repenteth him of his sonnes death; whome he findeth to haue bene innocent: and intending to reuenge it on PERSEVS, he dieth.

VINTVS MARTIVS the Roman Embassador, who traualled vp and downe, seeking what worke might be found about *Greece*, had receiued instruction from the Senate, to vse the most of his diligence in looking into the estate of *Macedon*. At his returne home, that bee might not seeme to haue discouered nothing, he told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatsoever they enioyned him; yet so, as it might appeare, that such his obedience would last no longer, than mere necessitie should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which he was deuising. Now it was so indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithfull obsequiousnesse to the Romans, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with satisfaction of their honour, if they could finde conuenient meanes; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparant) by what meanes soeuer. He was in an ill case: as hauing bene already vanquished by them; hauing lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation, hauing subjects that abhorred to heare of warre with *Rome*; and hauing neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto vrged, would adventure to take his part: yet he prouided as well as he could deuisse against the necessitie which he daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad seruice against the Romans, he compelled to forsake their dwellings, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Countrey, whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured, against those enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he deuiſed vpon alluring the *Bastarnæ*, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the river

of Danow, to abate besides other great take possession of the gainst the Romans: in those quarters that could be bought any; a People always found advantage. *Demetrius* by hope of *Isidore* on, through *Isidore*, it was not knowne thought, that the *Scythians* they were to put in hope of spoile. *Nepotian* habitations, into the and tedious journey *Philip* with gifts did Countries through strengthen himselfe, 10 went, nor were knowne ciuile Nation about deuices were long ere time as he was dead; time he neglected not some small Expedition stood worst affected But these his enemies minies that fell vpon Cities and whole Townes 30 their ancient dwellings his discretion thought Yet their anger at this great wrong in that places wherein they had our-railed by necessity haue bene determined He could not pardon treacherous malice; and age he could many to die 40 of them delerately former excommunications King in a barbarous and thought himselfe willed of those parents, whose in vnummally pleasure, desired, gaue men cause that, nor without vengeance in his owne children. name fauour which he well be (though it may nourish dissension betw wardnesse of *Demetrius* fauour towards this young people in the fathers

of *Danubius*, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude; who, besides other great rewards, would helpe them to root out the *Dardani*, and take possession of their Countrey. These were like to doe him notable seruice against the *Romans*: being not onely stout fighting men; but such, as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare respect vnto him alone. The least benefite that could be hoped by their arriual, must be the viter extirpation of the *Dardani*; a People alwayes troublesome to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, whensoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perswade those *Bastarnae*, by hope of spoyle, and other incitements, vnto a more desperate Expedition on, through *Illyria*, and the Countreys vpon the *Adriaticke* Sea, into *Italie* it selfe. It was not knowne who should withstand them vpon the way: Rather it was thought, that the *Scordisci*, and peraduenture some others, through whose Countreys they were to passe, would accompanie them against the *Romans*, were it onely in hope of spoyle. Now to facilitate the remoue of these *Bastarnae* from their owne habitations, into the Land of the *Dardani*, vpon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey vnto them, that carried with them their wives and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countreys through which they were to passe. And thus hee sought meanes to strengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were knowne vnto them; since he was not like to finde assistance from any ciuile Nation, about the whole compasse of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But these deuices were long ere they tooke effect: so as the *Bastarnae* came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the ouerthrow of that purpose. In the meane time he neglected not the trayning of his men to warre, and the exercise of them in some small Expeditions, against those wilde people that bordered vpon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsailes and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell vpon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wills to forsake
30 their ancient dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meetest for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it selfe within wordes: he hauing done them no great wrong in that alteration, other wise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long liued: which also he did vnwillingly, being himselfe ouer-ruled by necessitie, that seemed apparent. This euill therefore would soone haue beene determined, had not his cruell and vindicative nature made it worse. He could not pardon wordes proceeding from iust sorrow: but imputed all to traitorous malice; and accordingly fought reuenge where it was needlesse. In his rage he caused many to die: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none
40 of them deservfully. This encreased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generally, when the King in a barbarous and base furie, mistrusting all alike whome hee had iniured, thought himselfe vnlike to be safe, vntill he should haue massacred all the children of those parents, whome tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his vnmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical than perhaps he could haue desired, gaue men cause to thinke (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heauen, he felt the like miserie in his owne children. It is hard to say what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinarie fauour which they shewed vnto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger sonne. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention betwene the brethren, but onely to cherish the vertue and towardlinesse of *Demetrius*; like as we finde it in their Histories. But their notable fauour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall respect of them, bred extreme
50 jealousie in the fathers head. If any custome of the *Romans*, the manner of their life,

life, the fashion of their apparrell, or the vnslightly contriuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of *Rome*, were jelled at in ordinarie discourse and table-talk, *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praying them, euen in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conuerlation with their Embassadours, as often as they came, gaue his father cause to thinke, that he was no fir partaker of any counsaile held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his deuices with his elder sonne *Perseus*: who fearing so much least his brother should step betwene him and the succession, conuerted wholly, vnto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perseus* was then thirtie yeares olde; of a stirring spirit, though much defectiue in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five yeares, more open and vnwarie in his actions, yet thought old and craftie ynough, to entertaine more dangerous practises, than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King hauing entertained such suspitions, that were much encreased by the cunning practise of his elder sonne, a slight occasion made the fire breake out, that had long layne smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious lulstration of the Armie, was wont to be made at certaine times with great solemnitie. The manner of it at the present was thus. They cleft in twaine a bitch; and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailles, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way, which the Armie was to passe. This done, the Armes of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the verie first original, were borne before the Armie. Then followed the King betwene his two sonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whome all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Hauing performed other ceremonies, the Armie was diuided into two parts: which, vnder the Kings two sonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vsing poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victorie: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did ouer-earnestly seeke each to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good successe in a greater triall. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds giuen, euen with those stakes, vntill *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himselfe was forrie for this, as it had bene some bad preface: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good vse. They were of the craftier sort: who perceiuing which way the Kings fauor bent, and how all the courtes of *Demetrius* led vnto his owne ruine, addressed their seruices to the more malicious and craftie head. And now they said, that this victorie of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solempne pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his owne companions, and each of them had spyes in the others lodging, to obserue what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaued himselfe so indifferetly, that he was taken and well beaten by three or foure of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of dores. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would goe visit his brother, and see what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet he would leaue none of his traine behind, but forced them all to beare him companie. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to preuent all danger. Yet was there such good espiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made knowne to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuously locked vp his dores, as if he stood in feare to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondered to see himselfe excluded, and feared vnder angerly with his brother. But *Perseus*, bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment, no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the yonger vnto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, and in effect the same that hath bene here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the maine point of the accusation, and which

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which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had vnderaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to vnderake a greater, vpon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom he knew that he should be defended and borne out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; because he bore a diuerspect vnto his father, and was sorrie to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somwhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they sought how to winne vnto *Demetrius* the love of the *Macedonians*. For prooffe herof he cited a letter, sent of late from *T. Quintius* to the King himselfe: whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he should yet further doe well to send him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honorable traine of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsell was given by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should wayt vpon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become seruants to this yong Traytor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as hee remembered them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that conuerted matters of Pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocents brothers death. As for the loue which the *Romans* did beare him; Hee said that it grew, if not from his owne vertue, at least wise from their opinion thereof: so as by any impious practise, He were more like to lose it wholly, than to encrease it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; besides those that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinarie Iudges. The King pronounced like a father, though a ialous father, That he would conclude nothing vpon the excess or error, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one houres audience of the matter, but vpon better obseruation of their liues, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seeme to have dealt both iustly and compassionately. But from this time forward, he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to *Perseus*: vying so little conference with his yonger sonne, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the *Romans*; He liked neither to haue him present, nor neare vnto him. Aboueall, he had especiall care, to learne out what had passed betwene *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, *Philotes* and *Apelles*; men whom hee thought no way intercessed in the quarrells betwene the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose scale they had counterfeited) vnto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the yong-Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthfull and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practises vnjustifiable, against his elder brother; which yet should neuer take effect, for that *Titus* himselfe would not be author, or abettor, of any impious deuce. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the King, to thinke his sonne a dangerous traytor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gaue *Demetrius* in custodie, made shew as if he had pitied the estate of the vnhappy Prince; and fo wrought out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered vnto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to flie secretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not onely to liue in safetie, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could finde at home, of bettering such claime as he had in reuerfion vnto the

50 Crowne of *Macedon*. Whatsoeuer his hopes and meanings were, al came to nought through the fallhood of *Didas*; who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the escape, and in the meane while reuealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolued to put his sonne to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away priuily, for feare lest

the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and held it as prooffe sufficient, at least, of the Kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the vnhappy Prince out of his life. This accursed Minister of his Kings vnadvised censure, first gaue poyson to *Demetrius*; which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of *Russians*, to finish the tragedie: who vilanously accomplished their worke by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Alcedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not bene found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne blood. The houses of *Lysmachus* and *Cassander* fell eyther with themselves, or euen vpon their heeles; by intestine discord and ialousies, grounded on desire of soueraigne rule, or feare of loosing it. By the like vnnatural hatred, had almost bene cut off the lines of *Ptolemie* and of *Seleucus*: which though narrowly they elaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grievously disordered. Contrariwise, it was worthe of extraordinarie note, how that vniuersall family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raised it selfe to maruelous greatness, in verie short space, from the condition of meere slauierie; whereof a principall cause was, the brotherly loue maintained by them, with singular commendation of their pietie. Neyther was *Philip* ignorant of these examples; but is said to haue propounded the last of them, to his owne children, as a patterne for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to doe: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But hee was himselfe of an vnnmercifull nature; and therefore vnmeet to be a good perswader vnto kindly affection. The murders by him done vpon manie of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his blood-thirstie appetite hee delightfully had committed vpon manie innocents, both strangers, & subiects of his owne kind now procure vengeance downe from Heauen, that rewarded Him with a draught of his owne Poyson. After the death of his sonne, He too late began to examine the crimes that had bin obiected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could giue him satisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not bene contriuer of the whole proceesse. His only remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which hee tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition; as there might easily be perceiued in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remoue of those dangers, which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no lesse to be feared than at other times, when he, as hauing accomplished the most of his desires, left off his vsuall trouble of mind, and carelesnesse of making prouision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times; by those that well vnderstood the difference, betwene a rising and a setting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, hee was left in a manner desolate: some expecting his death; and some scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with suspicious imaginations; the like whereof hee had neuer bene slow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew, neyther well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Cousen of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that hee grew thereby hatefull to *Perseus*: and thus becoming subiect vnto the same ialous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This counsaillor, when hee found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent it selfe, and giue ease to the King, vntill the truth were knowne Whether *Demetrius* were guiltie or no of the treason obiected; as also that *Philotes* and *Apelles*, (the Embassadors which had brought from *Rome* that Epistle of *Flaminius*, that serued as the greatest euidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgerie in the busines: made diligent inquire

CHAP. 6. § 4.
 inquire after the truth, but vnderstood what was pretended, though hee was lowe of estate, and was sure of torture, himselfe, that hee had himselfe. A narrow flood, that by the vnnatural hatred, had almost bene cut off the lines of another, sure more vnto selfe, and withall against this discouerie, *Apelles* bore in much as hee could, or else was put to death. He should need to be the fathers witness. He kept his father wintered at this his vnguarantable conference vpon *Antigonus*, disabled him in the treason to effect, he was continually: always full of tumult wars, of which of the rest found the coming forth together, he might thinke: his own left vnto him an estate, pish any moderate desire he was easily punished, bellicose a year, was to performe the duties, fore signified vnto *Perseus* from those that were, and tooke possession of than he had wickedly
 How the *Romans* fell vpon him. Some were credibly to apprehend their Conscience, as the LICATES; where times. Further quarrells, as they were, with his ally *Calpurnius*.
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inquire after the truth. In thus doing, hee found one *Xebus*, a man most likely to haue vnderstood what false dealing was vied by those Embassadors. Him hee apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented vnto the King: saying that this fellow knew all, and must therefore bee made to vtter what hee knew. *Xebus* for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himselfe, that hee had bin employed by the Embassadors in that wicked pece of businesse. No maruell, if the Fathers passions were extreame, when hee vnderstood, that by the vnnaturall practise of one sonne, hee had so wretchedly cast away another, farre more vertuous, and innocent. Hee rag'd exceedingly, against himselfe, and withall against the Authors of the mischief. Vpon the first newes of this discouerie, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italie*. *Philodes* was taken: and either forasmuch as he could not denie it when *Xebus* confronted him, yielded himselfe guiltie, or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now growne stronger, than that he should need to flie the Countrie: yet not so stout as to aduenture himselfe into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the kingdome, towards *Thrace*, whilest his father wintered at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngacious sonne, tooke a resolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him, & conferre it vpon *Antigonus*. But his weake bodie, and excessiue greife of minde, so disabled him in the trauell hereto belonging; that ere hee could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yeild to nature: He had reigned about two & fortie yeares: alwayes full of troubles; as vexed by others, and vexing himselfe, with continuall wars; of which that with the *Romans* was most vnhappie, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would haue desired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the euill that befall him, he might thanke his owne peruerse condition: since his vncke King *Antigonus*, had left vnto him an estate, so great, and so well seeld, as made it easie for him, to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsaile. Wherefore he was iustly punished: by feeling the difference betweene the imaginarie happinesse of a Tyrant, which hee affected, and the life of a King, wherof hee little cared to performe the dutie. His death, euen whilest yet it was only drawing neare, was foreshign'd vnto *Perseus*, by *Calligenes* the Philitian; who also concealed it awhile from those that were about the Court. So *Perseus* came thither on the suddaine, and tooke possession of the kingdome: which in fine hee no lesse improudently lost, than hee had wickedly gotten.

§. IIII.

How the *Bastarna* fell vpon *Dardania*. The behaviour of *PERSEVS* in the beginning of his Reigne. Some warres of the *Romans*: and how they suffered *MASANISSA*, cruelly to oppress the *Carthaginians*. They quarrell with *PERSEVS*. They allow not their Confederates to make warre without their leave obtained. The Treason of *CALLICRATES*; whereby all Greece became more dangerous to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to *PERSEVS*. He seeks friendship of the *Acheans*, and is withstood by *CALLICRATES*. The *Romans* discover their intent of warring vpon him.

Immediately vpon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bastarna* into *Thrace*: where order had bin taken, long before, both for their free passage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrie. This compact was friendly obserued, as long as none other was knowne than that *Philip* did liue, to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his seruice. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedony*; & not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize: then was all daunt

and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford so good markets vnto the strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Basilarnes* would not be contented with reason, but became their owne caruers, Thus each part hauing lost the rich hopes reposed in *Philip*: grew carefull of thiuing in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blowes; and the *Basilarnes* had the vpper hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plaine Countie. But the victors made little vse of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some ouerthrow, receiued by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extreame bad weather, which is said to haue afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, saue thirtie thousand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How these thirtie thousand sped in their voyage, I doe not find. It seemes that by the careless vse of some victories, they drew losse vpon themselves: and finally tooke that decalation, to follow their companions backe into their owne Countie.

As for *Persus* he thought it not expedient, in the noueltie of his Reigne, to embroyle himselfe in a warre so dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gaue his mind to the feeling of his Estate: which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himselfe, as the condition of his affaires should require, eyther for war or peace. To preuent all danger of rebellion: he quickly tooke away the life of *Antigonus*. To winne loue of his people; hee sate personally to heare their causes in iudgment (though herein hee was so ouer-diligent and curious, that one might haue perceiued this his vertue of iustice to be no better than fained) as also hee gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. Abooue all he had care to auoid all necessity of warre with *Rome*: and therefore made it his first worke, to send Embassadors thither, to renew the league, which hee obtained, and was by the Senate saluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neyther was he negligent in seeking to purchase good will of the *Greeks*, and other his neighbors: but was rather herein so exceedingly bountifull, that it may seeme a wonder, how in few yeares, to his vtter ruine, hee became so griping and tenacious. His feare was indeed the mastering passion, which ouer-ruled him, and changed him into so manie shapes, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For prooue of this, there is requisite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, busie in wars against the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered *Istria*; subdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Thyrians* and others.ouer the *Carthaginians* they bore (as euer since the victorie) a heauie hand: and suffered *Masaniissa* to take from them what he listed. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient vassals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an article of peace, except it were with leaue of the *Romans*. *Masaniissa* therefore had great aduantage ouer them: and was not ignorant how to vse it. Hee could get possession by force, of whatsoever he desired, ere their complaining Embassadors could bee at *Rome*; and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated, to leaue things as they found them.

So had hee once dealt before, in taking from them the Countie of *Emporia*: and so did hee vse them againe and againe; with pretence of title, where hee had anie; otherwise, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Masaniissa* had wonne some land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within a while, restored to the right owners, for loue of his Wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Asdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Masaniissa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans*, to whose iudgement the case was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Estate, to vse all manner of submissiue obedience to *Rome*.
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They had scarcely digested this iniurie, when *Masanissa* came vpon them again, and tooke from them aboute seuentie towne and Caluels, without any colour of right. Hercof by their Embassadors they made lamentable complaint vnto the *Roman* Senate. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed by reason of two articles in their League: That they should not make warre, out of their owne lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were so, that they might lawfully withstand the violence of *Masanissa*, inuading their Countrey, howsoever he was pleased to cill it his: yet since hee was confederate with the *Romans*, they durst not presume to beare defenseu armes against him, but suffered them-
 10 selues to be eaten vp, for feare of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they entreated, that eyther they might haue fairer iustice, or be suffered to defend their owne by strong hand; or at least, it might wholly giue place to fauour, That the *Romans* yet would be pleased to determine, how farre forth *Masanissa* should be allowed, to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they, that the *Romans* would let them vnderstand, wherein they had offended since the time that *Scipio* gaue them peace; and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment, as they themselves in honour should thinke meete: for
 20 that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Iudges; than continually to lue in feare, and none otherwise draw breath than at the mercie of this *Nimidian* Hangman. And herewithall the Embassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground weeping in hope to moue compassion. Here may we behold, the fruites of their enuie to that valiant house of the *Barchinies*, of their irresolution, in prosecuting a war so importaint, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italie*; and of their halfe pennie-worthing, in matter of expence when they had aduentured their whole estate, in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they seruants, even to the seruants of those men, whose fathers they haue often chased, slaine, taken, and sold as bondslaves in the streets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Affrick* and *Greece*. Now haue they enough of that *Roman* peace, which
 30 *Hanno* so often and so earnestly desired. Only they want peace with *Masanissa*; once their mercinarie, and now their master, or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruell hands, they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they see flourishing in such prosperitie as might haue bin their owne. But the *Romans* had farre better entreated *Varro*, who lost the battell at *Cannæ*; then *Hannibal* that wann it was vsed by the *Carthaginians*; they had freely bestowed, euerie man of them, all his priuate riches, vpon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without craving recompense: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extreame want, to set out an armie into *Spaine*, at what time the enemies lay vnder their owne wals. These were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthagi-*
 40 *nians*, hauing fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitifull behauiour bred peraduenture some commiseration, yet their teares may seeme to haue bene mistrusted, as proceeding no lesse from enuie to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their owne calamitie. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masanissa*: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a litle while, enter into comparisons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained no such leaue as they sought, of defending their owne right by armes: but contrariwise, when without leaue obtained they presumed so far, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer; though they had otherwise litle amends.
 50 *Galsissa* the sonne of *Masanissa* was then in *Rome*; and had not as yet craued audience. Hee was therefore called before the Senate; where hee was demanded the reason of his coming; and had related vnto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* against his Father. He answered, That his Father not being thoroughly aware of anie Embassadors thither sent from *Carthage*, had

had therefore not giuen him instructions, how to deale in that busines. Only it was knowne, that the *Carthaginians* had held counsell diuerse nights, in the Temple of *Æsculapius*: whereupon he himselfe was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to entreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the *Romans* and of his Father might not bee ouermuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the People of *Rome*. This answer gaue little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, that for *Masaniſſa* his sake, they had done, and would doe whatsoeuer was reasonable; but that it stood not with their iustice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* those lands, which by the covenants of the league, were granted vnto them freely to enjoy. With this milde rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*; bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willing him to tell his father, that he should doe well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian warre* was euen ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing, too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians*, (for feare of vrging them vnseasonably to rebellion) or *Masaniſſa*, at whose hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Masaniſſa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for feare, partly for hope of better vsage in the future; by *Masaniſſa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was vnlkely) that they should bee vanquished; hee made none other account, than that all *Africke* round about him and *Carthage* therewithall should bee his owne.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not bene vnmindfull of *Perſeus*. They visited him daily with Embassadors; that is, with honourable spies to obserue his behaviour. These hee entertained kindly at first, vntill (which tell ore long) hee perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*; neyther would they take any satisfaction, vntill the *Bastarnæ* were thence gone; though hee protested, that hee had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no lesse ill contented with good offices, by him done to sundrie of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which they said (that he did vnto other some. Where hee did harme to anie; they called it, making warre vpon their friends: Where hee did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his subjects, vpon what occasion it is vncertaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their gouernour. It seemes that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the *Macedonian*: and therefore vnlkely to haue presumed so farre, vnlesse eyther they had bin extremely prouoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatsoeuer it was that bred this courage in them: *Perſeus* did soone alay it, and reclaime them by strong hand. But the *Romans* tooke verie angrily, this presumption of the King: euen as if he had invaded some Countrey of their *Italian* confederates, and not corrected his owne Rebels at home. Faine they would haue had him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereto had he humbled once his necke, they could themselves haue done the part of *Masaniſſa*; though *Eumenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had bene wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league betwene them were such, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their license first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine haue reduced the *Greekes*, and generally all their adherents euen such as had entred into league with them vpon equal tearmes: whom vsually they rewarded with a frowne, whensoeuer they presumed to right themselves by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Herofore the *Achaens* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne caruers; and whose hope of extraordi-

diminished at *Rome* can
brought. For when the
T. *Romans* rebuked them
his authority: yet by his
king. Semblably obser-
when they make vpon
power, without standing
vpon submission, were
like and lettle, and wro-
ly to the Imperiall Cinc-
schollars, that they need
there no small part of bl-
nate, being desirous to
as they requested;
twene them; but furth-
sonable petition. That
or armes. Herewith
fares of *Greece*, propo-
thian, would result from
no way concerning them
what time it was belieue
to much distrust; were
withstanding; when *Le-
fession* farre looser than
from the *Achaens*, but m-
with an illuored grace,
made such bad answer
had strictly forbidden
thinking, by a fained
their conditions: both re-
cted; and also to assame
ters of warre, which dis-
derdealt they with all
warre, whether offensiu-
without interposing the
aduenare sometimes the
compliment of their
one (for gainfull or timor-
generally dispaling vnto
once the most turbulent
might rebel, now power
more noble argument: w-
whole remainder of their
the most mightie. So they
from all trouble, vntill
thereby innocents; yet be-
Roman victories, and Par-
become. As for those o-
since diligence shoue to pro-
meale: they were to be de-
the *Aischinians*, as the mo-
house affiance, was necessa-
brought to bow than to bre-

dinarie fauour at *Rome* caused them the more willingly to referre their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to haue chastised the *Messenians* by warre; *T. Quintus* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking such a worke in hand, without his authoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, even with Lordly threats; when they tooke vpon them to carrie any businesse of importance, by their owne power, without standing vnto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who neuertheless, vpon submision, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute libertie, as by which they were not like to thrives especially in vrsurping the praefise of armes, which belonged only to the Imperiall Citie. In learning this hard lesſon, they were such vntoward schollars, that they needed, and not long after felt, verie sharp correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed vnto their Masters. For the *Roman* Senate, being delirous to humble the *Achaens*; refused not only to giue them such aide as they requested; and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a carelesse insolencie, reiected this honest and reasonable petition, That the Enemie might not be supplied from *Italie*, with victuals or armes. Here with not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argines*, *Lacedaemonians* or *Cornithians*, would reuolt from the *Achaens*; they themselves would thinke it a businesse no way concerning them. This was presently after the death of *Philopomen*: at what time it was beleueed, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall in to much distresse; were it not vpheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycurtus* Praetor of the *Achaens* had vtterly subdued the *Messenians*; farre sooner than was expected; and when as not only no Towne rebelled from the *Achaens*, but manie entred into their corporation: then did the *Romans*, with an ill fauoured grace, tell the same Embassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answere (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie) That they had streightly forbidden all manner of succour to bee carried to *Messene*. Thus thinking, by a fained grauitie, to haue serued their owne turnes; they manifested their conditions: both to set on the weaker, against the stronger and more suspected; and also to assume vnto themselves a Soueraigne power, in directing all matters of warre, which dissemblingly they would haue seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting anie of them to make warre, whether offensive or defensive; though it were against meere strangers; without interpoling the authoritie of the Senate and People of *Rome*: vnlesse peradventure sometimes they winked at such violence, as did helpe towards the accomplishment of their owne secret malice. Now these *Roman* arts howsoever manie (for gainfull or timerous respects) would seeme to vnderstand them; yet were generally displeasing vnto all men endued with free spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent Citie in *Greece*, hauing neyther subiects of their owne that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring anie into subiection; for want of more noble argument wherein to praefise their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mightie. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romans*, remained free from all trouble, vntill the warre of *Mithridates*: being men vnfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratuators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-crauers for the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other Common-wealths and Kingdomes, that with ouer nice diligence strove to preserve their liberties and lands, from consuming by piece-meale: they were to be deuoured whole, and swallowed vp at once. Especially the *Macedonian*, as the most vnpliant, and wherein manie of the *Greekes* beganne to haue affiance, was necessarily to bee made an example, how much better it were better to bow than to break.

Polyb. l. 2. §. 1.
ibid. §. 13.

Neyther

Neyther *Perseus*, nor the *Romans* were ignorant, how the *Greekes* at this time stood affected. *Perseus* by reason of his neare neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subiects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopemen* had long since foretold, of the miserable subiection, Whereinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger: but as being tenderly sensible of their libertie, felt themselves grieved with the present subiection, whetto already they were become obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the *Romans*: yet all of them had the care, to chooe among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Countreie, and would for no ambition, or other seivile respect, bee flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare. Thus it seemed likely, that all domestickall conspiracies would soone bee at an end; when honest and loue of the Commonweale, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safetie of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not thoroughly aduertised: eyther because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadours, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies, or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traytors (of whom euerie Citie in *Greece*) had to manie) as were men vntergarded among their owne people, and therefore more like to speake maliciously than truly; or perhaps because the Embassadours themselves, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne desires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which manie know, from those that are feared or flattered by manie. The *Achaens* being to send Embassadours to *Rome*, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesse, chose one *Callierates*, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choise of such a man; one may perceiue the aduantage, which malicious wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their wil desires, haue against the plaine sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome businesse of the weak publike. The *Callierates* was in such wise transported with ambition; that hee chose much rather to betray his Countreie, than to let any other bee of more authoritie than himselfe therein. Wherefore instead of well discharging his credence, and allcading what was meetest in iustification of his people: hee vttered a quite contrarie tale; and strongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppress both the *Achaens*, and all the rest of *Greece*, with a fatte more heauie hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the settling of their authoritie, among his froward Countreimen; if they ment not wholly to foregoe it. For now there was taken vp a custome, to stand vpon points of confederacie, and lawes: as if these were principally to bee had in regard; any inuention from *Rome* notwithstanding. Hence grew it that the *Achaens* both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the *Romans* with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if He, and some other of his opinion, might haue their wils: who ceased not to affirme, That no Columes or Monuments erected, nor no solemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obseruance of Confederacie or statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrarie. But it was euen the fault of the *Romans* themselves, That the multitude refused to giue eare, vnto such perswasions. For howsoeuer in popular Estates, the sound of libertie vsed to bee more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which vnderooke the maintenance of an argument, seeming neuer to bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increase

increase apace, and they became the prevalent faction. It was therefore strange, how the *Fathers* could so neglect the aduancement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* maiety. More wisely, though with seditious & rebellious purpose, did the *Greeks*: who many times, yea & ordinarily, conferred great honors, vpon men otherwise of little account or desert; only for hauing vttered some braue words against the *Romans*. The *Fathers*, hearing these & the like reasones, wherewith he exhorted the to handle roughly those that were oblitinate, & by cherishing their friends, to make their partie strong; resolved to follow this good counsaile, in euery point; yea to depreesse al those that held with the right, & to set vp their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt the death forth more peremptorily with the *Acheans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrot at the present vnto al cities of *Greece*, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of *Lacedaemon*) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of *Callistates*; they aduised all men, to be such, and so affected, as he was, in their seuerall common-weales. With this dispatch, *Callistates* returned home a ioyfull man: hauing brought his Countrie into the way of ruine, but himselfe into the way of preferment. Neuertheless hee forbore to vant himselfe, of his eloquence vsed in the Senate. Only he reported his Embassage, that all men became fearefull of the danger, wherewith he threatened those that should presume to oppose the *Romans*. By such arts hee obtained to be made Pretor of the *Acheans*: in which Magistracy, as in al his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serue to manifest his readie obsequiounes vnto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Polyb. L. 2. c. 58.

Now as the *Romans*; by threatening termes was manie flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopefull promises, to assure vnto himselfe those that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honeste than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* distracted with factions: some holding with the *Romans*; some with the *Macedonians*; and some few, respecting only the good of the Estates wher-
 30 in they liued. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not sufferable, that a King, no better than their vassall, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: wherof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shal afford them iust occasion to make war vpon him. *Perseus* hauing finished his businesse among the *Dolopians*, made a iournie to *Apollonia* his temple at *Delphi*. He tooke his armie along with him; yet went, and returned, in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his iournie, but the good affectio towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, hee dealt himselfe, to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or letters: praying them, That the
 40 memorie of all wrongs whatlocuer, done by his father, might bee buried with his father; since his own mening was to hold friendship sincerely with al his neighbors. The *Romans* perhaps could haue beene pleased better, if he had behaued himselfe after a contrarie fashion, and done some acts of hostilitie in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to haue taken such a iournie, without their licence, this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recouer the loue of the *Acheans*: which his father had so lost, that by a solemne decree, they forbade any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. It was jealousy perhaps, no lesse than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoeuer *Philip* had by manie vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arats*, giuen them
 50 cause to abhor him: yet in the publicke administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, bin to them so beneficiall, that not without much adoe and at length, without any general consent, they resolved to forsake him. Wherefore it was needful, euen for preseruacion of concord among them, to vse all circumspection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a Countrie to-
 wards

wards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of war, and when all danger of innovation was past; was vniuall, if not inhumane, as nourishing deadly hatred, without leauing meanes of reconciliation. And hereof the *Achaens* escaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the Kingdome of *Macedon*; yet vnderstanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to passe, that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their masters could not fetch them, ranne daily away, in great numbers: exceedingly to the losse of such, as made of their slaues very profitable vfe. But *Perseus* tooke hold vpon this occasion: as fitly seruing to pacifie those, whose enmitie saigne he would haue changed into loue. He therfore apprehended all these fugitiues, to send them home againe: and wrote vnto the *Achaens*, that as for good will vnto them, he had taken paines to restore back their seruants; so should they do very wd to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not runne away againe. His meaning was readily vnderstood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearsed by the Pretor, before the Councell. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angrily; and bad them be aduised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine device, to make them depart from the friendship of the *Romans*. Herewithall he tooke vpon him, somewhat liberally, to make the *Achaens* before hand acquainted with the war, that was comming vpon *Perseus*, from *Rome*. He told them, how *Philip* had made preparations for the same war; how *Demetrius* had bin made away, because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done manie things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly Hereheard all those matters, which were afterwards allenged by the *Romans*; the inuasion of the *Bastarnes*, vpon the *Dardaniens*; the Kings iourne against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally his peaceable behaviour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his partie. Wherefore he aduised them, to expect the event of things, and not over-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good answere was made by the Pretors brother: That *Callicrates* was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neyther one of the Kings cabbiner, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himselfe too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that *Perseus* had renewed his league with the *Romans*; that hee was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that He had louingly entertained their Embassadors. This being so: why might not the *Achaens*, as well as the *Etolians*, *Thessalians*, *Epilots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him such correspondence, as common humaneitie required? Neuertheless *Callicrates* was growne a man so terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durst not ouer-hustly gain say him. Therefore the matter was referred vnto further deliberation: and answere made the while, that since the King had only sent a letter without any Embasadour; they knew not how to resolue. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought most reasonable and conuenient. But when *Perseus*, here with not contented, would needs vrge them further, and send Embassadors: then were they fittely without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and denie to give audience; which was prooue sufficient (to one that could vnderstand) of the condition wherein they liued. For hearkning to this aduice of *Callicrates*; they were soone after highly commended by a *Roman* Embassador: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended warre vpon the *Macedonians*; though hitherto no cause of warre was giuen.

Linie lib. 4.

CHAP. 6. §. 5.

180p EYMERIS King
of Aragon and others. In
Senate. The Senate be-
with the capitulary
PRESBYTERUS
1815 and ATTALYS
10 more whereupon they des-
concerning the capture of

THANES
times, by
had taken
man: by w
That they

Bar in conclusion, by the
warre himselfe; and broo
10 tions as pleased him to cog
to consider, how the str
few was verie great: and
the *Romans*, to the same b
besides his ancient and ha
ceedingly, that his owne
heaped in moderate store
whilst *Perseus*, either by
had gotten their bell lik
red up the *Lycians* again
30 was so violent, that he pr
found hee, in their poore
bee saued by his paragon
the *Rhodesians*. This rend
like different from robbe
As for his honours in the
neglect; but were arrogat
bestowing them to giue, a
ings. All this (which be
vainly ambitious) be tell h
40 man; and for his malice to
Greece was not like to flatter
strine any longer with bo
alone, without any great
And therefore hee resolute
by inducing the *Romans*
The *Macedonian* Kingdome
prooue a difficult matter, T
was like to bee highly th
be recompensed with som
like service, when *Antiochus*
To this end, He made a
say which they knew not b
they had contained some
the weight of them were to

2. V.

§. V.

How EVMENES King of Pergamus was busied, with PHARNACES, the Rhodians and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom hee accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemnes his enemies the Rhodians; with the causes thereof. The vnuual stoutness of the Macedonian Embassadors. PERSEVS his attempt vpon EVMENES. The brotherly loue betwix EVMENES and ATTALVS. PERSEVS his deuice to payson some of the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree warre against him, and send him defiance. Other things, concerning the iustice of this warre.

EV MENES King of Pergamus had beene troubled, about these times, by the Kings Pharnaces and Antiochides his neighbours. Hee had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the Romans: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, & promise, That they, by their authoritie, would end the builnes, to his content. But in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings Prusias and Antiochides, hee ended the warre himselfe; and brought his Enemies to seeke and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to giue them. After this being at good leisure; hee beganne to consider, how the affaires of Macedon stood vnder Perseus. His hatred to Perseus was verie great: and therefore hee was glad to vnderstand, that the hatred of the Romans, to the same his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now besides his ancient and hereditarie quarrell with the Macedonian; it vexed him exceedingly, That his owne honours (whereof the Greekes, prodigall in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to wax euerie where stale: whilest Perseus, either by his currying fauour, or by the enuie borne to the Romans, had gotten their best liking and wilhes. For despight of this indignitie, Hee stirred vp the Lycians against the Rhodians his old friends: and in helping these rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But small pleasure found hee, in these poore and indirect courses of reuenge. The Lycians could not be saved by his patronage, from seuerer and cruell chastisement, giuen to them by the Rhodians. This rendred him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of hostilitie, little different from robberies, made him hatefull to those which loued him before. As for his honours in the Cities of Greece; they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the Achaens, as too vnmeasured, misbecoming them to giue, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his desertings. All this (which hee needed not to haue regarded, had hee not beene too vainly ambitious) befell him, especially for his being ouer-fermeable to the Romans, and for his malice to that noble Kingdome, which if it fell the libertie of Greece was not like to stand. Now for the redresse hereof; hee thought it vaine to strue any longer with bountie, against such an aduersarie, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the general fauour. And therefore hee resolu'd euen to ouerturne the foundations of this Popularitie, by inducing the Romans vtterly to take away from the eyes of men, this Idoll, The Macedonian Kingdome, which all so vainly worshipped. Neyther would it proue a difficult matter, To perswade those that were already desirous: rather hee was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wilhes; and perhaps to be recompensed with some peece of the Kingdome, as he had bin rewarded, for the like seruice, when Antiochus was vanquished.

To this end, He made a second voyage to Rome: where though hee had little to say which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange noueltie, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death

Poly. Legat. 8. c. 59.

Poly. Legat. 74.

Linte lib. 421.

cepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were selling themselves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*: Embassadors came from *Rome* with strange news which gave new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alienate quite from their owne protection anie people or Nation by them vanquished; and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned vnto those of *Rhodes*, not as mere vassals, but as dependants and associates. For proofe hereof, they referred themselves vnto the commentaries of the ten Embassadors, whom they had sent to dispose of rhings in *Asia*, after the victorie against King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Antiochus*, The *Ætolians*,
 10 and all other Kings or Estates, that were beholding to *Rome* for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to find themselves agreed if they w^d considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their subjects might easily bee made their fellowes, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the *Rhodesians*, for their good will to *Perseus*, by setting them and the *Lycians* together by the eares. The *Fathers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, vpon this complaint made by the *Rhodesian* Embassadors; which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his loue to

Polib. Legat.
60. & 61.

Lind. ad. 1.

20 *Rome*.

But the *Macedonian* Embassage they heard not so carelessly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to find cause of anger. For whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to give them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might sauer of hostility; but that, if this trauaile in this kind proved vaine, then would he be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These big words may seeme to haue proceeded from the vehemencie of *Scipilius*, that was chiefe of the Embassadors; rather than from
 30 instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himselfe might, at this time, thinke to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to doe by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast vpon him, as on the greatest hope of deliuerance from the *Roman* seruitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps vtterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discouering his too much weaknesse of spirit, vnanwerable to a worke of such importance. Wherefore He, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not verie bad, but subiect (in appearance) to Fortune, which might haue bene his, had he knowne how to vse it.

40 Now that this brauerie (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings owne heat; it appears by his daring to aduenture soone after, on a practise that more iustly might anger the *Romans*, and giue them fairer shew of reason to make war vpon him. It was knowne that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there doe sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischievous enemy. So there were appointed three or foure stout ruffians to do the murder: who placing themselves behind a broken mud wall on the side of a verie narrow path leading vp from the Sea to the Temple; did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised
 50 with great stones, and left for dead. They might haue finished their worke; such was the opportunitie of the place which they had chosen; but feare of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such hast, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discouer them. *Eumenes* was conuighed away to the little Isle of *Ægina*,

gina, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* tooke vpon him as king, and either took or would haue taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of state) *Stratonica* the daughter of King *Antiochus*, whom hee then thought the widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly loue, That when the King returned aloue home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, receiued none other checke, than that He should forbear to marrie with the *Queene*, until she were well assured of the Kings death. More than this, *Eumenes* neuer spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, vnto the same brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in especiall fauour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readinesse, to haue transferred the Kingdome from his brother to Him. By such concord of brethren was the Kingdome of *Perge* rayled and vpheld: as might also that of *Macedon* haue bene, if *Demetrius* had liued and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was verie glad when he vnderstood, that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had faued all from discouerie. But as hee was deceived in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* liued: so was hee beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which hee vainly esteemed the lesse materiall. For He had written to one *Praxo* a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertaine the men whom he sent about this busines: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius* a Roman Embassador then attending vpon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thence all came to light, *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius* a Citizen of *Brundisium*: who coming newly from the court of *Macedon*, laden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himselfe. *Brundisium* was the ordinarie port, for ships passing betwene *Italie* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a faire house; wherein hee gaue entertainment, being a wealthie man; to Embassadours, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, iourning to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitalitie, he was commended to *Perseus*, and inuited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose manie courtesies to his Embassadours, the King was studious to requite. At his coming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings secrets. The summe of all was, That hee must needs doe a turne, in giuing to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare qualitie, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this employment: for feare least the vertue of this medicine should bee tryed vpon himselfe. But being once at libertie; he discouered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had neuer seene before, nor was like to see againe: and therefore, besides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as such a fellowes affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe; and in like sort concerning the attempt vpon *Eumenes*: denying to haue had any hand, cyther in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such obiections were not to be made vnto a King, to proue the rightfulness of making war vpon him; but rather vnto a subject pleading for his life in judgment. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger proofe (which might haue bin casie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suteable to these practices. Neyther did the Senate greatly flatter to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royall Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private offences, it gaue him no priuiledge; they judging him to haue offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if hee might

might not so fully make use of his might as hee did, to the end that he might the less be troubled with the consideration of the Seasones of the year, and the health of his subjects, doe it with him; and for some other reason, hee might be induced to make such a move, as hee should be loath to make, in the presence of that hee detested none of those of courage, to make them to dance attendance, and to follow him back; and but for the sake of all matters, which hee by the way of *Eumenes* had charged him with, in conference in the place of *Stratonica*, about some purpose. In this manner, as was their manner, hee had vpon the evidence of those accusations could be builded of which otherwise it was well known, and well known to the *Romans*, Grecians, Proconsuls, and Embassadors, that were not bound in writing their full answers to the King, made to be understood only for feare, but wherein part, for his part, In the forme of the league by *Polybius*, we finde no more in the future, excepting that a clause, whereby he was excluded in the *Romans*, was included in this peace: where cutting shortly into league no more make warre abroad. And thus might that seeme to be on, but only was inserted at that point further, and by that their permission to other than those that hee allowed to be (which they themselves were broad, though hee asked none to gaine after another fashion) some Rebels, or to repay the same, by disclaiming the same; therefore, to giue him do commanded them to be giue should haue bene, if hee had heart could see him to be tagged it, and haue fallen to bed; not haue lost opportunity peace than the former.

might not lawfully make warre vpon *Eumenes* their confederate; that is, if *Hee* might not send men, to wast the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the townes: might he send *Ruffians* to murder the King? If it were no lesse breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword: was it lawfull for him to doe it by Poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed warre against him; and sent Limbassadors to denounce it vnto him, vnlesse hee would yeeld to make such amends as they should require. He seemes, at this time, to haue bene so confident; in the generall fauour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances; that if he desired not warre, yet he did not feare it: or at least he thought by shew of courage, to make his enemies the more calme. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being wearie they departed with our audience. Then called he them back; and bad them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long bene collecting against him, and where with *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that He had entertained long and secret conference in the Ile of *Smothrace*, with Embassadors sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to giue defiance. Better they might haue stood vpon the euidence, brought against him by *Ruminius* and *Praxo*. For if these accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground wheron to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, welbeloued, and well friended. *Persus* answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the *Romans*, Greedie, Proud, Insolent, and vnderminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better then mere spies. Finally, he promised to giue them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the league, made betwene them and his father, and renewed by himselfe indeed onely for feare: but wished them to defend to more equall conditions; whereupon he, for his part, would aduise, as they might also doe for theirs.

In the forme of the league betwene *Philip* and the *Romans*, as it is set downe by *Polybius*, we finde no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconuenience in the future; excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Liuie* inserts a clause, whereby he was expressely forbidden, to make any warre abroad, without leaue of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* confederats were included in this peace: whereby every one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entering shortly into league with *Rome*, did so binde the Kings hands, that he could no more make warre abroad, than if he had bene restrained by plaine covenant. And thus might that seeme an Article of the peace, which neuer was agreed vpon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would vrge this point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not beare defensive armes, without their permission: then had *Persus* very ill reason to find himselfe aggriued. For since they had allowed his father, without controule, to make warre in *Thrace*, (whilst they themselves were vnacquainted with the *Thracians*;) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become vnlawfull for him to chastise his owne Rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such allegations he maintained the right of his cause, in very milde sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league, as vnjust; hee mistruied occasion vnto the Embassadors, to giue him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message; he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdom in three dayes. But either hee should haue bene lesse vehement; or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serue him to vndertake the warre; hee should courageously haue managed it, and haue fallen to worke immediately, whilst the Enemy was vnprepared; not haue lost opportunitie, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

b. VI.

The Romans solicit the Greekes, to ioyne with them in the warre against PERSEVS. How the Greekes stood affected in that warre. The timorousnesse of PERSEVS. MARTIVS a Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and winnes part of Thessalie. The forces of LICINIVS the Roman Consul: and what assistants the Romans had in this warre. Of Tempe in Thessalie; and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might haue had; but lost by his feare. PERSEVS braues the Romans; fights with them; knowes not how to vse his victorie; fues for peace; and is demed it by the vanquished. PERSEVS hauing the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the countrey lying without Tempe. The Boetians rebell against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders vnfortunate in the warre against PERSEVS. They vex the Greekes their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes prouision; hauing heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

SO long had the Romans beene seeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian warre, that well they might haue bin readie for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in prouisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre; whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together, seemed more than sufficient. This opportunitie of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were vnprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or hauing reason to beleue, that their owne strength was such as would preuaile in the end; they hastily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their vnreadinesse a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the Greekes, and others; who mult afterwards dearly pay for any backwardnesse found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to feare, that all of the Greekes or other Easterne people should conspire together, and take part with the Macedonian: such was the dissension betwene their seuerall estates; how fouler the generalitie of them were inclined the same way. Neuertheless Embassadors were sent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no lesse ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in watres pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embassadors vsed as gentle words, for fashions sake; as if they had stood in doubt, that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greekes were now growne well acquainted with such Roman courtisie: and vnderstood, that not only such as made refusal, but euen they who might seeme to haue granted halfe vnwillingly; were like to heare other manner of words, when once this businesse was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their helpe to the Romans; * the *Acheans* and *Rhodians*, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtfull, euen when they had done their best, lest it should bee ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their dutie. It is strange that men could bee so earnest to set vp the side, whereof they gladly would haue scene the ruine. The vulgar sort was euer where addicted to *Perseus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea the wisest and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their Countrey, wished better to *Perseus* than to the Romans. And of this number, *Polibius* the chiefe of Historians was one: who though hee * Iudged the victorie of *Perseus*, like to proue hurtfull vnto Greece; yet wished hee the Romans ill to thriue, that so the Greekes might recover perfect libertie: for his endeuours in which course, hee was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears, that

* Polyb. Legat.
73. 78. & 80.

* Polyb. Legat.
77.

that an extraordinary feare
the *Acheans*, and other
of this their feare,
Perseus himselfe. He had
not only to his owne kin-
no foener were some
meaning some watres gain-
for peace at Rome. Since
sense to terrifie him; and
to power, by giuing him an
upon those which had al-
ture to partake with him
taking by force or compo-
him. But wise men could
means of participation:
factors. Q. *Martius*, the
cunning then was vnto
desire and gave out such
a meeting at the Ruer: *P*
to and charge him with tho-
few made none other an-
yet the Embassadors, an-
tiated; and aduised him
conueniently bee done;
which was to make the K-
and might haue done mu-
the interposition of this
vnwarranted lesion, of win-
peace nothing else, than
32 had bin with some v-
the Romans, whereby he
what great hope there was
whose good will to him
much he was superiour in
them, as moderators, co-
it perhaps, notwithstanding
I beleue were poore helpe.
of Honor, was no better
ambition. This his feare
40 peraine vnto the Greekes
in time of a necessitie, as
vpon him as their Champ-
incourage al others to fol-
daily more and more a-
to a falling wall. The *Rho-*
him not to craue any thing
the good liking of the Ro-
Arist society with the Ro-
Romans: to whom further
13 *Martius* contented to acce-
their feareful: to wnto mak-
thus distressed into many
so delirious to rebell; haue
cooperated in one, vnder the

that an extraordinary feare, and not onely reuerence of the Imperiall Citie, made the *Achaens*, and other Estates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occasion of this their feare, may be iustly imputed vnto the timorous demeanour of *Perseus* himselfe. He had vnderaken a war, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own kingdom, but vnto all that were oppressed by the *Romans*. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought ouer sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him; than he began to speake the enemie faire, and sue for peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was knowne, that every small thing would serue to terrifie him; and consequently, that it should at all times be in the *Romans*

10 power, by giuing him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take reuenge at leisure vpon those which had assailed him: little cause was there, why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition, some few townes; and soliciting all to ioyne with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he sought all meanes of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit vnto the *Roman* Embassadors. *Q. Martius*, the chiefe of those Embassadors, and a man of more firenes in cunning then was vsuall among the *Romans*, made shew of inclination to the Kings desire: and gaue out such comfortable words, that the King intreated, and obtained a meeting at the Riuer *Pencus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Wherto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which they could haue made for him; yet the Embassadors, and especially *Martius*, tooke it in good part, as therewith satisfied; and aduised him to giue the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conueniently bee done; a truce was agreed vpon. Thus had *Martius* his desire; which was to make the King lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in readines, and might haue done much, ere the *Roman* armie could haue bin in *Greece*. But by the interposition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; he suffred a most conuenient season, of winning vpon the enemie, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it

30 had bin with some victory: publishing a copie of the disputation betwene him and the *Romans*, whereby he gaue men to vnderstand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. Hee sent Embassadors also to the *Rhodiens*, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was superiour in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators, to compound the differences betwene him and the *Romans*, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodnes of his cause, hee should be denied peace. These were poore helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing vpon point of Honor, was no better than mere vanity: his owne safety being the vtmost of his ambition. This his fearefulness might seeme excusable, and the blame thereof to appertaine vnto the *Greekes*; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessitie, that was partly their own: had it not bin his office, who took vpon him as their Champion, to giue such a manly beginning to the warre, as might incourage al others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more auerfe from him, and were carefull, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodiens*, among whom he had many stout partizans, desired him not to craue any thing at their hands, in which they might seeme to do against the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Boeotians* also, who had entred of late into a strict society with the *Macedonians*, renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a sort, they yielded themselves as vassals. Neither was

50 *Martius* contented to accept their submission vnder a general forme; but caused their severall townes to make couenant apart, each for it selfe; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little common-weales, they might not (were they neuer so desirous to rebell) haue such force to doe hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, vnder the Citie of *Thebes*. This work, of separating the *Boeotians* from

from *Thebes* their their head; was more than *Agesslaus* could effect, or *Epaninondas* would suffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedemonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being destitute of helpe from abroad, was the vertue of *Epaninondas* and a few brave Citizens; than was the Societie with King *Perseus*, against a number not so great as followed the *Lacedemonians*.

Marius brought this to effect, whilst the King sat still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the Citie; where vaunting what hee had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reprobued it as dishonest) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as he should thinke expedient. Touching the Embassadors which *Perseus* had sent; audience was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded: but neither excuse, nor intreatie, would serue their turne; the Senate being resolved before hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citie, and had thirtie daies respite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: where as they who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walles, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the vsual place of giuing audience to open Enemies, or to such Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie) and had only the short warning of eleven dayes, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poore courtier serue alone to hide the craft of *Marius*, as if hee had meant none other than good earnest: but it was a likely mean, both to keep a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his businesse, and to stagger his resolution, when he should need it most firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius*, the Roman Consul, was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as loone, as the *Macedonian* Embassadors were with their king at *Pella*. Which though it were enough to haue roused *Perseus*, and haue made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was hee content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himselfe tributary to the Romans; and to redeeme their good will with some part of his kingdome, that so he might enjoy the rest, than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsaile prevailed: which also was the wisest; and so would haue proued, had it bene stoutly and wisely followed. He now began, as if the warre had not begunne vntill now, to doe what should haue bin done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Rendezous at *Citium*, a towne in *Macedon*. All being in readines, he did royall sacrifice, with an hundred beasts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honored in his Country: and then, with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to *Citium*. His armie he found consisting of nine and thirtie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse: whereof about twelue thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were strangers, of sundry Nations, most part *Thracians*; therest his owne *Macedonians*. These hee animated with liuely speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancellors, the insolencie of the Romans, the goodness of his cause, the greatnesse of his prouisions, and the many aduantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewise messengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their seuerall abilities. He gaue them thanks: but answered, That his owne prouisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdome he issued forth into *Theffalie*: knowing that the Romans were to passe through that countrie, in their iourney towards him. Some townes of *Theffalie* opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend themselves; some he bated, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wanne by force. Of these last was *Alyra*; a towne thought impregnable, and therefore, not more stoutly then proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gaue conumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a fault; which

the Townesmen rather than entred pell mell thereto: to the greater importance, especially *Trope*; yeelded at last onwards to *Spina* white, expecting new

Licinius the Consul led oute strength of horse. Thither also states could afford, of very little. Of the with a thousand foot, the *Cappadocians*, by reason and had sent to Rome nothing in this warre but when it was too late. *Perseus* was coming. Under Taurus had by *gyptian*: yet each of them performed. *Gentius* the countenance to the Romans, the Roman Admirall. This king had foure eazine to what purpose king shew to beleue, good friend *Gentius* had the beginning; he lost this war; by offering.

With none other into *Theffalie*: so tyred of *Athamania*, which attending his descent in peritrow. He refused to be encamped, attending not any slender helpe, resolved, to abide who were sufficiently increased quiet entrance into mislay, was better all being leered by the an, when there was little rich, fruitfull, and about some what more to by fall of all delights, the fant and goodly places, huge mountains, off-and-ches, by which it was on And this way were the hangrie iourney, thoro with *Philis*, they had small aduantage; by bein

the Townsmen rashly made, and being driven backe, received the *Macedonians*, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All crueltie of warre was practised heere: to the greater terror of the oblitinate. So *Velatiae* and *Connus* (towns of much importance, especially *Connus*, which stood in the streights of *Ofsa*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the king marched on wards to *Syeurium*, a towne seated on the foot of mount *Ofsa*; where he rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemy.

Licinius the Consul brought with him only two *Roman* Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother, came to him in *Thessalie*, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from euery part of *Greece*, such aide as the severall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send; which from the most of them was very little. Of the kings abroad; *Antanissa* sent thither his sonne *Misagenes*, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twentie Elephants. *Adriates* the *Cappadotian*, by reason of his affinitie with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had sent to *Rome* his yong sonne, there to be brought vp: yet hee did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because *Eumenes* himselfe began within a while, but when it was too late, to be other wise aduised than he had bene in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the *Romans*. *Antiochus*, and *Ptoleme* (though *Ptoleme* was then yong, and vnder Tutors) had busines of their owne; the *Syrian* meaning to invade the *Aegyptian*: yet each of them promised helpe to the *Romans*, which they cared not to performe. *Gentius* the *Illyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*: yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for feare. It was a prettie trick, where with *M. Lucretius*, the *Roman* Admirals brother, serued him, for this his counterfeite good will. This king had foure and fiftie shippes, riding in the haue of *Dyrrachium*, vncertaine to what purpose: all which *Lucretius* tooke away, after a very kind sort; making shew to beleue, That for none other end than to serue the *Romans*, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this fleet. But whatsoever *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his kingdome and himselfe, in the end of this war; by offering, rather then giuing, his helpe to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the sea, *Licinius* came into *Thessalie*: so tyred with a painfull iourney, through the mountainous country of *Athamania*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had been ready, attending his descent into the Plaines, the *Romans* must needs haue taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himselfe and his wearied armie, by the riuer *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender helpe, that could enable him to deale with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolved, to abide where he then was, and keepe his trenches, vntill his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himselfe in the meane while, to haue gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The land of *Thessalie*, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* besides: as having bene freed by them from a more heauie yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope or expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often vsed at large, to signifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was not great: but adding to it those huge mountaines, *Ofsa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poesie) with their Spures or branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Thessalie*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; vnlesse they would make an hungrie iourney, thorow the country of the *Dassaretians*, as in the former warre with *Philip*, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. *Perseus* therefore had no small aduantage, by being master of the streights leading into *Tempe*: though far greater

greater he might haue had, if by mispending of time he had not lost it. For in
 defending the ragged pailages of these mountaines, he were able to put the *Romans*
 often to the worke; yea to winne vpon them (for a while) every yeare more than
 other, both in strength and reputation: questionlesse he might haue done far greater
 things, had he seized vpon the freights of *Sous*, which his father once kept,
 and defended all the cuntry behinde the Mountaines of *Pindus*. Surely not with-
 out extreame difficultie, must the *Romans* haue either travelled by land, with all
 their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to bee
 found; or else haue committed their armies, and all things thereto needfull, vnto
 the mercie of seas that were very dangerous; if they would haue sought other way
 into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: vpon neither of which courses
 they once deuised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present
 warre. It may perhaps be said, that the *Greekes*, and others, whom the King must
 haue left on his backe, would haue made him vnable to defend any places too farre
 from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the *Thessalians*, better affected
 now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The *Ælians*,
 vpon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into suspicion with the *Romans* (as we
 shall finde anon) euen as soone as they met with *Perseus*. The *Boeotians*, how poli-
 tickely fouer *Martius* had wrought with them, aduentured themselves desperately
 in the *Macedonians* quarrell: what would they haue done, if he at first had done
 his best? The *Rhodiens*, *Ilyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himselfe, after a while began to
 wauer, when they saw things goe better with *Perseus*, then they had expected. So
 that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peaces he had raised
 their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginning; and encreased the num-
 ber of his well-willers, yea and bought downe with money (as hee might haue
 done) some of his enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recom-
 pence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps haue bin com-
 pelled to forsake their imperious patronage ouer *Greece*; and to render the libertie, by
 them giuen, entire; which otherwile was but imaginarie. Such benefit of this
 warre, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason haue beene ex-
 pected at first, from greater aduantages. But as a fearefull companie running from
 their enemies, till some river stay their flight; are there compelled by meere de-
 speration to doe such actes, as done, while the battell lasted, would haue wonne
 the victorie: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to auoid the danger of that war,
 whereof he should haue sought the honor; hee left his friends that would haue
 stood by him, and gaue them cause to prouide for their owne safetie: yet being
 ouertaken by necessitie, he chose rather to set his back to the mountaines of *Tempe*,
 and defend himselfe with his proper forces; than to be driuen into such miserie,
 as was inuincible, if he gaue a little further ground. What was performed by him
 or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Thessalie*, it is hard to shew
 particularly; for that the historie of those things is much perished. Wherefore
 we must be contented with the summe.

The Consul hauing no desire to fight, vntill such time as all his forces were ar-
 rived; kept within his trenches, and lay still encamped by the Riuer of *Peneus*, a-
 bout three miles from *Larissa*. That which perswaded the Consul to protraie the
 time, did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter vnto a hasty triall. Where-
 fore he invited the *Romans* into the field; by wailling the land of the *Pharians* their
 confederates. Finding them patient of this indignitie; he grew bold to aduenture
 euen vnto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his aduan-
 tage in horse would make the victorie his owne. At this comming they were trou-
 bled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to bee
 safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horse, and with them some
 light armed foot, to entertaine skirmish. The Capitaine, and some other of these
 were slaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*,

neuer, found it reason-
 able, *Perseus* continued
 nee much increased, yea
 being so farre come to
 them by their ender, in
 then lay, was twice
 warning in that long
 but he was faine to bring
 both wearie and thir-
 10 mence, he found out at
 the next day by the sum-
 the Campe with rum-
 horse and light arma-
 thought it necessary, a-
 forth his brother. C. A.
 with all his power of
 their fortune: he him-
 The honor of this mo-
 rie in a manner en-
 10 of his owne. But he
 commonly doe, to co-
Romans were in great
 vpon the first newes of
 times, though violence
 was timorous and bafe
 meant it was false, I ha-
 uis many companions
 would exalt the hope
 hee wonne the *Roman* C.
 30 der. But our great w-
 men when he had the v-
 become his partakers,
 yeelding to the *Roman*;
 time the joy of his vic-
 slaine of the *Roman* hor-
 ber. Of their foot he ha-
 than twentie horse and
 otherwise and feare:
Eumenes gave comfite
 40 the *Riuer Peneus*. At
 feare he stood; yet th-
 ding on ground team-
 the *Riuer* in the dead o-
 side. The *Ælians* w-
 meaning, than any true
Greeks followed them.
 offered, to be the first
 them done, at a time of
 nered with reward: fo-
 that if they would thur-
 ure no lesse for their Li-
 libertie. Thus forced in
 to correct the former de-
 foud. The *Romans* we-

ment, found it reasonable to hazzard battaile. Thus day after day, a while together, *Perseus* continued offering battaile: which they still refused. Hereby his boldness much encreased; and much more, his reputation: to the griefe of those, who being so farre come to make a conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell vpon them by their enduring these brauadoes. The towne of *Syeurium*, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelue miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which vsed to take vp foure houres of the morning; but he was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both wearie and thirstie when they came to fight. For remedie of these inconueniences, he found out a lodging, seven miles ncerer to the Enemy: whom he visited the next day by the Sunne rising. His comming at such an vnusuall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in so much as though hee brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were vsnit to assaile the trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to giue checke to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave Captaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to trie their fortune: he him selfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readinesse. The honor of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the victorie in a manner entire, (though the *Thessalians* made a good retreat) with little losse of his owne. But he discovered his weaknesse ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counsaile giuen by one of his owne temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great feare lest he should assaile their Campe; and to that purpose, vpon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought vnto him by the Captaines, though vnset for: he neuer the lesse tooke it for found aduice, which indeed was timorous and base, To worke warily, and moderate his victories by which meanes it was said, That either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it bin greater; and had he wonne the *Roman* Campe, his friends would haue been the more, and the bolder. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in suing for it, euen when he had the victory, what else did he, than proclaim vnto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keepe him from yielding to the *Romans*, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the ioy of his victorie would admit none of these considerations. Hee had slaine of the *Roman* horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot he had slaine about two thousand: losing of his owne no more than twentie horse and fortie foot. The *Roman* Campe, after this disaster, was full of heauinesse and feare: it being much doubted that the enemy would set vpon it. *Eumenes* gaue counsaile to dislodge by night, and remoue to a surer place beyond the *Riuer Pentus*. The Consul, though alhamed to professe, by so doing, in what feare he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the losse past, than by standing on proud tearmes, to draw vpon him selfe a greater calamitie. So hee passed the *Riuer* in the dead of the night, and incamped more strongly on the further side. The *Atolians* were forely blamed for this losse: as if rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greekes* followed them. Five of them, that were men of especiall marke, had been obserued, to be the first which turned their backs: an obseruation likely to cost them deare, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thessalians*, their vertue was honored with reward: so as the *Greekes* might learne, by examples of either kinde, so that if they would shunne indignation, or incurre fauour, then must they adventure no lesse for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would doe for their own libertie. Thus fared it with the Consul and his armie. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former dayes error; which how great it was, hee not vntill then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safetie; whither they could neuer

haue attained, if the King had either pressed his victorie, or giuen better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to haue routed them, whilst they were conveying themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vaine to tell what might haue been done: since there was no remedie. The *Romans* were beaten, euen the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of *Rome*, out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Pretors, Consuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather vp the spoiles of them without resistance, as yeelding themselves ouercome. With such braue words did the King set out the glory of his action; diuiding the spoiles among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to haue made his honor sound. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Adopselus*, a place in the mid-way betwene *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to presse them somewhat harder. Neurthelesse hee was easily perswaded to vfe the occasion, which he seemed to haue, of obtaining peace. Therefore hee sent vnto the Consul, and offered to yeeld vnto the same conditions, wherein his father had bene bound to the *Romans*; if the war might so take end. It were needlesse, here againe to shew the folly of this his counse. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the Consul no greater power, than to grant a truce, whilst Embassadors might goe to *Rome*: it reiting in the Senate and People to approue the conditions, and ratifie the league. And of such a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no small discommodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of peace there was none; saue that *Perseus* would yeeld both his Kingdome and Person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to bee so resolute in aduertice. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in *Perseus*, that hauing receiued an answer so peremptorie, he still persilled, making vaine offers of greater tribute. Finding that the peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchafed with money, the king withdrew himselfe backe to *Seycurum*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemie did; whose forces were well repaired by the comming of *Misagenes* the sonne of *Masaniassa*, with the aid before mentioned. This distance betwene the King and them, caused the *Romans* to waxe the more bold in making their harvest: about which businesse they ranged ouer all the fields. Their carelesse demeanour gaue him hope to doe some notable exploit: which hee attempted, both vpon their Campe, and vpon those that were abroad. The Campe he thought to haue fired on the sudden: but the alarme being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers, he had a good hand vpon them, if he could haue withdrawn it, and giuen ouer in time. But whilst he stroue to force a garr, he was visited by the Consul; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is diuers) in a great battaile, he was ouercome. This misaduenture, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few dayes, to fall backe into *Macedon*; as being naturally giuen to feare danger, euen where none was: whereby what losse he felt will appeare hereafter. He left all behind him, saue only *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and consequently an easie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight vnto *Connus*; hoping to haue taken it, and so to haue gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned backe vpon the *Perrehabians* and others; from whom hee wanne some townes, and among the rest, *Larissa*. There were sundrie towne thereabout, bearing the same name of *Larissa*: so that this which the Consul tooke, may seeme, not to haue belonged vnto the *Thessalians*; vnlesse, perhaps, after his victorie, *Perseus* did greater actes than we finde recorded, and got some part of *Thessalie*.

Of matters happening in Greece at this time, it is hard to giue a precise account; for that the histories of them are greatly defectiue. One may thinke it strange, that the *Boeotians*, whom a *Roman* Embassador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his

owne

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use on their coasts. But
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After the same fallow
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vpon his kingdome, atte
mountaines, *Perseus* fee
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der towne of *Myria*, by
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Ap. Claudius was againe
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the *Crete*, by the *British*
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their townes. But neith
They of the *Roman* lack

owne will, should not be afraid of a *Roman* armie, then on foot in *Greece*, and a *Natie* on their coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the art of *Martius*; were more true to *Rome*, than other petty townes, which by that same distraction of the *Bacotians*, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had beene. The causes hereof were to have beene fought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were thoroughly punished by *Lucius* the *Roman* Admirall: who got so much by spoiling them, that hee would have brought others to rebell in like sort, if by extreame oppression hee could have driven them so farre. Neither was *Licinius* the Consul vndiligent in the same kinde. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is said in generall; That in the warre which he made, he * cruelly and couerously demeaned himselfe.

* *Lic. lib. 43.*

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the yeare following; *Hosilius* the Consul, and *Hortensius* the Admirall, or Pretor of the Fleet. *Hosilius* shewed more of his industrie, in picking quarrels with the confederats of *Rome*, than in prosecuting the warre against the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* war vpon his kingdom, after that the Consul had sought passage in vaine ouer certain mountains, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, * free from it. He was troubled indeed

* *Polyb. Legat. 70.*

on that side which looked towards *Ilyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consul sent thither with an armie of foure thousand, and who, by leaues made vpon the Confederates, doubled this his armie. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Ypsana*, a border towne of *Ilyria*, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of treason, with purpose onely to traine him into danger; salied forth vpon him, ouertogw him, and chased him so farre, that hardly hee escaped with a fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of *Ypsana* shortly after became *Roman*: which howsoeuer it happened, *Perseus* very soone recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys*, a *Thracian* king, securing him on the one side of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirotic*, revolted from the *Romans*, on

the other: *Perseus* likewise made a painfull journey into *Ætolia*: where hee was promised to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the *Roman* faction; yet in his returne home, hee tooke in *Aperantis*; and shortly heard good newes; That *Ap. Claudius* was againe thoroughly beaten by *Cleues*, one of his Lieutenantes. Such success had the *Macedonian* war vnder *Hosilius*. The same Consul offended much the *Greekes*; by the strict inquisition which his Embassadors made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For these Embassadors travelling thorow all the Cities of *Peponnesus*, gaue out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who sought not by might and maine to aduance their busines, than of those which

* *Polyb. Legat. 74.*

were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to haue accused by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopemen*; and together with him, his sonne *Polybius*, who shortly after was Generall of the *Achaean* horse, but more notable by that excellent historie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which hee well and honorably discharged. The summe of the accusation should haue beene; That these were not heartie friends vnto the *Romans*, but such as abstaied from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie, than for any loue to the common quiet. But since no colour of truth could be found, that might giue countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to leaue alone, and giue gentle words, as if all

were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: They demanded hostages; and found some in the Councell that approved the motion: as also among the *Acarnanians*, there were that entreated to haue *Roman* garrisons bestowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions tooke effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accused not onely such as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*,

b. VII.

Q MARTIVS the Roman Consul, with extreame difficultie and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of PERSEVS in abandoning Tempe. The towne of Dium quitted by MARTIVS; repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill success. Their affaires in hard estate. MARTIVS a cunning and a bad man. POLYBIVS sent Embassador to MARTIVS from the Achaeans; POLYBIVS his honest wisdom beneficiall to the Achaeans. King EUMENES grows awerie from the Romans. PERSEVS negotiates with ANTIOCHVS and EUMENES.

- 10 His false dealing with GENTIUS King of Illyria, whom hee draves into the Roman warre. He sends Embassadors to the Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators betwene him and the Romans. PERSEVS loseth a mightie succour of the Bactrians, by his wretched parsimonie.



- After two yeares of the Macedonian warre, things were further out of tune in Greece, than when the warre began; which had been thought likely to reforme all those Countries, and bring them to what passe the Romans desired; as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he liued in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* side; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly *Roman*, to suspect what the issue of the war might prove, and therupon to become wife for themselves. Contrariwise, *Licinius* and *Volitellus* the Consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vaine, seeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by many losses received. The *Roman* Admiralls had so demeaned themselves, that many towne, yea, of the best affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the *Roman* side; and the armie much lessened, not only by casualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himselfe (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licencing the souldiers to depart. *Quintus Martius* the new Consul, who succeeded vnto *Volitellus*, was to amend all this: which neuertheless was more than he knew how to doe; though he brought with him a strong supple of men. He began hotly to set the warre on foot, which a long time had slept. And he began the right way: not seeking to force the streights that were surely guarded, but taking paines to cline the mountaines, which were thought able to forbid all passage over them, without helpe or need of any custodie. The King heard of this approach; and being vncertaine what way he meant to take, distributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might giue entrance or permit ascent. But the Consul proceeded in his iourney: with hope, either not to bee discovered by
- 40 the Enemy, or to breake through all opposition, or at lastwise, to fight on as convenient ground, as they should haue that lay to stop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a safe retreat. He sent before him foure thousand of his most expedit foot, to discover the wayes. Two dayes was this company troubled, in ouercoming the difficultie of no more than fiftene miles: after which they had sight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe peece of ground; and sent backe word to the Consul, where they were; intreating him to hasten vnto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit dismayed at his arrival; but met him, and fought with him, two or three dayes together; each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little losse on either side. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue scarcely roome vnto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all therest were beholders. In this case it was impossible to get forwards: yet a shame to returne. Wherefore *Martius* tooke the only course remaining; and indeed the best. Part of his men he left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*: whilst hee,

R E T I R E

with

with the rest, fetcht a compasse about, and fought out wayes that neuer had bene troden. Herein he found extreame difficultie: which notwithstanding he overcame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such journeyes, through places vnfit for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea where Nature might seeme to haue intended, that none should be. So sterpe he found the descent of the mountaines, in this way which he took: that of seven miles, which they travelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themselves downe; as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with rocks, that stood one ouer another, so vpright, and cumbersome to get downe; that their Elephants were afraid of the giddie prospect, and casting their gouernours, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this grievous journey; there was nothing more desired by the souldiours, than that they might be suffered to creepe backe againe, the same way which they had come. But thist was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges, like vnto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was ioyned to the edge of the cliffe; the other sustained by two long postes, fastened in the ground below. Vpon these two postes, or poles, which indeed (not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two rafters, answerable in length to the distance, between the higher and the lower fall: so as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with planks and turles; that they might seeme continent with the ground, so to make the beasts aduenturous, to goe vpon them. If there were a Plaine of any good extent from the foot of a rocke, to the next downfall; then might the bridge be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretie way, vpon one of these; the postes vpholding the frame were cut asunder, thereby causing him to sincke downe vnto the next bridge; whence he was conueyed, in like manner, to the third, and onward still, to the very bottome. Thus went they downe sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an euen valley. By this it appears, how thoroughly provided the Romans yfled to be in their journeyes, of things needfull in all occasions: as also what inestimable paines they took in this descent, about the conueyance of themselves and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they rested, staying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly, or perhaps neuer, should haue overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and set vpon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies journeyes were like vnto the first: saue that custome, and the nearnesse to their wayes end without meeting enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the Romans comming towards him: since they fought with his men vpon the passage, three dayes together; he lying so nigh, that he might wel neare haue heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with feare; that he neither stirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsaile, sate hearkening after the euent. Foure only passages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the first by *Connus*; which the Romans were vnable to force: the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it: the last, by the Citie of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whoeuer would seeke any other way, must be faine to take such paines as *Martius* had vndergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, saue through the valley it selfe, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood vpon the foot of the huge mountaine *Olympus*, about a mile from the sea: of which mile, the river *Helicon* becoming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, tooke vp the one halfe, the rest being such as might easily haue bene fortified. Besides all these, there was in the middle of *Tempe*, a passage which ten men might easily keepe: where the

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the spurres of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neare to the verie banks of *Peneus* a goodly and deepe riuer which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had beene more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome iourney: if *Perseus* could haue scene his owne aduantages. For the *Roman* armie was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable trauell; but mult needs haue either perished for want of victuals, or bin enforced to returne the same way that it came, if the King had made good the streight of *Diium*. To haue returned, and climbed vp with their Elephants and carriages, against those rocks, from which, with extreame labour, they could hardly get downe, it seems a matter of impossibilitie: especially considering, how the enemie, from above their heads, would haue beaten vpon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore bee thought strange, that the *Romans* did not rather take their iourney into *Macedon*, from the side of *Illyria*, whence that kingdom had often bin invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*, whence, after that they were there arriued, there was no meanes to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despaired to winne. But the cowardize of *Perseus*, did commend the counsaile by them followed, as wise. For he no sooner heard that the Enemie was come ouer the mountaines into *Tempe*, than he
 10 fared like one out of his wits, saying, That he was vanquished, & had lost all with our battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of *Diium*, what he could carry away in haite; and straightway abandoned the Towne. In the same vehemencie of amazement, he sent a strait commandement to *Thessalonica*, that the Art senall there should be set on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treasures there should be calt into the sea: as if the *Romans* were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. *Nicias*, who was appointed to drowne the treasure, performed it hastily as wel as he could: though soone after, his master grew sorie for the losse; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Diuers from vnder the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire on the Kings Arsenall, deferred the execution; foreseeing that repentance
 30 might follow: and so he prevented the damage. Whether *Nicias*, for his absolute and blinde obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his carefull providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their service was this. *Perseus* growing alhamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this hastie direction; caused them both to be slaine. Also those poore men, which had fetcht his treasure out of the sea by their diving, were payd their wages after the same sort: that so there might be no wimnes of the Kings base folly. Such end must they feare, who are priue to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would haue gone surely to worke, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally haue behaued himselfe, that no man might beleue him to
 40 be the author of any vnworthy act or counsaile. But his vertue was of no such capacitie. He thought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called *Hippias* away (the Captaine which had stopped the Consul on the top of the mountaine) and *Alepiodatus*, from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed, he rated them openly saying, that they had betrayed vnto the Enemie the gates and barres of *Macedon*. Of this reproch if they would discharge themselves, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they haue sped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The Consul *Martin* had great cause to reioyce, for that the King so hastily relinquished his possession of *Tempe*, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the
 50 *Roman* armie, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist, for want of victuals. Heooke *Diium* without resistance; & thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein hauing trauelled about a dayes iourney, and gotten one towne that yielded, he was compelled, by meere lacke of food for his men, to returne backe towards *Thessalie*. His fleet came to him, in this time of necessity, well appointed to haue holpen him

in the war but having left behinde, at *Magneſia*, the ſhips of burthen, which carried the prouiſions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been careful to occupy the Caſſes about *Tempe*, which were forſaken by the *Macedonians*: for by thoſe waies only might come be brought into the army. To meet the ſooner with this come, which was deſirouſly expected, he forooke *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which fooliſh journey (if not worſe than fooliſh) he loſt more, than a little the longer ſtaying had bin worth. It is probable, that his carts, with all or the moſt of his ſtore, were loſt among the mountaines: for otherwiſe it had bin madnes to put himſelf on ſuch an enterpriſe, ſo ſlenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or fight of the Enemy, he ſhould be ſaine to quit it. Howſoeuer it was: men thought him a coward, or at leaſt a bad man of warre; ſince he thus recoyled and gave off, when it moſt behoued him to have proſecuted the action.

By vnderſtanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himſelf; vnderſtood his owne error; ſought to hide it by ſuch poore means as haue bin ſhewed; and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly reſpoſſeſſed the town of *Dium*, which he haſtily repaired, finding it diſmantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped ſtrongly by the river *Enipeus*: meaning there to ſtop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Leſſe diligence, more timely vſed, would haue bin enough, not only to haue deliuered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to haue given him ſuch a noble victory, as might cauſe the *Romans* to ſeeke a good end of the war vpon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in haſte. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Conſul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done towards the conqueſt in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the towne of *Etracela*, ſtanding on the river of *Peneus*, five miles from *Dium*, was taken by force; or rather by a trick of climbing vpon mens heads, ſome what after the manner of our tumblers. But it made ſuch defence as it could; and was not given vp for feare. After this *Martius* did ſet a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would haue taken it againe, and haue driuen the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like ſo great: his chiefe care, being to provide for his wintering. He ſent the Admirall to make attempt vpon the ſea-townes, *Theſſalonica*, *Caffandrea*, *Demetrias* and others. All theſe were allayed: but in vaine. The fields about *Theſſalonica* were waſted; and ſome companies, that ſundrie times aduentured forth of the towne, were ſtill put to the worke. As for the towne it ſelfe; there was danger in coming neere it, either by land or ſea; by reaſon of the engins, which ſhot from the wals, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall ſetting ſaile from thence, ranne along by *Aonia*, and *Antigonae* (landing neare to each of them, and both doing and receiuing hurt) vntill he came to *Pallene*, in the territory of *Caffandrea*. There King *Eumenes* ioyned with him, bringing twentie ſhips of warre: and ſiue other were ſent thither from King *Proſperus*. With this ſuccelle of ſtrength, the Admirall was bold to trie his fortune at *Caffandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately caſt by *Perſeus*, before the towne: which while the *Romans* were filling vp, queſtion was made, what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not vpon the bank. By this occaſion, it was learned, that there were arches in the towne wal filled vp with that earth, and couered with one ſingle row of brick. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the towne, by ſapping the walls. To this worke he appointed ſuch as hee thought meeteſt: giving an alarme to the other ſide of the towne, therby to ſhadow his attempt. The breach was ſoon made. But whileſt the *Romans* were ſhouting for ioy, & ordering themſelues for the aſſault: the Captaines within the towne perceived what was done; & ſallying forth vnexpected, gaue a ſierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch & the wall; of whom they ſlew about ſix hundred & ſuſtained few to eſcape vnwounded. This deſaſter, & the want of good ſuccelle on that part of the towne which King *Eumenes* ſailed (a ſupply in the meane while entering the towne by ſea) cauſed the ſiege to breake vp. *Torone* was the next place which

which the Admirall beleagured. Finding this recovery to be ſo ſoonly made, the *Romans* were not only loath to ſtand by, but were ready to ſet on foot a journey to come to the ſuccour of *Martius*; but hee without working, ſuſtained a ſudden ſurpriſe, ſeeing the Army of their Enterpriſe, & ſeeing a good Commendation. Yes, it is to be ſuſpected, that they were in ſome great ſtore of this Warre. Emboldened, who ſtance, that they ſhould to ſubdue the Warre. This was rather a malice in danger (as anon it ſeemed) that it proceeded from had then an armie on ſomewhat had happened ſo were the *Abdians* more courteous both of him from proud natures, did but much more, for the *Alyrian*, did ſet out the ſhips, which the *Macedonians* in be had lately ſlaine. mated through the tim And hereto may be referred the eſtate of *Martius* himſelfe, wanting men, and Ap *Quadratus* the Pro *Macedon*, that contrariety be lent for thence, or a that ſome blow had bin done that the *Romans* with ſome of the Towne. Now although it were ſelfe like a man of warre, med, *Arceſius* for ſuſtaining working diligence. This honeſty: ſince thereby out of enuie, vaine glory, creating inexorable tri- try. At ſuch time as Perſeus much reparation, and other good Patrons uſed to helpe the *Romans* and moſt to flatter. While the *Achians* ſhould ſen

which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned, he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Captaine, was gotten before his coming, with such forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the Towne, if the Admirall had layed siege to it, but to keepe the land about it from spoyle; or at least (as they did) to make the enimie pay deare for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melibicea*; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without worke) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing suddainely ouer their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all

halt, setting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so farre was their abilitie short of their Enterprises, ever since their Consul (whether dastardly, or carelesly) most unlike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining Historie of this Warre. For *Martius* perswaded the *Rhodiens*, by *Agessipolis* their Embassadour, who came to him at *Heraclaea* about other businesse of lesse importance, That they should doe well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seeke to finish the Warre. Now, although *Polybius* doe most probably conjecture, that

Polyb. Legat. 5.

this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodiens* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their oppoling the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an armie on foot: yet since he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his feare seeme not counterfeit. And so were the *Rhodiens* moued to thinke of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtlesie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassador, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadors of *Perseus*, & of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did set out their businesse at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good

fleet, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the honor of some victory, wherein he had lately slaine great numbers of the *Roman* horse. Thus much we finde intimated: though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome*, to view the estate of *Martius* his army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admirall, wanting men, and, for those few that he had, wanting both mony and cloths: and *Ap. Claudius* the Pretor, who lay on the frontire of *Illyria*, so vnable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extreme danger, so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seeme, that some blow had bin taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made al to halt, or at least,

Polyb. Legat. 5.

that the *Romans* with greater losse, than is before spoken of, had been driuen from some of the Townes which they besieged.

Now although it were so, that *Martius* in very few of his actions, behaued himselfe like a man of war: yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, a crooked or sinister kinde of wisdom, he dealt as a craftiest master, with a resolute working diligence. This indeed neither proued his sufficiencie, nor commended his honestie: since thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit, and neuertheless, out of enuie, vaine-glory, or such deligh tas weake and busie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his country. At such time as *Perseus*, by the successe of his doings against *Hostilius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Thessalie*; *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriotes among the *Achaens*, iudged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the *Romans*, as in a time of aduersitie, whom in prosperitie they loued not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* proposed a decree which passed: That the *Achaens* should send their whole power into *Thessalie*, and participate with

Polybius Legat.
78.

the Romans in all danger. So the armie was leuied; and Polybius, with others, sent Embassadors vnto *Martius*, to certifye him thereof, and know his pleasure. Polybius found the Consul busied in seeking passage through *Tempe* into *Macedon*. Hee went along with the armie, and awaited the Consul's leisure, till they came to *Iterracia*; where finding the time convenient, hee presented the Decree, and offered the seruice of this Nation, wherein neuer it should be commanded. *Martius* took this very kindly; but said, that he needed now no manner of helpe. Forthwith Polybius dispatched home his companions, to signifie thus much: tarrying himselfe behind in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required, of the *Achaens*, five thousand men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if he were strong in field, he might doe notable seruice, by distracting the forces of *Perseus*. But the Labyrinthian head of *Martius* could not allow of such plaine reason. He called vnto him Polybius, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of such aide: and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the *Achaens* be put to such needlesse charges. Away went Polybius; musing, and vnable to resolute, whether it were for loue to the *Achaens*, that the Consul was so earnest in this busines; or rather for enuie, and to hinder *App. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himselfe could doe nothing. But when Polybius was to deliver his opinion in the Councell, touching this matter: then found hee a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne selfe, and those of his partie. For as he was sure to incur the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was giuen him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Martius* vttered to him in priuat, would proue no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe *Claudius*, alleging that he had no need. In this case therefore, he had recourse vnto the decree of the Senate: which exempted men from needes of doing what the Roman Commanders should require, vnlesse by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred vnto the aduice of the Consul: by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the *Achaens* were sauer, of more than an hundred and twentie talents: though Polybius himselfe ranne into danger of *Appius* his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the Romans with many a long yeares imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policie of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the Romans; or whether this King began when it was too late, to stand in feare, lest the fire, which hee himselfe had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his owne lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to ouerwey al other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, haue not precisely affirmed any certaintie. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not so much as giue any helpe to *Martius*: but coming to haue ioyned with him, in such friendly manner as he did with the former Consul, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leaue behind him certaine horse of the *Gallgreekes*, being requested to haue done it. If this were true; and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behinde with the Consul, did the Roman good seruice: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the loue to *Attalus*. But it is more generally receiued; that *Eumenes* gaue a willing care to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for mere desire of gaine. And it might well bee, that *Eumenes* drew him on, in the course; whereinto indignation first led him. Howsoever it befall; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be founded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to sollicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his aduertisements, both to *Eumenes*, and to *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect loue, betwene a King and a free Citie: That the Romans had quarrelled alike to all Kings, though

though they dealt with them as gentle another; That *Antiochus*, with the hope of his best *Eumenes* and *Perseus* had taken out the way next was hand; yet hee was in like sort be alme in warre with the *Romans*; by denouncing their will to to compell the Roman; to them as common enemies way: and therefore was more neerely watch; and stand in doubt of the rest. Y a bargain of peace for *Perseus* was afraid. When a huge esteeme had taken would be remaine a Neut (show much I finde in be and for assurance of his loked well to receive the fore hand, as was required. *Eumenes* only. For proci hee would lay downe the be delivered vnto *Eumenes*. The like of *Samothrace* was money no nearer to him, bebour deferred somewhat, that needes he would haue 30 no more, than loose time Tryon.

After the same manner attempted this *Thyrran* before he could not surer. Hereo Trasures would serue at what the Romans had gotten gittie; so as he agreed to be for a recompence. So the lured for performance. T his armie might haue consi sently upon the bargain in few and *Gentius*: who detwene *Perseus* and the Roman thinking that *Martius* the *Consul*, arrogantly promi, willing the Kings to shew the ring proud words, to the answere, as disdainful; and vaine glorie of the *Achaens*. Such vice of *Gentius* his fr of *Siber*. Now since he was re with all speed into the *Thyrran*, the *Macedonian* *Eum*

though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and vsed the helpe of one against another; That *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the helpe of *Antiochus*; *Antiochus*, with the helpe of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed, with helpe of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of *Prusias* than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to looke for any good conclusion of his warre with the *Egyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him giue over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compeell the *Romans*, to surcease from their war vpon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies vnto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay farre out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearly toucht; and as hee felt part of this to bee true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should giue answer; hee began to offer a bargain of peace for money. He thought the *Romans* to be no lesse weary, than *Perseus* was afraid. Wherefore he promised, for his owne part; That if he might haue fiftene hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this Warre; then would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condescend vnto peace: 20 and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to giue hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receiue the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine haue peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but hee would lay downe the money in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it should be deliuered vnto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus* his owne: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no nearer to him, being there; than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides; his labour deserued somewhat, how soeuer the businesse might happen to succeed: so that needes he would haue part of his wages in *press*. Thus the two Kings did 30 no more, than loose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traytor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainely, and said; That without money he could not surre. Hereunto *Perseus* loued not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serue at the last call, to deliuer him from all his feares. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his feare vrgie him to prodigality; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents, which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soone made; and pledges on both sides deuised for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*; to the end that all 40 his armie might haue comfort, by such access of strength to their partie. Presently vpon the bargain made, Embassadors were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the *Rhodian*, to take vpon them; as arbitrators, betwene *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the Warre to an end. The *Rhodian* thinking that *Marius* the Consul was no lesse desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, That they, by their authoritie, would make peace; withling the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate; hearing proude words, to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadors; gave an answer, as disdainefull, angrie, and menacing, as they could deuise: so as this vaine glorie of the *Rhodian* was thoroughly chafed; and more thoroughly should 50 haue beene, if their submission had not beene as humble, as their follie was proud. Such vse of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*; without laying out one ounce of Silver. Now faine he would haue hastened this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. *Pantauchus*, the *Macedonian* Embassador, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him

him daily to begin the Warre by land and sea, whilst the *Romans* were vnprovided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon tenne *Talents* were sent to *Pantauchus*: who deliuered it to the yong King, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed vp with the scale of the *Illyrians*; but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this money came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had layed hands vpon two *Roman* Embassadors, and callt them into prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his *Treasure-bearers*, and sent them with their load to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessitie to make warre with the *Romans*, whether hee were hyred thereto, or not.

Liv. lib. 44.
Plutarch in
vit. Romul.

There came about the same time, through *Illyria*, to the aide of *Perseus*, vnder one *Clondicus* a pettie King, tenne thousand horse and tenne thousand foot, of the *Gauls*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarna*. These had before hand made their bargain, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entrie into the Kingdome, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Captaines to come visit him, whome he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to gree the souldiors their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the messenger had not what to answere. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy maister, That the *Gauls* will not surre one foot further, vntill they haue gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* herupon tooke counsaile: if to vtter his owne opinion, before men so wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsaile. He made an inuictiue against the inciuillitie and avarice of the *Bastarna*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Fieue thousand horse of them hee said would be as manie as he should need to vse; and not so manie, that he should need to feare them. It had bene well done, if anie of his counsaillers would haue told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole armie of them, since without anie danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of *Perthia*, into *Thessalie*: where wasting the Countrey, and filling themselves with spoile, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, euen for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable seruice, whether they wonne anie victorie, or not. This, and a great deale more, might haue bene alledged, if anie man had dared to giue aduice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had bene with them before, was sent againe, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmure of those manie thousands that had bene drawne so farre to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now againe, Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay those five thousand, whome the King would entertaine. Hereto, when it was perceiued, that *Antigonus* could make no better answere, than shifting excuses; the *Bastarna* returned presently towards *Danubius*, wasting the neighbour parts of *Thrace*; yet suffering this craftie messenger to escape vnhurt: which was more than he could haue well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preserue his money for the *Romans*, without diminishing the summe. But of this painefull Office he was verie soone discharged by *L. Amylius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fifteene dayes after his setting forth from *Idrie*, brought the Kingdome of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed ouer it a King so foolish and so cowardly.

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B. VIII.

of L. ÆMYLIUS PAULVS the Consul. His journey. He forceth PERSEVS to discompe. He will not hazard battaile with anie disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moone. ÆMYLIUS his superstition. The Battaille of Pydna.

PERSEVS his flight. He forsakes his Kingdome: which hastily yeelds to ÆMYLIUS. PERSEVS at Samothrace. He yeelds himselfe to the Roman Admirall; and is sent prisoner to ÆMYLIUS.

BY the Warre of *Macedon*, the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with anie danger, yet the indignitie so moued them, that either they decreed that Province to L. Æmylius Paulus, without putting it, as was otherwise his manner, to the chance of lot, betwene him and his fellow Consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it vpon him, than that so worthie a man was aduanced to the dignitie of a second Consulship. Hee refused to propound vnto the Senate anie thing that concerned his Province; vntill by Embassadors, thither sent to view the estate of the Warre, it was perfectly vnderstood, in what condition both the Roman forces, and the Macedonians, at the present remained. This being thoroughly knowne to be such, as hath beene already told; the Senate appointed a strong supplie, not onely to the Consul, but vnto the Nauie, and likewise to the Armie that lay betwene *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from which App. Claudius was removed, and L. Anicius sent thither in his place. Æmylius, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the People, as was the custome, spake with much grauitie and authoritie. Hee requested those that thought themselves wise enough to manage this Warre, either to accompanie him into *Macedon*, and there assist him with their aduice; or else to gouerne their tongues at home, and not take vpon them to giue directions by heare say, and censure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, That he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father L. Æmylius, who died valiantly in the Battaille of *Canna*, might well be liuing in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conformance themselves the more gladly vnto the instructions giuen by a wise and resolute Consul.

All his businesse within the Citie being dispatched, Æmylius was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his journey; with an especial hope of men, that he should finish the Warre: though that he should finish it so soone and happily, was more than could haue beene hoped or imagined. He came to *Brundisium*: whence, when the winde came faire, he set sayle at brake of day, and arrived safely at the Isle of *Coreyra* before night. Thence passed he to *Delfhi*: where, hauing done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fift day he set forwards to the Campe; and was there in fife dayes more. So are there but fife of the fiftene dayes remaining, in which he finished the Warre.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at *Dium*; hauing spared no labour of men and of women to fortifie the bankes of *Enipeus*, where it was fordeable in drie weather. So as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibility to enter that way into *Macedon*: One great inconuenience troubling the Romans, and much disabling them to make attempt vpon *Dium*; was lacke of fresh water. For there were tenne myles betwene *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying betwene the Sea shoare and the foot of *Olympus*, without anie Brooke or Spring breaking forth on that side. But Æmylius found present remedie for this, by digging Wells on the shoare; where hee found sweet Springs: as commonly there is

Plutarch, in
vit. Kingl.

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no shoare that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Marius* from taking vp his lodging anie nearer to the enemy, than the Towne of *Heraclæa*, on the Riuer of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleasure, but could performe no seruice of anie worth. Yet when the *Roman* Campe had such meanes to lye close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did, the passage onward, being defended as hath beene shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to search another way: which by enquire was soone found out. There was a narrow passage ouer *Olympus*, leading into *Peræbia*; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire journey. *Marius* either had not been informed hereof, or durst not attempt it: or perhaps could not get his souldiors to make the aduerture; they fearing least it would proue such a piece of worke, as had bene their march ouer *Ossa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater indultrie, courage, and abilitie, to command. He had reformed, euen at his first comming, manie disorders in the *Roman* Campe: teaching the souldiors, among other good lessons, to be obedient and readie in execution; without troubling themselves, as had bene their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now he appointed about fise thousand men to this Enterprise: whereof he committed the charge vnto *Scipio*, *Amyllianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his owne sonnes by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a sonne of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Fabij*. *Scipio* tooke with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretans*; but his maine strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, consisted in a manner wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at some distance, they might doe notable seruice against those that should climbe vp vnto them; yet when the darknesse tooke away their ayme, they were like to make a bad nights worke, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the businesse about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* tooke a wrong way, towards the fleet; where victuals were provided for their journey: it being noysed, that they were to runne along the coast of *Macedon* by sea, and wast the Countrey. All the while that they were passing the Mountaines (which was about 30 three dayes) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set vpon *Perseus* where he lay; rather to diuert the Kings attention from that which was his maine Enterprise, than vpon anie hope to doe good, in seeking to get ouer *Enipeus*. The Channell of *Enipeus*, which receiued in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay welneare all drie, yet it serued not for those that were weightily armed to fight vpon. Wherefore *Amyllius* employed noe saue his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light armature had aduantage at farre distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had rayled on his owne banke, did also beat vpon the *Romans*, and gaue them to vnderstand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet *Amyllius* persisted as he had begun; and recontinued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might haue serued to reach the *Macedonian*, that some greater worke was in hand: since otherwise a good Captaine, as *Amyllius* was knowne to be, would not haue troubled himselfe with making such brauadoes, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* looked onely vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men, that came running fearefully downe the Mountaine, brought word into the Campe, That the *Romans* were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himselfe no lesse (if not more) amazed than anie of the rest. Order was forthwith giuen to dislodge: or rather, without order, in all tumultuous hast, the Campe was broken vp, and a speedie retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had custodie of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plaine force; *Scipio* and *Fabius* had verie good successe in their journey. It may well be, that they slept vntill the *Romans* came

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came somewhat neare to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrowes and slings could doe little seruice, were beaten at handie stroakes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epitile of *Scipio*, may each of them haue bene true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon*: which had bene effected by *Marius* in the yeare fore-going; but was closed vp againe, through his not prosecuting so rich an opportunitie.

Perseus was in extreame doubt what course to take, after this vnhappy beginning. Some gaue aduice, to manne his Townes, and so to linger out the Warre: hauing beerie taught by the last yeares example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But farre worse counsaile prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King resolved to put all at once to hazard of battaile: fearing belike to put himselfe into anie one Towne, least that should be first of all beleiged, and hertherin (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not ouer-carefully relucied. This was euen the same that *Amylius*, or anie inuador, should haue desired. So a place was chosen neare vnto *Pydna*, that serued well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewise on the sides of it some peeces of higher ground, fit for the archers and light armature. There he abode the coming of the enemie; who stayed not long behind him. As soone as the *Romans* had sight of the Kings Armie; which, with greater feare than discretion, had halted away from them, forsaking the Campe that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately; doubting least otherwise the King should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul; praying him not to loose occasion by delay. But *Amylius* told him, That hee spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to haue patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their journey; had no Campe wherein to rest themselves; nor anie thing there, save onely the bare ground whereon they trode. For these and the like respects, the Consul made a stand: and shewing himselfe vnto the *Macedonians*, who did the like, in order of battaile; gaue charge to haue the Campe measured out and entrenched behinde the Armie; whereinto, at good leysure, hee fell backe, without anie manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped, both by the *Romans*, and by the *Macedonians*, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King, he excused himselfe by the backwardnesse of the enemie; who advanced no further, but kept vpon ground seruing ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of September, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeare bene Praetor, foretold vnto the Consul, and (with his good liking) vnto the armie, an Eclipse of the Moone, which was to be the same night: willing the souldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might be knowne long before it was scene. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in such Eclipses, to beat Pannes of Brasse and Balons, as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpicius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, when they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noyse as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith as with a prodigie betokening their losse; since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signifie, or cause, anie alteration in ciuile affaires, and matters that haue small dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthie of obseruation it is, how superstition captiuates the wisdom of the wisest, where the helpe of true Religion is wanting. *Amylius*, though hee were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moone,

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Moone, that it was no supernaturall thing, nor above the reach of humane vnderstanding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with anie devout regard thereof; yet could he not refrain from doing his dutie to this Moone, and congratulating with sacrifice her deliuerie, as soone as she shone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended euen by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not alitt him in this foolish devotion; yet is it like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councill for Watre, was partaker the next morning in a Sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no lesse foolish. For a great part of the day was vainely consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with anie Sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good lucke in the entrailes of the bealls. At length, in the bellie of the one and twentieth Sacrifice, was found a promise of victorie to *Amilius*; but with condition, That hee should not giue the onser. *Hercules* was a Greeke, and partiall, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Romans*: Wherefore it had bene better to call vpon the new Goddesse, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or vpon *Komulus*, founder of their Citie, on whom the *Romans* had bestowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authentically vpon *Mars* the father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of militarie affaires; and who therefore would haue limited his fauour, with no iniunctions contrarie to the rules of Warre.

Now concerning the Battaille, *Amilius* was throughly perswaded, that the King meant to abide it; for that otherwise hee would not haue stayed at *Pydna*, when, as a little before, his leynier scured to retire whither hee list, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that hee might wait vpon aduantage, without making anie great halfe. Neyther was it to bee neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the *Romans* faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoone. Since therefore *Persius* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalang*, and *Amilius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelihood of fighting that day. Put about tenne of the clocke in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which whereto neither of the Generalls had ouer earnest desire. A horse brake loose at watering; which two or three of the *Roman* souldiers followed into the riuer, wading after him vp to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of *Thracians* ranne into the water, to draw this horse ouer to their owne side. These fell to blowes, as in a priuate quarrell; and one of the *Thracians* was slaine. His countenmen seeing this, hastied to reuenge their fellowes death, and followed those that had slaine him ouer the riuer. Hereupon company came in, to helpe on each part, vntill the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the armies to be carefull of the euent. In fine, each of the Generalls placed his men in order of battaille, accordly as the manner of his Countrey, and the armes, wherewith they serued, did require. The ground was a flat leuell, saue that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what aduantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consul encouraged their men with liuely words: which the present condition could bountifullly afford. But the King hauing finished his Oration, and sent on his men, with drew himselfe into *Pydna*: there to doe sacrifice, as hee pretended, vnto *Hercules*. It is the lesse maruaile, that hee durst aduenture battaille, since hee had bethought himselfe of such a stratageme, whereby to saue his owne person. As for *Hercules*, hee liked not the sacrifice of a coward: whose vnseasonable deuotion could be no better than hypocritie. For hee that will pray for a good Haruest, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battaille, hee found it no better than lost: and he, in looking to his owne safetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

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The acts of this day, could doe no manner of harme, and beat off a number. That the *Romans* of them slaine, and they retired space to the *Romans*; and which for griefe. If the King deauoyed the victorie in the battaille, was the beginning: the difficult order. For whilst some part of it, and others reced follow vpon those who way before them, stood. This coming of the long pikes of the *Romans* in flank: by the *Romans* when hee law the front to the ranks in some place found. This was the small squadrons, as it be this forme of embattailon, that being not euen though here were little *sepals*.

Persius, when hee saw the *Romans* amaine towards *Pydna*, great number followed to the little good seruice whereto the mercie of the *Emperour* hazing little cause to be score, or six score men at ouertook the king & his men, calling them cowardly blows. The King was set turned out of the company. Therest of the company guided him. Of those that daies misfortune, knew his nature, or link, hee found his *Pages* bin wont. But of his great appearing in the Court, reserued that the boldness inward of their vnseasonable, none whom hee before standing in here, some greater mischief: hee him onely *Quander* (who hee ther. These followed him his money than of him. T

The acts of this day, such as we finde recorded, are, That the *Roman* Elephants could do no manner of good; That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did so stoutly presse on wards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Amilius* was therat much astonished; That the *Peligni* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were ouer-borne, many of them slaine, and the Squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that tell out aduersely to the *Romans*; and which the Consul beholding, is said to haue rent his coat-armour for griefe. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his deuoyre; the victorie might haue bin his owne. That which turned the fortune
 10 of the battaile, was the same which doubtlesse the Consul expected, even from the beginning: the difficultie, or almost impossibilitie, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilst some of the *Romans* small battailions pressed hard vpon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessarie (if the *Macedonians* would follow vpon those which were put to the worse) that some files hauing open way before them, should aduance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This comming so to passe, admonished the Consul, what was to be done. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little vse, when they were charged in flanke by the *Roman* Targettiers; according to direction given by *Amilius*, when hee saw the front of the Enemies great battaile become vnequall, and
 20 the ranks in some places open, by reason of the vnequall resistance which they found. Thus was the vse of the *Phalanx* proued vnauaileable against manie small Squadrons, as it had beene formerly in the battaile of *Cynoscephale*: yea, this forme of embattailing was found vneruiceable against the other, by reason, that being not euery where alike distressed, it would breake of it selfe; though here were little such inconuenience of ground, as had beene at * *Cynocephale*. * Chap. 4. §. 14.

Perseus, when he saw his battaile begin to route, turned his bridle presently, and ranne amaine towards *Pella*. All his horse escaped, in a manner, vntouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witnessing
 30 the little good seruice which they had done. As for the poore foote; they were left to the mercie of the Enemy: who slew about twentie thousand of them; though hauing little cause to be furious, as hauing lost, in that battaile, onely some fourescore, or sixscore men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, ouertook the king & his company in a wood; where they fel to railing at the horse-men, calling them cowards, traytors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himselfe: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: euery one as his owne occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within
 40 a while to lessen. For hee fell to deuising vpon whom he might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was most due to himselfe; thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his comming to *Pella*, he found his Pages and household seruants, readie to attend him, as they had bin wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battaile, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their vnreasonable admonitions, hee slaybed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him; This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, should shortly doe
 50 some greater mischiefe; he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him onely *Eugander* (who had beene employed to kill *Emmenes* at *Daphni*) and two oother. There followed him likewise about fuge hundred *Cretians*; more for loue of his money, than of him. To thele he gave of his plate, as much as was worth about

fitt talents, though shortly he cozened them of some part thereof; making them as if hee would haue redeemed it; but neuer paying the money. The third day after the battaile hee came to *Amphipolis*; where hee exhorted the townsmen to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed *Euander* to speake what himselfe would haue vttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themselves. Vpon the first fame of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towne of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in garrison: sending them forth vnder colour of a gainefull employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to bee ridde of the King; they plainly bade *Euander* be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde to tarry: but embarking himselfe and the treasure which hee had there, in certaine vessels that hee found in the riuer *Strymon*; passed ouer to the Isle of *Samosothrace*: where hee hoped to liue safe, by priuiledge of the religious sanctuarie therein.

These miserable shifts of the King make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the kingdome fell into the power of *Amphilus*, within so few dayes after his victorie. *Pydna* which was nearest at hand, was the last that yielded. About fixe thousand of the souldiours, that were of sundrie Nations, fled out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindring all deliberation and consent. *Hippius* who had kept the passage ouer *Ossa* against *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had bene sent Embassadour to *Gentius* the *Thyrian*, were the first that came in: yeelding themselves and the Towne of *Berea*, whither they had retired out of the battaile. With the like message came others from *Thessalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Townes of *Macedon*, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereauing the whole bodie of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna* stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forsaken his Countrey: but opened their gates vpon such termes, that the sacke of it was granted to the *Roman* armie. *Amphilus* sent abroad into the Countrey, such as hee thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: hee himselfe marching towards *Pella*. Hee found in *Pella* no more than three hundred talents; the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the *Thyrian*. But within a little while hee shall haue more.

It was soone vnderstood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuarie, in the Temple at *Samosothrace*: his owne letters to the Consul, confirming the report. He sent these letters by persons of such meane condition; that his case was pittied, for that hee wanted the seruice of better men. The scope of his writing was, to desire fauour: which though hee begged in termes ill bebecoming a King; yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, *King PERSEVS to the Consul PAVLYS*; the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retaine the Title, refused to make answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby hee craved and obtained, that some might bee sent to conferre with him about matters of his present estate. Neuertheless in this conference, hee was maruailous earnest, that hee might bee allowed to retaine the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had so carefully preferred his treasure, vnto the very last: flattering himselfe with such vaine hopes as these; That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him haue his desire to liue at ease, and bee called King. Yea it seems that hee had indeede, euen from the beginning, a desire to liue in this Isle of *Samosothrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the war he was dejected by his friends, from seeking to exchange his Kingdome of *Macedon*, for *such a paltrie Island; and for that hee offered to lay vp the money which *Enne-*

* Lian. lib. 47.

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nes demanded, in the holie Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwise. They vrge him to giue place vnto necessitie, and without moe adoe, to yeeld to the discretion and mercie of the people of *Rome*. This is so farr against his minde, that the conference brakes off without effect. Presently there arriues at *Samo-
thrace* *Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* Admirall, with his fleet: who allayes, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole, wherein, for feare of imprisonment, he had imprisoned himselfe. When all would not serue, a question was moued to the *Samothracians*; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holie priuiledge of

10 Sanctuarie, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and send word to the King, That *Euander*, who liues with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact committed at *Delphi*, whereof vnlesse he can cleare himselfe in iudgement, he must not be suffered to prophane that holie place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Majestie, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himselfe is charged with the same crime. But what will this auail, when the minister of the fact being brought into iudgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? *Perseus* therefore willett *Euander* to haue consideration of the little fauour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand,

20 who are like to be preiudents and cuserers of this iudgement: so as it were better to die valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion *Euander* seemes to like well: and either kills himselfe, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poyson wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had stucke to *Perseus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, saue his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him vpon this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and say, That the King hath lost the priuiledge of this holie

30 Sanctuarie, by murdering *Euander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirme so much, who shall dare to gainesay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and euen that also lyable to dispute, which preferres him from captiuitie; hee purpoeeth to make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, vnto *Cotys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one shippe; who easily was perswaded to waite the King thence. With all secrecie the Kings money, as much as could be so conueyed, was carried aboard by night; and the King himselfe, with his wife and * children (if rather it were not true, that hee had with him onely * *Philip* his elder sonne, who was onely by adoption his sonne, being his * brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by

40 a rope, and ouer a mudd wall. At his comming to the Sea side, hee found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretians* had played a *Cretian* trick, and was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whilst *Perseus* was searching all along the shoare: who had stayed so long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere hee could recouer the Temple. Hee ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, least he should be taken; hee hid himselfe in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ranne vp and downe making enquire; till *Octavius* made proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoeuer, abiding with their maister in *Samothrace*, should haue their liues and libertie, with all to them

50 belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yeeld themselves to the *Romans*. Hercupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whome the King had giuen the custodie of his children, deliuered them vp to *Octavius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himselfe,

Plutarch, in *vit.*
Romyl.
Luc. lib. 45.
Luc. lib. 42.

with his sonne *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him; rendered himselfe, and made the *Roman* victorie complete. It hee had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of liuing, than of reigning therein; hee might well haue brought this Warre to a happier end. Now, by diuiding his cogitations, and pursuing at once, those contrarie hopes of sauing his Kingdoms by armes, and himselfe by flight; hee is become a spectacle of miserie, and one among the number of those Princes, that haue benee wretched by their owne default. Hee was presently sent away to *Amilius*; before whom hee fell to the ground so basely, that hee seemed thereby to dishonour the victorie ouer himselfe, as gotten vpon one of abject qualitie, and therefore the lesse to bee esteemed. *Amilius* vsed to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for hauing, with so hostile a minde, made Warre vpon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might haue benee returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearefull silence. Hee was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul reamed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercie of the People of *Rome*. After these good words, benee inuited to the Consuls Table, and respectiuey entreated, hee was committed prisoner to *Q. Ailius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian* Warre, after foure yeares continuance: and such end therewithall had the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the glorie wherof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now translated vnto *Rome*.

p. IX.

GENTIUS, King of the *Ilyrians*, taken by the *Romans*.



About the same time, and with like celeritie, *Anicius* the *Roman* Pretor, who succeeded vnto *App. Claudius*, had the like successe against King *Gentius* the *Ilyrian*. *Gentius* had an Armie of fiftene thousand; with which hee was at *Lissus*, readie to assist King *Perseus* as soone as the money should come, wherof hee had receiued onely tenne Talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way; fought with him; ouercame him; and draue him into * *Scodra*. This Towne was verie defensible by nature, besides the helpe of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of *Ilyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seeme vnpossible to be wonne, in anie not a verie long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late victorie; and therefore presented his Armie before the walls, making countenance to giue an assault. The *Ilyrians*, that might easily haue defended themselves within the Towne, would needes issue forth and fight. They were, it seemes, rather passionate than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yeelding. The King sent Embassadors; by whome, at first, hee desired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layed violent hand on the *Roman* Embassadors, to haue recourse to such mediation. But hee thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into prison; where they were still alieue. Haniue obtained three dayes respite, hee passed vp a Riuer, within halfe a myle of the *Roman* Campe, into the Lake of *Scodra*.

* Called now
Scutari.

Scodra, as it were to consider whether the report was true. Finding that no otherwise to returne into Rome: before whom his honesty, was not so dishonest himselfe to discontinue his children, brother, and in thirte dayes: the *Perseus*, one of the *Emilius* how all had passed

King the *Roman*

On began to lookeward the danger, tidings of thought good to call the

This they performed with to make an ouerture of peace: no less grievous to the others: but that now the

30 gratefully with the *Sena* happily than had benee *Rhodian* had sent this the of the *Macedonian*; who threats, and the desire of med against *Rhodes*; the parcell, as humble supplic especially the great ones, with vengeance for some ing knowne at *Rhodes*, al the late Warre of *Macedon* to *Rome*; excepting for the complicated. Yet this pro *M. Cato*, a man by nature verried the *Sena*, that dishonour themselves, and tie, which they were gree thereto. This consider *Philip* and *Anicinus*, bel remained alieue, la which notwithstanding could be admitted into they had not esteemed friends.

With the like, or greater

Scodra, as it were to consult the more priuately; though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Ceraunius* was comming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to returne into *Scodra*. He sent messengers craving accessse vnto the Prætor: before whome hauing lamented his follie past (which, excepting the dishonestic, was not so great as his follie present) he fell downe humbly, and yeelded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his Kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, and friends, were presently giuen vp. So this Warre ended in thirtie dayes: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun; vntill *Perpenna*, one of the Embassadors that had bene imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed.

ð. X.

How the Romans behaued themselves in Greece and Macedonia after their victorie ouer *PERSEVS*.

20 **N**OW began the *Romans* to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically vpon those that had bene vnmanly toward them before, whilst the Warre with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. Th they performed with bad grace; saying, That they were sent from *Rhodes*, to make an ouerture of peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no lesse grieuous to the *Romans* themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and manie others: but that now they were verie glad, and in behalle of the *Rhodians* did con-
30 gratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had bene expected. Hereto the Senate made answere, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for loue to *Rome*, but in fauour of the *Macedonian*; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (couetous of the charge) to haue Warre proclaymed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning apparel, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being knowne at *Rhodes*, all that had bene anie whit auerse from the *Romans* in the late Warre of *Macedon*, were eyther taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that slew themselves for Rare, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would haue done, if olde *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not vttered a milde sentence, and aduertised the Senate; That in decreeing Warre against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedie to ransacke, than anie iust cause, had moued them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the Warres of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whome, none of anie marke remained aliue, saue those that had bene of the *Roman* Faction. All
50 which notwithstanding, manie yeares passed, ere, by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the societie of the *Romans*: a fauour which, till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselves better without it, as equall friends.

With the like, or greater seueritie, did the *Romans* make themselves terrible in
S s s s s s 3 all

* *Cæsar in orat. apud Salust. de Coniurat. Catil- line.*

all parts of *Greece*. *Amphilus* himselfe made progresse through the Countrey; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure; yet not forgetting to make them vnderstand what power he had ouer them. More than fūe hundred of the chiefe citizens in *Demetrias* were slaine at one time by those of the *Roman* faction, and with helpe of the *Roman* souldiours. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul; the redresse was such, as required not the paines of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed vnto the *Romans* the libertie of their Countrey, he treated like a King, with excellēse cheare; yet so, that hee had all things verie cheape in his Campe: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadors likewise were sent from *Rome*; some, to giue order for settling the estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was vsuall in such cases; and some, to visit the affaires of *Greece*. The Kingdome of *Macedon* was set at libertie by *Amphilus* and the Embassadors, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this libertie was such as the *Romans* vsed to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had been payed vnto the Kings, was lessened by halfe. As for the rest; the Countrey was diuided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobilitie were sent captiue into *Italie*, with their wiues and children, as manie as were aboue fiftene 20 years old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new giuen by *Amphilus*. Such mischiefes the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leaue anie inconuenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greekes*, that were not subjects to *Rome*; the things done to them could deserue no better name than meere tyrannie, yea and shamelesse perjurie; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation seeme of no validitie. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greekes*, called before them all such men of note, from euery quarter, as had anie way discovered an vservicable disposition towards the *Romans*. 30 These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to *Persius*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that respect, though they were no subjects, yet wanted there not colour, for vsing them as traitors, or at least as enemies. But since onely two men were beheaded, for having bene openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriotes* were no lesse afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the *Achaens* these Embassadors were to deale more formally: not so much because that Commonwealt was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, hauing no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to proue 40 tractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of signe, by letters, or otherwise, whereby anie one of the *Achaens* could be suspiciouly charged to haue held correspondence with the *Macedonians*. It was also so, that neither *Callistates*, nor anie of his adherents, had bene employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their seruice to the *Romans*, but onely such as were the best *Patriotes*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to vse the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for feare of *Rome*, the season ferued fitly to ranke the *Achaens* with the rest. And hereto *Callistates* was verie 50 yrgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, hee and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischieuous deuiſes, ere long time passed. So the Embassadors came among the *Achaens*: where one of them, in open assemblie of the Nation, spake as *Callistates* had before instructed him. Hee said, That some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended *Persius*.

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Upon these words, hee
to the best way, for him
Then began he to name
willing them to appeare,
meed the captiue of *Greece*
were carried from home,
to be punished according
and regard of the publi-
their coming to *Rome*,
by the *Achaens*. Many
dred, that any such bo-
honestie had bene thus
them) to inform the Sen-
aw, nor yet held to be offe-
ced; That the Senate thus
turne into *Achaia*. Neither
sed to importune the Sen-
yeeres, fewer than thirte
man *Polybius*, the great Hi-
or bawling made out of cle-
or whether out of iayle, a-
30 as malefactors.

This was a gentle corre-
the Senate being desirous
all, to gratifie the souldi-
should be put to sickle. T-
performed by *Amphilus* w-
Greekes, and of the *Macedo-*
threw vpon them by the
principal men out of euery
gold and siluer which they
40 Townes, what companies
money. But he gaue secret
by him appointed they shou-
was sent. Thus in one day
the *Romans*, spoiled by the
aime of peace; a hundred ar-
granted, that some of the
few. But since they, among
yes, or but coldly affected
to rectifie their due; and sin-
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This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence giuen, he would name vnto them. After sentence giuen (cried out the whole assembly) what iustice were this? name them first, and let them answere; which if they cannot well doe, we will soone condemne them. Then said the *Roman* boldly, that all their *Prætors*, as many as had led their armies, were guiltie of this crime: If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then should I likewise haue bene friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall throughly answere him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Vpon these words of *Xenon* the Embassador laid hold, and said that euen so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not vntill he had cited about a thousand; willing them to appeare, and answere before the Senate. This might euen be termed the captiuitie of *Greece*: wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their loue vnto their Country; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that vertue, and regard of the publike libertie, should dwell together in any of the *Greekes*. At their comming to *Rome*, they were all cast into prison: as men already condemned by the *Acheans*. Many Embassages were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondered, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since honestie had bene thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senat, that these men were neither condemned by the *Acheans*, nor yet held to be offenders. But in stead of better answere it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrey, that these men should returne into *Achaia*. Neither could any solicitation of the *Acheans*, who neuer ceased to importune the Senate for their libertie, preuaile at all; vntill after seuteene yeeres, fewer than thirtie of them were enlarged, of whom that wife and vertuous man *Polybius*, the great Historian was one. All the rest were either dead in prison; or hauing made offer to escape, whether vpon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of iayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being desirous to preserve the *Macedonian* Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the souldiours, gaue order, That the whole Countrey of *Epirus* should be put to sacke. This was a barbarous and horrible crueltie; as also it was performed by *Æmylius* with mischieuous subtiltie. Hauing taken leaue of the *Greekes*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to vie the libertie bestowed vpon them by the people of *Rome*; he sent vnto the *Epirots* for tenne of the principall men out of euery Citie. These he commanded to deliuer vp all the gold and siluer which they had; and sent along with them, into euery of their Townes, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gaue secret instruction to the Capitaines, that vpon a certaine day by him appointed they should fall to sacke euery one the Towne wherein hee was sent. Thus in one day were threecore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, spoiled by the *Roman* souldiours; and besides other acts of hostilitie in a time of peace, a hundred and fittie thousand of that Nation made slaues. It may be granted, that some of the *Epirots* deserued punishment, as hauing fauoured *Perseus*. But since they, among this people, that were thought guiltie of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had bene already sent into *Italie*, there to receiue their due; and since this Nation, in general, was not onely at the present in good obedience, but had, euen in this warre, done good seruice to the *Romans*: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not beleeue it, had anie one Writer deliuered the contrarie. But the truth being manifest by consent of all; it is the lesse meruailous, that *God* was pleased to make *Æmylius* childlesse, euen in the glorie of his triumph, how great soeuer otherwise his vertues were.

In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victorie, with the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appeare by the efficacy of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*: whereof before we speake, we must speake somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadors came,

§. XI.

The Warre of *ANTIOCHVS* vpon *Egypt*, brought to end by the Roman Embassadors.



ANTIOCHVS the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reign and life. He died the six and thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolemie Epiphane*; while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Iulius*) of *Iupiter*. He left behinde him three sonnes, *Selenus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphane*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had giuen in marriage to *Ptolemie Epiphane*, King of *Egypt*. *Selenus* the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his sonnes; reigned in *Syria* twelue years, according to *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Iosephus* giue him but leuen. A Prince, who as hee was slouthful by nature, so the great losse which his father *Antiochus* had receiued; took from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred years before his birth, *Daniel* gaue this iudgement, *Et stabit in loco eius vilissimus & indignus decore regis*. And in his place (speaking of *Antiochus* the father of this man) shall rise up a wilde person, unworthy the honor of a King. Vnder this *Selenus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the High Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect. What time as the holy Citie was inhabited with all peace, because of the godlinesse of *ONIAS* the Priest, it came to passe, that euen the King did honor the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Machabees*, of *Simon* of *Beniamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the treasures of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* sent by the King to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God; and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his successor *Antiochus Epiphane*. It is therefore from the reigne of this King, that the bookes of the *Machabees* take beginning. Which bookes seeme not to be deliuered by one and the same hand. For the first booke, although it touch vpon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his storie, nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphane*, the brother and successour of this *Selenus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Machabees* (who died in the hundred threcore and seuenteenth year of the *Greekes* in *Syria*) that first booke treateth. The Author of the second booke, although he take the storie somewhat further off, by way of a Proeme, yet hee endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth year of the *Gracian* reigne, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slaine by *Judas*: remembering in the fourth Chapter the practise of *Iason*, the brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Selenus*, prevailed with *Antiochus Epiphane*, his successor for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Iustinus* and other graue Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadors to the *Iewes*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence betwene them and the *Greekes*, *Jonathan* the brother and successor of *Judas*, remembereth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himselfe directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Xenonius* and *Antipater* his Embassadors, whom hee employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the High Priest, whereto *Iosephus* adds,

Strab. lib. 1. 6.
Iust. lib. 35.

Euseb. in Cron.
App. de bell. Syr.
Ant. 12. cap. 5.

Dem. 11. v. 31.

Mat. cap. 3.

Mat. 1. 12.
Super Eccl. 4. 5.

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addes, that the name of the Lacedemonian Ambassador was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her claws.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seven and thirtieth year of the *Greekes* in *Syria*. Hee was the second sonne of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdome by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also hee vsurped from his brothers sonne:

Ptolemie Philometor, his Nephew by his sister *Cleopatra*, being then very yong, 10 had bene about seven yeares King of *Egypt*.

Ptolemie Epiphanes, the father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* foure and twentie yeares; in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to diuide his Kingdome between them, whilest he was a childe. But they found such other busines, ere long, with the *Romans*, as made them giue ouer their vsuall purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this *Ptolemie*, the Provinces of *Celefsyria*, *Phoenice*, and *Indea*, which he had wonne by his victorie ouer *Scopas*, that was Generall of the *Egyptian* forces in those parts. Neuerthelesse, *Ptolemie* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he liued in the greater securitie. Hee left 20 behind him two sons; this *Ptolemie Philometor*, and *Ptolemie Physcon*, with a daughter, *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom shee was calt off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

Ptolemie Philometor, so called (that is, the lower of his mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subiects, and was like to be chased out of his kingdome: his yonger brother being set vp against him. *Physcon* having a strong partie, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himselfe in *Memphis*, crauing succour of King *Antiochus* his vncl. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who vnder colour to take vpon him the protection of the yong Prince, fought by 30 all meanes possible to possesse himselfe of that kingdome. He sent *Apollonius* the sonne of *Mnefithens* Embassador into *Egypt*, and vnder colour to assitt the Kings Coronation, hee gaue him instructions to perswade the Gouernours of the yong King *Philometor*, to deliuer the King his Nephew with the principall places of that kingdome into his hands; pretending an extraordinarie care and desire of his Nephewes safetie and well doing. And the better to answer all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came he alongst the coast of *Syria*, to *Ioppe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned himselfe towards *Ierusalem*, where by *Iason* the Priest (a Chaplin fit for such a Patron) hee was with all pompe and solemnitie receiued into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessor of *Epiphanes*, that impious traytor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Bentamin*, ruler of the Temple, when he would haue deliuered the treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Gouernor of *Celefsyria* and *Phoenicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heauen; the said *Apollonius* being stricken by the Angell of God, and recovering againe at the prayer of *Ouias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrifie others from the like vngodly practises. Presently vpon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Iason*, the brother of *Ouias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtaine the Priesthood for himselfe, offered vnto the King three hundred and threecore talents of siluer, with other rents and summes of money. 40 So he got his desire, though he not long enioyed it.

This naughtie dealing of *Iason*, and his being ouer-reached by another, in the same kinde, calls to minde a by-word taken vp among the *Acheans*, when as that mischieuous *Callierates*, who had bene too hard for all worthy and vertuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus.

One fire than other burnes more forcibly,
 One Wolfe than other Wolves does bite more sore;
 One Hawke than other Hawkes more swift does fly.
 So one most mischievous of men before,
 CALLICRATES, false knave as knave might be,
 Met with MENALCIBUS more false than he.

And euen thus fell it out with *Iafon*: who within three yeares after, was betrayed, and ouerbidden by *Menclaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priesthood for himselfe: *Iafon* thereupon being forced to flie from *Ierusalem*, and to hide himselfe among the *Ammonites*.

From *Ierusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phenicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a mightie armie of land-forces, hee went about to raigne ouer *Egypt*, that he might haue the dominion of two Realmes, and entred *Egypt* with a mightie companie, with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Raite, and moued warre against *PTOLEMAEVS* King of *Egypt*, but *PTOLEMAEVS* was afraid of him and fled, and many were wounded to death. He wanne many strong Cities, and took away the spoies of the Land of *Egypt*. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecie of *DANIEL*. He shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Provinces, and he shall doe that which his Fathers haue not done, nor his Fathers Fathers. Neuer indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* so great a victorie ouer the *Egyptians*, nor took from them so great riches. For hee gaue a notable overthrow to the Captaines of *Ptolemie*, betweene *Pellusim* and the hill *Casius*, after which he entered and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *ANTIOCHVS* had smitten *Egypt*, he turned againe and went up towards *Israell* and *Ierusalem* with a mightie people, and entered proudly into the Sanctuarie, and tooke away the golden Altar, and the Candellstick for the light, and all the Instruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the pouring Vessels and the Bowles, and the golden Basons, and the Vails, and the Crownes, and the golden Apparell. He tooke also the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* warre, that *Antiochus* tooke in hand this *Egyptian* buisnesse. At what time he first laid claime to *Colefrya*; justifying his title by * the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffly auerring, that this Prouince had not benee assigned ouer to the *Egyptian*, origien in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Falsie it was to approue his right vnto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all *Egypt*. The *Athians*, *Rhodiens*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greekes*, pressed him, by seuerall Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was; that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receiue their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolemies*, then should the warre be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when hee saw, that it was an hard peece of worke to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine warre, than by the terrour of his armes, threatening destruction vnto both of them, to put to them any desire of comming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present; leauing the *Ptolemies* in very weake estate, the younger, almost ruined by his inuasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how weake foeuer these *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to bee so strong, that *Antiochus* might leaue them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leasure his other buisnesse at *Ierusalem* or else where. So after the sacke of *Ierusalem*, he rested him a while at *Antioch*, and then made a journey into *Cilicia*, to suppress the Rebellion of the *Thursians* and other in those parts, who had bin giuen, as it were, by way of dowrie, to a Concubine of the King, called *Antiochia* For

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Gouverneur of Syria in his absence, he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great authority about him. In the meane while *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Iafon* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an Income, committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother *Lysimachus*, stole certaine vessels of gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at Tyre, and other Cities adjoining. This he did, as it seemeth, to aduance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by *Sositratu*s eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Omas* the Priest (formerly dispossessed by *Iafon*) had certaine knowledge, being moued
10 with zeale, and detesting the sacrilege of *Menelaus*, hee reproued him for it; and fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himselfe into a Sanctuarie at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoining as a suburb to *Antioch*. In compasse it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, sweet Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lulk, and other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of *Omas*, to commit himselfe to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claime priuledge, from the holines of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discoure. Only I say for mine owne opinion; that the inconuenience is far lesse, to hold this book as *Apocryphall*; than to iudge this fearefull shift which
20 *Omas* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the booke seemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not saue the life of the poore old man: for *MENELAUS* taking *ANDRONICUS* apart, prayed him to slay
ONIAS. So when he came to ONIAS, he counselled him craftily, giuing him his right hand with an oath, and perswading him to come out of the Sanctuarie; so he slew him incontinently, without any regard of righteousness. Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his returne out of *Cilicia*, hee tooke away *ANDRONICUS* his garment of purple, and rent his cloather, and commanded him to be led throughout the City, and in the same place where hee had committed the wickednesse against ONIAS, hee was
30 slaine as a murderer. In taking reuenge of this innocent mans death, I should haue thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Iustice. But presently after this, at the suite of one *Ptolemie*, a traytor to *Ptolemie Philometor*, he condemned innocent ment to death; who iustly complained against *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lysimachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his owne outrageous will, and not by any regard of justice: since hereuenged the death of *Omas*, yet slew those that were in the same cause with *Omas*, who had they told their cause,
yea, before the Scythians, they should haue beene heard as innocent. By reason of such
his vnsteadinesse, this king was commonly termed *Epimaneus*, that is, madde, in
stead of *Epiphanes*, which signifieth Noble or Illustrious.

40 After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into *Egypt*, and then were there seen throughout all the Citie of *Ierusalem*, fortie dayes long, horsemen running in the aire with Kobes of gold, and as bands of Spearmen, and as troopes of Horsemen set in aray, encountering and coursing one against another. Of these prodigious signes, or rather forewarnings of God, all Histories haue deliuered vs some more, some lesse. Before the destruction of *Ierusalem* by *Vespasian*, a starre in the forme of a sword appeared in the Heauens directly ouer the Citie, after which there followed a slaughter-like vnto this of *Epiphanes*, though farre greater. In the *Cymbrian* warres, *Pliny*
tells vs that Armies were seene fighting in the aire from the morning till the euening.

50 In the time of Pope *Iohn* the eleventh, a fountaine poured out bloud in stead of water, in or neare the Citie of *Genoa*; soone after which the Citie was taken by the *Saracens*, with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signes, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me the most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know that in the Emperour *Nero*, the
Orr-Spring

Mac lib. 3. c. 44

Mac lib. 3. c. 44

Ves. 47.

Mac lib. 3. c. 44

Plin. lib. 2. c. 57.

Mecur. Vipera de Prodig. lib. 8. Vipera de Prodig. co. 4. facit insulitatis.

Offspring of the *Cæsars*, as well naturall as adopted, tooke end; whereof this notable signe gave warning.

Sueton. Galba.

When *Linia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white Henne, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. *Linia* caused this Henne to be carefully nourished, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: Of the Henne came a faire increase of white Poultrie, and from the little branch there sprang vp in time a Groue of Lawrell: so that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerors did vse to carrie in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Groue; and after the Triumphs ended, to set it againe in the same ground: which branches were obserued, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeare of *Xero*, all the broodes of the white Hennes died, and the whole Groue of Bayes withered at once. Moreouer, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Agrippus* his hand, were stricken downe with lightning. That the *Iewes* did not thinke such strange signes to be vnworthie of regard; it appears by their calling vpon God, and praying, that these tokens might turne to good.

Now, as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt* was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning: so was his second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolemie* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their vncle; thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by persuation than by armes. *Physcon* had not as yet forgotten the terrour of the former siege: the *Alexandrines* though they loued not *Philometor*, yet loued they worke to live in scarcitie of vituals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreame) since nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelyhood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helpes, and aboue all these, the louing disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor* in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein he stood of his vncle. For though *Antiochus* were gone out of *Egypt* with his armie; yet had he left behinde him a strong garrison in *Pelusium*; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of *Egypt*, to his owne vse. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, hee was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that hee had pretended no other thing than the establishing of the King *Philometor* his nephew, and a meaning to subiect his younger brother vnto him, which hee gaue in answer to all Embassadors; yet he now prepared to make sharpe warre vpon them both. And to that end hee presently furnished and sent out his Nauie towards *Cyprus*, and drew his Land Armie into *Celestria*, readie to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as fast as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embassadors sent from *Ptolemie*. Their errand was partly to yeld thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his Kingdome; partly to beseech him, That he would rather be pleased to signifie what hee required to haue done in *Egypt*, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Armie. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That he would neither call backe his Fleet, nor withdraw his Armie, vpon any other condition, than that *Ptolemie* should surrender into his hands, together with the Citie of *Pelusium*, the whole Territorie thereto belonging: and that hee should also abandon and leaue vnto him the Isle of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had vnto either of them for euerr. For answer vnto these demands, hee set downe a day certaine, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entred *Nilus*, and recovered as well those places

ces which appertained to *Ptolemie* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it selfe; for *Antiochus* and all about it receiued *Antiochus*, being vnable to resist him. The King hauing now no stoppe in his way to *Alexandria*; passed on thitherwards by eanie journeyes.

- Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood; the *Romans* had notice long agoe. But they found, or were contented to finde, little reason for them to entremiddle therein. For it was a ciuill warre: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the iuster cause. Yet they gaue signification, that it would be much displeasing vnto them, to haue the Kingdome of *Egypt* taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loath to prouoke *Antiochus* too farre. Neuerthelesse, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in neede of helpe against their Vncle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to bee expected, that not onely the *Romans*, but many of the *Greekes*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arme in defence of their Kingdome. *Rome* had bene sustained with food from *Egypt*, in the warre of *Hannibal*; when *Italy* lying waste, had neither corne, nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the *Egyptian*, had *Aratus* laid the foundation of that greatnesse, whereto the *Acheans* attained. And by the like helpe, had *Rhodes* bene defended against *Demetrius Pelloretetes*. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the *Ptolemies* had done for sundrie people abroad, ill followed or seconded, by other as bad in requittall: but with continuance of sutable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for ayde: especially to the *Rhodians* and *Acheans*, who seemed most able to giue it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Physcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a yeare since: but their Embassadours lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Acheans* they desired in particular, that *Lycortas* the brave warrior might be sent to them as Generall of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his sonne *Polybius* Generall of the Horse. Hereunto the *Acheans* readily condescended: and would immediately haue made performance; if *Callistates* had not interposed his mischieuous arte.
- Hee, whether seeking occasion to vaunte his obsequiousnesse to the *Romans*; or much rather enuying those Noble Captaines, whose seruice the Kings desired; withstood the common voice; which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, beading vnto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (hee said) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such businesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeld vnto the *Romans* what helpe soeuer should be required in the *Macedonian* warre. And in this sentence, hee with those of his faction oblatinately persisted; terrifying others with bigge words, as it were in behalfe of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that
- 40 *Martius* the late Consul had signified vnto him, that the *Romans* were past all need of helpe: adding further, that a thousand foote, and two hundred horse, might well bee spared, to the ayde of their benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any seruice to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Acheans* could, without trouble, raise thirtie or fortie thousand souldiours. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of *Callistates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should haue passed; he brought into the Theater where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Acheans* were desired to conforme themselves to the *Roman* Senate, and to labour, as the Senate had
- 50 done, by sending Embassadours, to set *Egypt* in peace. This was an aduice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater businesse else where, with such milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Acheans* should doe any good in the

same kinde. Yet *Polybius* and his friends durst not gaine-say the *Roman* Councell; which had force of an iuniction. So the Kings were left in much distresse; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome: and then might the Embassador sent from the *Roman* Senate, performe as much as any *Arme* could haue done.

Audience had bene lately given by the Senate, vnto those Embassadors of *Physcon* and *Cleopatra*; which hauing staid more then a whole yeare in the Citie, brought nothing of their businesse to effect vntill now. The Embassadors deliuered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philonetor*, no lesse than his brother and sister.

Polyb. Legat. 71.

In this Embassage of *Ptolemie*, now requesting helpe from *Rome*; appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had bin before three or foure yeares last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* warre; either he, or *Euleus* and *Lenus* (vpon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not only he determined to set vpon *Antiochus*, for *Celestria*; but would haue interposed himselfe betwene the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embassador was by a friend perswaded, to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts, he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subiects, to liue vnder protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time as by attonement with his brother and subiects, hee might haue seemed to stand in no need of such protection; he hath remaining none other helpe whereby to saue both his Kingdome and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister, shewed it selfe euen in the habit of those Embassadors. They were poorly cladde; the haire of their heads and beards ouer-growne, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands, branches of *Oliue*. Thus they entered into the Senate; and there fell groueling and prostrate vpon the floare. Their garments were not so meane and mournfull, nor their looks and countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For hauing told in what danger their King and Country stood; they made a pittifull and grieuous complaint vnto the Senate, beseeching them to haue compassion of their estate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly and faithfull to the *Romans*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore fauoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authoritie, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadors, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his vndertaking vpon the King their Confederat; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and withdraw his *Armie* out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time or vsed any delay; then should *Ptolemie* and *Cleopatra* be shortly driuen out of their Realmes, and make repaire to *Rome*, with shamefull dishonor to the Senate and people thereof; in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieue them.

The Lords of the Senate moued with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadors, to determine and end the warre betwene those Kings. In commiſſion they had first to finde King *Ptolemie*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both vnderstand, that vntlesse they surceased and gaue ouer *Armes*, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate and people of *Rome*, whom they found obdurate or vsing delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embassadors, tooke their leaue, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest

Whilest *Popilius* and his fellowes were on their way toward *Ægypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Armie ouer *Lusine*, some fortie myles from *Alexandria*. So neare was hee to the end of his journey, when the *Roman* Embassadors met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Role of paper; willing him to reade those Mandates of the Senate, before hee did anie thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and having a little while considered of the businesse, hee tolde *Popilius*, That hee would advise with his friends, and then give the Embassadors their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinarie blunt manner of speech, which hee had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rodde which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moved out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandement, after hee had layed and pawed a while, I will be content (quoth he) to doe whatsoever the Senate shall ordaine. Then *Popilius* gave vnto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Ægypt*, without anie good issue of his costly Expedition; euen in such manner as * *Daniel* had prophesied long before: yea, fulfilling euenie particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Ierusalem* after his returne; like as if these things had rather bene histiorified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadors, they layed a while, and settled the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, leauing it vnto the elder brother, and appointing the younger to raigne ouer *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had bene, in the power of the *Ægyptian*, having first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had alreadye giuen an ouerthrow to the *Ægyptian* shippes.

Dan. cap. 11. ver. 39, 40. &c.

§. XII.

How the *Romans* were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards *EUMENES*, *PRYSIAS*, *MASANISSA*, and *COTYS*. The end of *PERSVS* and his children. The instablie of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of *PAVLVS*, *ARICIVS*, and *OCTAVIVS*. With the Conclusion of the Worke.

Y this peremptorie demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the readie obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; wee may perceiue how terrible the *Romans* were growne, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had bene well contented, a yeare before this, to lay aside the roughnesse of his naturall condition, and to giue good language to the *Atheans* and *Ætolians*, when hee went Embassadour to those people of *Greece*, that were of farre lesse power than the King *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good wordes, and no more than good wordes, dismissed other Embassadors which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much lesse vsed anie menacing tearmes, though hee performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victorie ouer *Persus*, and to craue helpe or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallio* greekes, which molested him. Verie welcome was *Attalus*, and louingly entertained by most of the Senatours: who bad him be confident, and request of the Senate

his brothers Kingdome for himselfe; for it should surely be giuen him. These hopefull promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that hee cyther approued, or seemed to approue the motion. But his honest nature was soone reclaimed by the faithfull counsaile of *Stratius* a Physician; whome *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keepe his brother vpright. So, when hee came into the Senate, hee deliuered the errand about which hee had bene sent; recounted his owne seruices done to the *Romans* in the late Warre,* wherewithall he forgot not to make of his brother as good mention as he could: and finally requested, That the Townes of *Anus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed vpon himselfe. * By his omitting to sue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceived opinion, 10 that he meant to craue another day of audience for that businesse alone. Wherefore, to make him vnderstand how gracious hee was, they not onely granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gaue to him (as was their custome to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they vsed singular magnificence. Neuerthelesse, *Attalus* tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst hee was yet in *Italie*, they gaue order for the libertie of *Anus* and *Maronea*: thereby making vneffectuall their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, reuoke. And as for the *Gallugreekes*, which were about to invade the Kingdome of *Pergamus*; they sent Embassa- 20 dours to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthe of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. Hee might well blame the follie of his second voyage thither, for this necessitie of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, hee had layed open vnto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne doores. No sooner was he come into *Italie*, than the Senate was readie to send him going. It was not thought expedient to vse him as an enemy, that came to visit them in loue: neyther could they, in so doing, haue auoided the note of singular inconstancie: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come 30 to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much further complement.

Prusias King of *Bithynia* had bene at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcomed after a better fashion. Hee had learned to behaue himselfe as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For entering into the Senate, hee lay downe, and kissed the threshold, calling the *Fathers* his gods and fauours: as also hee vsed to weare a Cappe, after the manner of slaues newly manumitted, professing himselfe an enfranchised bondman of the People of *Rome*. He was indeede naturally a slaue, and one that by such abject flatterie kept himselfe 40 safe; though doing otherwise greater mischief than anie wherewith *Perseus* had bene charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend vnto the Senate the care of his sonne *Nicomedes*, whome he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receiue education. Further petition he made, to haue some Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, because the graunt would haue bene vnjust hee receiued a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his sonne, it was vnderaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gaue vnto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But about all other Kings, *Antiochus* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endlesse with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all controuersies they gaue judgment 50 on

* Liu. lib. 45.

* Polyb. Arg. 93.

Polyb. libid.

on his side: and where
the Senate, for vaine
could not so greatly
initially the *Carthaginians*
dred T. *Antiochus* to the
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and so on, *Antiochus*. That
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thin whole Earth seeme
If *Perseus* had know
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like, that he would not
those persons must be
their skill in the fear of
hane considered, that the
and subject vnto *Ours*

on his side: and whereas hee had invaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Townes; the *Romans* (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let goe all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the *Numidian*; for hauing hindered him of his due so long. Now indeede had *Rome* good leysure to deuise vpon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Masaniissa* himselfe was shortly by them rooted vp. But hereof the olde King neuer dreamed. Hee sent to *Rome* one of his sonnes, to congratulate the victorie ouer *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himselfe, there to sacrifice for joy vnto *Iupiter* in the *Capitol*. His good will was louingly accepted; his sonne rewarded; and hee entreated to stay at home.

Corys the *Thracian* sent Embassadors, to excuse himselfe touching the aide by him giuen to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages; and to entreat, That his sonne, which was taken with the children of *Perseus*, might be set at libertie for conuenient ransom. His excuse was not taken; since hee had voluntarily obliged himselfe to *Perseus*, by giuing hostages, without necessitie: Yet was his sonne giuen backe to him ransom-free; with admonition, to carrie himselfe better toward the *Romans* in time following. His Kingdome lay betwene *Macedon* and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in faire tearmes.

As for those vnhappie Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, they were ledde through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Emilius* and *Anticus*. *Perseus* had often made suite to *Emilius*, that hee might not be put to such disgrace: but hee still receiued one scornfull answer, That it lay in his owne power to preuent it; whereby was meant, that hee might kill himselfe. And surely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than hee found, hee would rather haue sought his death in *Macedon*, than haue beene beholding to the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemencie, whereof *Emilius* had giuen him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow King, had beene ledde in chaynes through the streetes, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remayned without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vp towards the *Capitol*, there to doe sacrifice, hee should command the captiues to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and miserie of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted vnto *Perseus*: yet so, that hee had little joy of his life; but cyther famished himselfe, or (for it is diuersly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custodie; and so died for want of sleepe. Of his sonnes, two died; it is vncertaine how. The youngest called *Alexander* (onely in name like vnto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a Ioyner, or Turner, or at his best preferment, a Scribe vnder the *Roman* Officers. In such poueritie ended the Royall House of *Macedon*: and it ended on the suddaine; though some eightscore yeares after the death of that Monarch, vnto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had knowne it before, that his owne sonne should one day be compelled to earne his liuing by handie-woke, in a painefull Occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonnesse of Soueraignetie, haue commaunded those poore men to be slaine, which had recovered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diuing. He would rather haue beene verie gentle, and would haue considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most vnderroden wretches, are all subiect vnto One high Power, gouerning all alike with absolute command.

But such is our unhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsaile, *Doe as yee would be done vnto*, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity; wee entertaine that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the Most high*: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One hath said truly:

103
Inuenit. Sat. 10.

Et qui volunt occidere quemquam
Possit volunt

Euen they that haue no murderous will,
Would haue it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, haue a vaine desire of abilitie to doe euill without controule: which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath graunted such power to verie few: among whome also, verie few there are, that vse it not to their owne hurt. For who sees not, that a Prince, by racking his Soueraigne authoritie to the vtmost extent, enablen (besides the dangerto his owne person) some one of his owne sonnes or nephewes to root vp all his progenie? Shall not manie excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearnesse in bloud, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot, that gouernes one, the most vnworthie of his whole house, yet reigning oucrall? The vntimely death of manie Princes, which could not humble themselues to such flatterie; and the common practise of the *Turkish* Emperours, to murder all their brethren, without expeding till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Hereto may be added, That the heire of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*: which had been obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortall enemy, to exercise the same vpon the Line of that vnhappie King. Such examples of the instabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are subiect; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitorie Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the euill that may fall on their owne posteritie: so doe they necessarily make vs vnderstand, how happie that Countrie is, which hath obtained a King able to conceiue and teach, That * God is the forefett and sharpest Schoolemaster, that can be deuised, for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without controulment to turne it upside-downe at their pleasure.

Now, concerning the Triumph of *L. Aemilius Paulus*; it was in all points like vnto that of *T. Quintus Flaminius*: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person; that was ledde along therein, as part of his owne spoyle; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was the quantitie of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasurie, that from thenceforth, vnill the ciuile Warres, which followed vpon the death of *Julius Caesar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it selfe with anie Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to haue beene hindered by the souldiors; who gruged at their Generall, for not hauing dealt more bountifullly with them. But the Princes of the Senate ouer-ruled the People and Souldiors herein, and brought them to reason by euere exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of his victorie as men could giue. Neurtherlesse, it pleased God to take away from him his two remaying sonnes, that were not giuen in adoption: of which, the one died five dayes before the Triumph; the other, three dayes after it. This losse hee bore wisely: and told the People, That hee hoped to see the Commonwealt flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the joy of his victorie was requited with his owne priuate calamitie, in stead of the publike.

About

CHAP. 6. §. 12.
Abominable
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1039
 775
 CHAP. 6. S. 12. of the Historie of the World.

About the same time, Octavius the Admirall, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*; and *Anicius* the Pretor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Centius* prisoner; made their severall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles; together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to visit her, and doe their duties in person; were enough to say vnto *Rome*, *Summe superbiem*, Take upon thee the Maiestie, that thy deserts haue purchased.

10 BY this which we haue already set downe, is seene the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectours thought, that they could neuer haue ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We haue left it flourishing in the middle of the field; hauing rooted vp, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the formes of ambition that beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaues shall fall off, her timbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, haue bin the subiect of those ancient Histories, which haue bene preferred, and yet remaine among vs; and withall of so many tragical Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mightie men haue complained against Infidelitie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these undertakings, the greatest Lords of the world haue bene stirred vp, rather by the desire of *Fame*, which ploweth vp the Aire, and soweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation, and so many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of *Cineas* to *Pyrhus* proues. And certainly, as *Fame* hath often bene dangerous to the liuing, so is it to the dead of no vse at all; because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreame ill bargaine of buying this lasting discourse, vnderstood by them which are dissolved; they themselves would then rather haue wished, to haue stolne out of the world without noyse; than to be put in minde, that they haue purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression and cruelty; by giuing in spoile the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and insolent, and by hauing emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with so many and so variable sorts of sorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatnesse nor continuance) there hath bene no State fearedfull in the East, but that of the *Turke*; nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his wings farre ouer his nest, but the *Spaniard*; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moor*es out of *Granado*, haue made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treasures of both *Indies*, and by the many Kingdomes which they possesse in *Europe*, they are at this day the most powerfull. But as the *Turke* is now counterpoised by the *Persian*, so in stead of so many Millions as haue bene spent by the *English*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defenseuall war, and in diuersions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but fortwo yeares or three at the most, they may not only be perswaded to liue in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing streames may be brought backe into their naturall channels and old banks. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one seeking to roote out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof, the one to joyne all *Europe* to *Asia*, the other the rest of all

Europe to *Spaine*.

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundlesse ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath bene already said; That

T hat the Kings and Princes of the world haue alwayes laid before them, the actions, but not the ends, of those great Ones which preceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they neuer minde the miserie of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the aduice of God, while they enioy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsel of Death, vpon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word; which God with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. Death which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleued, God with which hath made him and loves him, is alwayes deferred. *I haue considered (saith SALOMON) all the workes that are vnder the Sunne, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit*: but who beleuees it, till Death tells it vs. It was Death, which opening the conscience of Charles the fifth, made him enioyne his sonne Philip to relore *Nauarre*; and King Francis the first of France, to command that iustice should be done vpon the Murderers of the Protestants in *Merindol* and *Cabrières*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but *Abiecs*, and humbles them at the instant; makes them cry, *complaine*, and repent; yea, even to hate their forpast happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a beggers a naked begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that fills his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beuallied, and makes them see therein, their deformitie and rotnennesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just and mightie Death! whom none could aduice, thou hast per-
waded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered,
thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all
the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and co-
uered it all ouer with these two narrow words, *Hic iacet*.

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calles it selfe, *The first part of the Generall Historie of the World*, implying a *Second*, and *Third* Volume; which I also intended, and have hewen out; besides many other discouragements, per-

Twading my silence; it hath pleased God to take that glorious Prince
out of the world, to whom they were directed; whose vnspcak-
able and neuer enough lamented losse, hath taught mee
to say with Iob, *Versa est in Luctum Citha.*

ramen, & Organum meum in vocem
flentium.

FINIS. ²³ Dec 1614 in la Planta
+ H. 6.

¶ To the Reader.



THe use of Chronological Tables is needfull to all Historiies, that reach to anie length of time; and most of all, to those that are most general: since they cannot, like Annales, yearly set downe all Occurrences not coherent. This here following, may serue as an Index to the present Part of this Worke; pointing vnto the seuerall matters, that hauing fallen out at one time, are farre distoynd in the Relation. Certainly it is not perfect: neither doe I thinke, that anie can be. For howsoeuer the yeares of the first Patriarchs may seeme to haue bene well-neare computed, yet in the reignes of the Kings of Iuda and Israel, wee finde manie fractions, and the last yeare, or yeares, of one King reckoned also as the forme of another. The same is most likely to haue fallen out in manie other; though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the diuerse and imperfect formes of the yeare, which were in use among sundrie Nations: causing the * Summer Metellus, in proceesse of some Ages, to fall into the Winter; and so breeding extreame confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to chuse, out of so manie, and so vnterly disagreeing computations, as haue already gotten authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deale more, is to be alleged, in excuse of such error as a more intestine and perfect Calculator shall happen to finde herein. It may serue to free the Booke, and likewise the Reader (if but of meane iudgement) from anie notorious Anachronicisme; which ought to suffice. The Booke indeed will need it, euen in that regard; not onely for some errors of the Presse, in the numbering of yeares, but for some haitie mis-reckonings of mine owne; which I desire to haue hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want careful diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his owne ease.

The Titles ouer the Columnes, haue reference to that which folloves under them; as will readily be conceiued. Where two Titles, or more, are ouer the head, as ^{Some Nations} there doe the numbers vnderneath answere proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: The walls of Ierusalem were finished in the 310. yeare from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from NABONASSAR. In like manner it is to be vnderstood, That IEROSOPHAT began his reignes in the 3774. of the IULIAN Æra, in the 3092. of the World, and in the 99. yeare of the Temple. This needes not more illustration; nor indeede so much, to those that are acquainted with workes of this kinde. To auoid prolixitie, I haue forborne to insert those yeares, which I finde not signed with some regardable accident: as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Reignes; some change of Government; some Battaille fought; or the like. So, of the 13. yeares wherein SYLVIVS CAPETVS reigned ouer the Latines, I note onely the first; that is, omitting all betwene the 4. of IEROSOPHAT, wherein CAPETVS began, vnto the 17. wherein SYLVIVS AVENTINVS succeeded, and wherein IEROSOPHAT first reigned with IEROSOPHAT his father. For I thought it vaine to haue filled up a Page with 12. lines of idle cyphers; numbering forth 2. 3. 4. 5. and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of AVENTINVS, and 17. of IEROSOPHAT. In setting downe the Kings, there is noted ouer the head of euerie one, what place he held in ranke, of those that reigned in his Countrey, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first yeare of his reignes; at the end, or foot of the name (as the space giues leaue) is the whole number of yeares in which he reigned; in the spaces following vnderneath are those yeares of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeare of anie remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name, there is it to be vnderstood, that the same yeare belonged, not onely to the King then beginning, but vnto some one, or more, of his

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* See Lib. 2.
chap. 3. § 6.

To the Reader.

his fore-goes: as the first yeare of IERORAM King of Israel was the same with the second of his brother AHAZIA, and the 22. of his father AHAB. So, where two or three names are found in one place; as in the 3077. yeare of the World, TIMOTHY, TIBONI, and OMRI: it is meant, that euerie one of them reigned in some part of the same yeare; which is reckoned the second of ELA, and the first of OMRI. Particularly, vnder the yeares of the Egyptian Kings are set downe the yeares of those DYNASTIES, which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise, otherwhiles, the dayes the month vpon which NABONASSARS yeare began: which, how it varied from other yeares, may be found in the place last above cited.

Concerning the Æra, or account of yeeres, from IPHITYS, who began the Olympiads, from Rome built, from NABONASSAR, and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath bene said, where due place was, in the Booke it selfe: so as it remaineth onely to note, that vnder the title of Olympiads is set downe first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the yeare of that Olympiad; as that CYRVS began his reigne in Persia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the first yeare thereof.

Now, for that the yeares of the World, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of NABONASSAR, and other, had not beginning in one month, but some of them in March, some in April, some about Midsummer, and some at other times: the better to expresse their severall beginnings, some painefull Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their severall Columns; opposing part of the one yeare to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all euerthwart with one straight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour I have spared, as more troublesome than usefull; since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will onely be needfull to observe, that howsoever the Æra of the Olympiads be 24. yeares elder than that of Rome, and 29. than that of NABONASSAR, yet the reigne of some King may have begun at such a time of the yeare as did not suite with this difference. But herof I take little regard. The more curious will easily finde my meaning: the vulgar will not finde the difficultie. One familiar example may expaine all. Queene ELIZABETH began her reigne the 17. of November, in the yeare of our LORD 1558: Shee was crowned, held a Parliament; brake it up; threw downe Images; and reformed manie things in Religion; all in her first yeare: yet not all in that yeare 1558, but the greater part in the yeare following; whether we begin with the first of Iannarie, or with the 25. of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table; but so, as the difference is neuer of a whole yeare.

The IULIAN Period, which I have placed, as the greater number, over the yeares of the World, was devised by that honorable and excellently learned IOSEPH SCALIGER: being accommodated to the IULIAN yeares, now in use among vs. It consisteth of 7980 yeares; which result from the multiplication of 19. 28. and 15. that is, of the Cycle of the Moone, the Cycle of the Sunne, and the yeares of an Indiction. Being divided by one of these, it leaveth the number of the present yeares; or if no fraction remaine, it shewes the last yeare of that Cycle to be current. For example: in the 4498. of this Period, when was fought the great battaile of Cannæ, the Prime or Golden number was 14, the Cycle of the Sunne 18, and consequently the Dominicall letter F. as may be found by dividing the same number of the IULIAN Period 4498. by 19. for the Prime, by 28. for the Cycle of the Sunne. This IULIAN Period, after the present account, alwayes exceeds the yeares of the World by 682. Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a yeare, than any other Æra (as From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertaine position.

More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was it thus much requisite to such as are conversant in workes of this kinde: it is sufficient if hereby all be made plaine enough to the vulgar.

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wan.</i> | <i>Maha-
laleel.</i> | <i>Iared.</i> | <i>Me-
thuse-
lab.</i> | <i>La-
mech.</i> | <i>Noah.</i> | <i>Sem.</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----|--------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| <i>Enos died.</i> | 1822
1140 | 905 | 815 | 745 | 680 | 453 | 266 | 84 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Cainan died.</i> | 1917
1235 | | 910 | 842 | 775 | 548 | 361 | 179 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Mahalaleel
died this year.</i> | 1972
1290 | | | 895 | 830 | 603 | 416 | 234 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Iared died.</i> | 2104
1422 | | | | | 735 | 584 | 366 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Flood threat-
ened, Gen 6 3.</i> | 2219
1537 | | | | | 850 | 663 | 481 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2241
1559 | | | | | 872 | 685 | 503 | 1. Sem.
600 | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Lamech died.</i> | 2333
1651 | | | | | 964 | 777 | 595 | 93 | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Methuselah died this year a little
before the Flood. Noah enters into
the Ark. C. 7. 5. 3. & p. 7. the Flood.</i> | 2338
1656 | | | | | 969 | | 600 | 98 | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>The Flood ceaseth, Noah
issued out of the Ark.</i> | 2339
1657 | | | | | | | 601 | 99 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2341
1659 | <i>Julian.
World.
Flood.</i> | <i>Noah.</i> | <i>Sem.</i> | <i>1 Ar-
phaxad
438</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2376
1694 | | 638 | 136 | 36 | <i>1. Sa-
lab.
433</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2406
1724 | | 668 | 165 | 66 | <i>1. He-
ber.
464</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2440
1758 | | 702 | 200 | 100 | 65 | 35 | <i>1. Pe-
leg.</i> | <i>Kings
of As-
syria.</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2470
1788 | | 732 | 230 | 130 | 95 | 65 | 31 | <i>1. Rem.
1. Nim-
rod.
114</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2502
1820 | | 764 | 262 | 162 | 127 | 97 | 63 | 33 | <i>1. Sar-
g.
230</i> | <i>Kings
of A-
ssyria.</i> | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Vide Lib. 2.
c. 2. 5. 2.</i> | 2530
1848 | | 792 | 290 | 190 | 155 | 125 | 91 | 61 | 61 | 29 | <i>1
1. Chem
161</i> | | | | | | | |
| | 2532
1850 | | 694 | 292 | 192 | 157 | 127 | 93 | 63 | 63 | 31 | <i>1. No-
ah.
148</i> | | | | | | | |
| | 2561
1879 | | 823 | 321 | 221 | 186 | 156 | 122 | 92 | 92 | 69 | 32 | 30 | <i>1. Tr-
rah.
105</i> | | | | | |
| | 2584
1902 | | 846 | 344 | 244 | 202 | 179 | 145 | 115 | <i>2
1. Belus
65</i> | 83 | 55 | 53 | 24 | | | | | |
| | 245 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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| | <i>Israh.
World.
Fland.</i> | Noah. | Sem. | Arpha.
xad. | Salab. | Heber. | Peleg. | Ren. | Affy-
ria. | Sarg. | Egypt. | Nabor. | Terah | King of
Sicion. |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|---|---------------|--|--------|-------|--|
| | 2618
1936
279 | 880 | 378 | 278 | 243 | 213 | 179 | 149 | 35 | 117 | 89 | 87 | 58 | 1.
1. Egypt
(100, 5) |
| | 2649
1967
310 | 911 | 409 | 309 | 274 | 244 | 210 | 180 | ³
1. Ni-
nus, 52 | 148 | 120 | 118 | 89 | 32 |
| | 2670
1985
321 | 932 | 430 | 330 | 295 | 265 | 231 | 201 | 22 | 169 | 141 | 139 | 110 | 2.
1. Em-
rop, 45 |
| <i>The last year
of Peleg his life</i> | 1996
329 | 940 | 438 | 338 | 303 | 273 | 239 | 209 | 30 | 177 | 149 | 147 | 118 | 9 |
| <i>The death of
Nahor.</i> | 2079
1997
340 | 941 | 439 | 339 | 304 | 274 | | 210 | 31 | 178 | 150 | 148 | 119 | 10 |
| <i>Noah died
this year.</i> | 2088
2006
349 | 950 | 448 | 348 | 313 | 283 | | 219 | 40 | 187 | 159 | | 128 | 19 |
| <i>The 16. Dynasty
in Egypt. Vide L.
3. C. 2. § 3. 4. 5. & c.</i> | 2091
2009
352 | | 451 | 351 | 316 | 286 | | 222 | 43 | 190 | ²
1. Mo-
rims, 42
(100, 261) | | 131 | 1. 24.
bram.
175 |
| | 2701
2019
362 | | 461 | 361 | 326 | 296 | | 232 | ⁴
1. Semi-
ramis, 42 | 200 | 11 | | 141 | 32 11 |
| <i>The last year
of Ren.</i> | 2708
2026
369 | | 468 | 368 | 333 | 303 | | 239 | 8 | 207 | 18 | | 148 | 39 18 |
| | 2715
2033
376 | | 475 | 375 | 340 | 310 | | 245 | 15 | 214 | 25 | | 155 | ³
1. Tish-
on or Sicion
20 |
| <i>The last of
Sarg.</i> | 2731
2049
392 | | 491 | 391 | 356 | 326 | | 31 | 230 | 41 | | | 171 | 17 41 |
| | <i>Israh.
World.
Fland.</i> | <i>Sem.</i> | <i>Arphaxad.</i> | <i>Salab.</i> | <i>Heber.</i> | <i>Affryia.</i> | <i>Egypt.</i> | <i>Terah.</i> | <i>Sicion.</i> | <i>Abram.</i> | | | | |
| | 2735
2053
396 | 495 | 395 | 360 | 330 | 35 | 45 | 175 | 4 | 45 | | | | |
| | 2743
2061
404 | 503 | 403 | 368 | 338 | ⁵
1. Nini-
us, 38. | 53 | 183 | 9 | 53 | | | | |
| | 2760
2078
421 | 520 | 420 | 385 | 355 | 18 | 70 | 200 | ⁵
1. Tish-
on or Sicion
52. | 70 | | | | |
| <i>Abram returns to the
Promise.
Terah dies at Haran
(12. 4. 1. § 1. 2. 3. & c.)</i> | 2765
2083
426 | 525 | 425 | 390 | 360 | 23 | 75 | 205 | 6 | 75 | | | | |
| | <i>Israh.
World.
Fland.</i> | <i>Sem.</i> | <i>Arphaxad.</i> | <i>Salab.</i> | <i>Heber.</i> | <i>Abram.</i> | <i>Affryia.</i> | <i>Egypt.</i> | <i>Sicion.</i> | | | | | |
| | 2766
2084
426 | 526 | 426 | 391 | 361 | 76 | 24 | 76 | 7 | | | | | |
| <i>Abram enters into
Canaan and dwells
there 12 years (12. 4. 1. § 1. 2. 3. & c.)</i> | 2767
2085
427 | 527 | 427 | 392 | 362 | 77 | 25 | 77 | 8 | | | | | |
| <i>Abram returns
into Canaan.</i> | 2775
2093
430 | 535 | 435 | 400 | 370 | 85 | 33 | 85 | 16 | | | | | |
| <i>Israh. born
Israh. born</i> | 2777
2095
432 | 537 | 437 | 402 | 372 | 87 | 35 | 87 | 18 | | | | | |
| <i>Arphaxad
dies.</i> | 2778
2096
433 | 538 | 438 | 403 | 373 | 88 | 36 | 88 | 19 | | | | | |



| | Julian,
World,
Ptolemaic | Scm. | Salub. | Heber. | Abrah. | Affria. | Egypt. | Sieyon. | |
|--|--------------------------------|--------|---------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| | 2781
2099
16 | 541 | 406 | 376 | 91 | 6
1. Arimi
20 | 91 | 22 | |
| Isaac bore when Abraham was 100 years
old complet. 101. current. | 2791
1109
26 | 551 | 416 | 386 | 101 | 11 | 101 | 32 | 1. Isaac.
180 |
| The last year of Salub. | 2800
1126
42 | 568 | 433 | 403 | 118 | 28 | 118 | 49 | 18 |
| | 2811
1129
46 | 571 | | 406 | 121 | 7
1. Abrah.
21, 40. | 121 | 52 | 21 |
| | 2812
1130
47 | 572 | | 407 | 122 | 2 | 122 | 53 | 22 |
| Sarah the wife of Abraham died this year. | 2857
1145
62 | 587 | | 422 | 137 | 17 | 137 | 16 | 37 |
| Isaac took Rebecca to wife, when he was
40. years old complet. | 2871
1149
66 | 591 | | 426 | 141 | 21 | 141 | 20 | 41 |
| The last year of Scm. | 2840
1158
75 | 600 | | 435 | 150 | 30 | 150 | 29 | 50 |
| | Julian,
World,
Ptolemaic | Heber. | Abra-
ham. | Isaac. | Jacob. | Affria. | Egypt. | Sieyon. | Argues |
| | 2845
1164
81 | 441 | 156 | 56 | | 36 | 156 | 7
1. Tharimo-
dus, 45 | |
| | 2851
1169
86 | 446 | 161 | 61 | 1. Jacob
147 | 8
1. Bale-
us, 20. | 161 | 6 | 1. Ina-
chus, 50 |
| Abraham died this year. | 2865
1183
100 | 460 | 175 | 75 | 15 | 15 | 175 | 20 | 15 |
| Heber died this year. | 2869
1187
104 | 464 | | 79 | 19 | 19 | 179 | 24 | 19 |
| The 17. Dynasty, called of the Shep-
herds, beginning this year lasted 102.
years. | 2881
1199
116 | | | 91 | 31 | 9
1. Arma-
mides 38 | 191 | 36 | 31 |
| | 2891
1209
126 | | | 101 | 41 | 11 | 201 | 8
1. Lem-
cippus 52 | 41 |
| | 2901
1219
136 | | | 111 | 51 | 21 | 211 | 11 | 51 |
| The flood of Ogyges, a thousand an-
nuevic years before the Olympiads. See
Lib. 1. chap. 7. & 2. | 2919
1237
154 | | | 129 | 69 | 10
1. The In-
dian, 3 | 229 | 29 | 19 |
| | 2943
1260
177 | | | 152 | 92 | 24 | 252 | 52 | 42 |
| | 2944
1262
170 | | | 154 | 94 | 26 | 254 | 9
1. Messa-
pines, 47 | 44 |
| See Lib. Chap. 2. & 6. | 2952
1270
187 | | | 162 | 102 | 34 | 3
1. Typhon
after the
flood 9, 11 | 9 | 52 |
| | 2954
1272
189 | | | 164 | 104 | 11
1. Bale-
us, 52 | 3 | 11 | 54 |

The last year of Egypt

The last year of Egypt

The last year of Egypt

The last year of Egypt

The last year of Egypt

The last year of Egypt

| | Indian,
World,
Promise. | Isaac. | Jacob. | Affria | Egypt. | Sieyon. | Argines | |
|--|-------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----|
| Joseph sold into Egypt. | 2959
2777
194 | | 169 | 109 | 6
1. Orm.
70. 111 | 16 | 59 | 18 |
| | 2961
2779
196 | | 171 | 111 | 8
3
81 | 18 | 1. Apin.
35 | 20 |
| The last years of Isaac. | 2970
2888
205 | | 180 | 120 | 17
12
90 | 27 | 10 | 29 |
| Israel into Egypt. | 2980
2898
215 | | | 130 | 27
22
100 | 37 | 20 | 39 |
| The eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, which
lasted 348. years. | 2984
2702
219 | | | 134. | 31
26
1 | 41 | 24 | 43 |
| | 2991
2709
226 | | | 141 | 38
27
8 | 1. Pera-
men. 46 | 31 | 50 |
| | 2996
2714
231 | | | 146 | 43
38
17 | 6
1. Argum
70 | 55 | |
| Jacob dies in Egypt. | 2997
2715
232 | | | 147 | 44
39
14 | 7 | 2 | 56 |
| | Indian,
World,
Promise. | Joseph. | Affria. | Egypt. | Sieyon. | Argines | | |
| | 3005
2724
241 | 65 | 1. Altiades, 32. | 48
23 | 16 | 11 | | |
| | 3037
2755
273 | 96 | 32. | 79
54 | 11
1. Flamm-
ment, 48 | 42 | | |
| | 3038
2756
271 | 97 | 1. Mannius, 30. | 80
55 | 2 | 42 | over 300 | |
| The last years of Joseph. | 3051
2769
285 | 110 | 14 | 97
68 | 15 | 56 | | |
| | 3068
2786
292 | | 14
1. Manacatus, 30 | 108
83
110
85 | 30
30
32 | 5
1. Pindar
Crates, 34. | | |
| | 3074
2792
299 | | 7 | 6
Scholasticus Great, 31
91 | 38 | 9 | | |
| | 3085
2803
230 | | 18 | 12
103 | 12
1. Ortho-
pales, 67. | 20 | | |
| | 3098
2816
233 | | 15
1. Spheros or I
pheros, 20. | 25
115 | 14 | 33 | | |
| | 3107
2825
243 | | 10 | 7
1. Scholasticus, 14.
124 | 23 | 42 | | |
| | 3116
2834
251 | | 19 | 10
133 | 32 | 51 | | |

| | Julian,
World
Pro-
mise. | Moses | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicion. | Argines | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-------|--|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | 3118
2436
353 | 3 | 16
1. Mamilius, or
Mamilius. 30. | 12
135 | 34 | 53 | |
| | 3120
2438
355 | 5 | 3 | 14
137 | 36 | 6
1. Phor-
bus. 25. | |
| | 3121
2439
356 | 6 | 4 | 8
1. Orus 2. or En-
firia. 28. 128 | 37 | 2 | Athe-
nians. |
| | 3148
2466
383 | 33 | 17
1. Sparatus. 40. | 28
165 | 13
1. Mara-
thius. 20 | 29 | |
| | 3151
2469
386 | 36 | 4 | 31
168 | 4 | 32 | 1. Ce-
cropi. 50 |
| Moses visits his brethren the Israelites
kills an Egyptian, and flies into Midian. | 3155
2473
390 | 40 | 8 | 35
172 | 8 | 7
1. Tri-
par. 46. | 5 |
| | 3159
2477
394 | 44 | 12 | 9
1. Hermotus, or Aco-
cheris. 24. 1. 176. | 13 | 5 | 9 |
| | 3171
2489
405 | 56 | 24 | 10
1. Rithoru, or A-
eborus. 9. 188. | 24 | 17 | 21 |
| | 3178
2496
412 | 63 | 31 | 8
195 | 14
1. Mara-
thius. 20. | 24 | 28 |
| | 3180
2498
415 | 65 | 33 | 11
1. Cheneres. 16.
197 | 3 | 26 | 30 |
| | 3188
2506
422 | 73 | 18
1. Alcatades.
40. | 9
205 | 11 | 34 | 38 |
| Moses his wonders in Egypt. | 3195
2515
430 | 80 | 8 | 16
213 | 18 | 41 | 45 |
| | 3196
2514
431 | 81 | 9 | 13
1. Achertes. 8.
212 | 19 | 42 | 46 |
| The Flood of Deucalion, and configura-
tion of Phaeton about this time. | 3198
2516
433 | 83 | 11 | 3
215 | 15
1. Echi-
renus. 55. | 44 | 48 |
| | 3201
2519
436 | 86 | 14 | 6
218 | 4 | 8
1. Crato-
pus. 21 nam. 10 | 2 |
| | 3204
2522
439 | 89 | 17 | 13
1. Chertes. 15
211 | 7 | 4 | 4 |
| | 3211
2529
446 | 96 | 24 | 8
228 | 14 | 11 | 3
1. Am-
phitry. 12 |
| | 3219
2537
454 | 104 | 32 | 14
1. Arctus, or Da-
mus. 5. 136. | 22 | 19 | 9 |
| | 3222
2540
457 | 107 | 35 | 4
230 | 25 | 9
1. Sthe-
nelus. 11 | 12 |

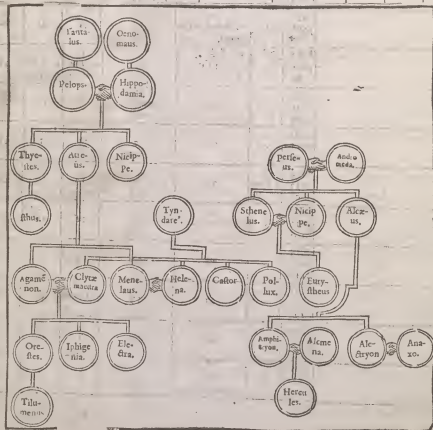
The last year of

The last year of

| | Julian,
World,
Exodus | Myses. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argos. | Athens. | |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | 3223
2541
28 | 108 | 36 | 5
240 | 26 | 2 | 4
1. Erillho
nus. 50 | |
| | 3224
2542
20 | 109 | 37 | 15
1. Ramesses 68
241 | 27 | 3 | 2 | Troy. |
| | 3228
2546
33 | 113 | 19
1. Amyntas. 45. | 5
245 | 31 | 7 | 6 | |
| | 3229
2547
24 | 114 | 2 | 6
246 | 32 | 8 | 7 | 1. Denda-
nat. 60. |
| | 3233
2551
38 | 118 | 6 | 10
250 | 36 | 10
1. Dr-
manis. 50 | 11 | 5 |
| The last years of Moses, | 3235
2553
40 | 120 | 8 | 12
252 | 38 | 3 | 13 | 7 |
| | Julian,
World,
Exodus | Israel. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argos. | Athens. | Troy. |
| The Israelites enter the Land of Promise, | 3236
2554
41 | 1
1. Inias
18 | 9 | 13
253 | 39 | 4 | 14 | 8 |
| | 3253
2571
58 | 18 | 26 | 30
270 | 16
1. Corax
20 | 21 | 31 | 25 |
| | 3254
2572
59 | 2
1. Oth-
niel. 25 | 27 | 31
271 | 2 | 22 | 32 | 26 |
| | 3273
2591
78 | 20
20 | 1. Belochus the
second. 25. | 50
290 | 21 | 41 | 15
1. Pando-
en. 40. | 45 |
| | 3283
2601
88 | 30 | 11 | 60
300 | 17
1. Ebo-
pemi. 15 | 11
1. Lyn-
ceus. 41 | 31 | 55 |
| | 3292
2610
97 | 39 | 20 | 16
1. Menaphis. 40.
200 | 10 | 10 | 20 | 64 |
| | 3293
2611
98 | 40 | 21 | 2
210 | 11 | 11 | 21 | 2
1. Erillho-
nus. 46. |
| | 3294
2612
99 | 2
1. Ebna
80 | 22 | 3
211 | 12 | 12 | 22 | 2 |
| | 3298
2616
102 | 5
21 | 1. Pelopares. 30 | 7
215 | 16 | 16 | 26 | 6 |
| | 3313
2631
118 | 20 | 16 | 22
220 | 31 | 31 | 6
1. Erillho-
nus. 50. | 21 |
| | 3318
2630
122 | 25 | 21 | 27
225 | 18
1. Lamado-
40 | 36 | 6 | 26 |
| | 3324
2642
129 | 31 | 27 | 33
241 | 7 | 1. Abas.
27 | 12 | 32 |
| | 3328
2646
132 | 35 | 22
1. Lamprides. 22. | 37
245 | 11 | 5 | 16 | 36 |

The 19. Dynastie: of the Larches, 194
years. See L. 2. chap. 26. §. 4.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|----|-----------------|---------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| | 3332
2650
117 | 39 | 5 | 17
1. Zethus, ac 5. 155
1 | 15 | 9 | 20 | 40 |
| | 3339
2657
144 | 46 | 12 | 8
8 | 22 | 16 | 27 | 3
1. Trer.
60 |
| Tantalus in Phrygia. | 3347
2665
162 | 54 | 20 | 16
16 | 30 | 13
1. Pratus
17 | 35 | 9 |
| | 3358
2676
161 | 65 | 31 | 27
27 | 1. Sisyph
45. | 12 | 46 | 20 |
| | 3360
2678
165 | 67 | 1. Sisyph. 20 | 29
29 | 3 | 14 | 48 | 22 |
| | 3363
2681
168 | 70 | 4 | 32
32 | 6 | 17 | 7
1. Cereph
the 2. 40 | 25 |
| Pelops in Pisa, who gave notice to Peloponncus. | 3364
2682
169 | 71 | 5 | 33
32 | 7 | 14
1. Acri-
fus. 21 | 2 | 26 |
| Ion and Xuthus two jounes of 1. eilen. See L. 2. C. 17. §. 6. | 3374
2692
170 | | 15 | 43
43 | 17 | 11 | 12 | 36 |
| | 3380
2698
185 | 7 | 1. Lampares. 30 | 49
49 | 23 | 17 | 18 | 42 |
| | 3387
2705
192 | 14 | 8 | 1. Ramfer. 66.
56 | 30 | 24 | 25 | 49 |
| At the death of Attilius, the Tynclena of the Argus
you distribute many small parts, and according to that
Myene, whereof some Tynclena of the Tynclena, others
from Pelop. in the Peloponnesus. | 3394
2712
199 | 21 | 15 | 8
62 | 37 | 31 | 32 | 56 |



| | Indian,
World,
Exodus | Israel. | Affria. | Egypt. | Sycen. | Mycena. | Athens. | Troy. |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | 3399
2717
204 | 26 | 20 | 13
68 | 42 | | 37 | 4
1. Iliad
55 |
| | 3402
2720
207 | 29 | 23 | 16
71 | 45 | 1. Euripideus.
45 | 40 | 4 |
| | 3403
2721
208 | 30 | 24 | 17
72 | 20
1. Polybius, 21 | 2 | 1. Pandion the 2. 25 | 5 |
| | 3410
2728
215 | 37 | 25
1. Pannias, 45. | 24
79 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 12 |
| | 3414
2732
219 | 5
1. Gedon, 4 | 5 | 28
82 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 16 |
| Pandion chased out of his Kingdom, which is rewarded by his sonne Aegeus, in few years after. The omission of this Intervallum, and reckoning the years in the first elixir of Aegeus, on the number of them as part by themselves, betwixt considerable difference in the times of the Athenians following: as of Mnethus, Casops, and the rest. | 3427
2745
222 | 14 | 18 | 41
96 | 25 | 26 | 25 | 29 |
| | 3432
2750
227 | 19 | 23 | 46
101 | 30 | 31 | 1. Aegeus, 48 | 34 |
| Oedipus in Thebes. | 3443
2761
248 | 30 | 34 | 57
112 | 21
1. Iudith, 42 | 42 | 12 | 45 |
| | 3447
2765
252 | 34 | 38 | 61
116 | 5 | 1. Arion & Thersites, 65 | 16 | 49 |
| | 3453
2771
258 | 40 | 44 | 1. Anacrophis, 40
128 | 19
11 | 7 | 22 | 55 |
| | 3454
2772
259 | 6
1. Abimelech, 3. | 45 | 2
122 | 12 | 8 | 23 | 1. Laomedon, 26 |
| | 3455
2773
260 | 2 | 26
1. Sofarmus, 19 | 3
124 | 13 | 9 | 24 | 2 |
| | 3457
2775
262 | 7
1. Theol, 21 | 3 | 5
126 | 15 | 11 | 26 | 4 |
| | 3474
2792
279 | 18 | 27
1. Mitreus, 27. | 22
141 | 32 | 28 | 43 | 21 |
| | 3480
2798
285 | 8
1. Lais, 22. | 7 | 28
149 | 38 | 34 | 1. Theophrastus, 20. | 27 |
| | 3485
2803
290 | 6 | 12 | 33
154 | 22
1. Phebus, 8. | 39 | 6 | 32 |
| | 3490
2808
295 | 11 | 17 | 38
159 | 6 | 44 | 11 | 1. Priamus, 40 |
| | 3493
2811
298 | 14 | 20 | 20
162 | 22
1. Atrides, 4 | 47 | 14 | 4 |
| | 3497
2815
302 | 18 | 24 | 5
166 | 24
1. Polyphides, 21 | 51 | 18 | 8 |
| | 3501
2819
306 | 22 | 28
1. Tantanes, 22. | 9
170 | 5 | 55 | 22 | 12 |

| | Julian,
World,
Exodus | Israel, | Affria. | Egypt. | Sicion. | Mycene | Athens. | Troy. |
|--|-----------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | 3502
2820
307 | 9
1. Seph
ta, 6, | 2 | 30
171 | 6 | 56 | 23 | 13 |
| | 3508
2826
313 | 10
1. Ib-
cam, 7, | 8 | 16
177 | 12 | 62 | 29 | 19 |
| | 3510
2828
315 | 3 | 10 | 18
179 | 14 | 64
1. Agamemnon
18. | 11
1. Mne-
sthe' 24. | 21 |
| | 3512
2830
317 | 5 | 12 | 20
181 | 16 | 1. Agamemnon
18. | 3 | 23 |
| | 3515
2833
320 | 11
1. Elan
10 | 15 | 23
184 | 19 | 4 | 6 | 26 |
| The warre at Troy beganne this yeare. | 3519
2837
324 | 5 | 19 | 21
188 | 23 | 8 | 10 | 30 |
| | 3525
2843
320 | 12
1. Ab-
don, 8. | 25 | 7
194 | 29 | 14 | 16 | 35 |
| The 20. Dynastie, called Of the Diop-
litani, beganne this yeare in Egypt, and
lasted 178. yeares. See L. 2. Ch. 26. §. 4. | 3526
2844
331 | 2 | 26 | 20
1. Dynastie.
178 | 30 | 15 | 17 | 37 |
| | 3528
2846
333 | 4 | 28 | 3 | 25
1. Pelas-
gus, 20. | 17 | 19 | 39 |
| Troy taken 408. yeares before the be-
ginning of the Olympiads. See Lib. 2. ch.
14. §. 1. | 3529
2847
334 | 5 | 29 | 4 | 2 | 18 | 20 | 40. Troy
taken. |
| | 3530
2848
335 | 1 | 6 | 30 | 5 | 3
1. Egypt
stems, 6. | 21 | |
| | 3533
2851
338 | 4 | 13
1. Samson, 20. | 29
1. Ten-
tens, 40. | 8 | 6 | 4
24 | 1
1. Aene-
as, 3. |
| | 3534
2852
339 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 7 | 5
1. Demo-
phon, 22. | 2 |
| | 3536
2854
341 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 9
1. Ore-
stes, 70. | 3 | 2
1. Aca-
nist, 38. |
| | 3548
2866
352 | 19 | 16 | 16 | 23
1. Zen-
hippus 22 | 13 | 15 | 13 |
| | 3553
2871
358 | 24 | 14
1. Eli, 40. | 21 | 28 | 6 | 18 | 20 |
| | 3567
2885
372 | 38 | 15 | 35 | 42 | 20 | 32
1. Oxy-
tes, 12. | 32 |
| | 3573
2891
378 | 44 | 21 | 30
1. Thy-
mis, 20 | 48 | 26 | 38 | 7 |
| | 3574
2892
379 | 45 | 22 | 2 | 49 | 27 | 39 | 8
1. Syl. Po-
thimus 20 |

The Sycion

The Macedonians
were King, after the
Year L. 2. C. 7. §. 10.

The Macedonians
were King, after the
Year L. 2. C. 7. §. 10.

Vespasianus
L. 2. C. 26. §. 5.

Solomon beganne
420. yeares compo-
sition of Egypt.

| | Julian
World
Exodus | From
Troy
taken | Israel | Affria | Egypt | Sizon | Myceae | Athens | the King-
dom of the
Latins |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zenippus. | 1879 | | | | | | | 14 | |
| | 1897 | 50 | 27 | 7 | 54 | 32 | 44 | 1. Aphla
Lar. 8. | 6 |
| | 184 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1880 | | | | | | | 15 | |
| | 1898 | 51 | 28 | 8 | 55 | | 45 | 1. Timar
res. 8. | 7 |
| | 185 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1888 | | | | | | | 16 | |
| | 1906 | 59 | 36 | 16 | 63 | | 53 | 1. Melä
thurs. 27. | 15 |
| | 193 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1923 | | 15 | | | | | | |
| | 1911 | 64 | Samuel & after
him Sept. 40. | 21 | 68 | | 58 | 6 | 20 |
| | 198 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1603 | | | 31 | | | | 4 | |
| | 1921 | 74 | 11 | 1. David
Jan. 40. | 78 | | 68 | 16 | 1. Syllus
Amicus
11. |
| | 1408 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1606 | | | | | | 1. Tisa
menus. 2 | 19 | 4 |
| | 1924 | 77 | 14 | 4 | 81 | | | | |
| | 111 | | | | | | | | |
| The descent in the descent into Idemontus; generalization
Kingdom of Mycenae, and beginning in the Kingdom of Sparta
Carthage, and Idemontus, the King's reign of 1, before in Idemontus
in a later table. | 1609 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1917 | 80 | 17 | 7 | 84 | | | 22 | 7 |
| | 114 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1625 | | | | | | | 17 | |
| | 1943 | 96 | 33 | 23 | 100 | | | 1. Cedar
21. | 23 |
| | 110 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1632 | Julian
World
Exodus | From
Troy
taken | Israel | Affria | Egypt | Athens | Latins | |
| | 1951 | | 104 | 1. David, 40. | 31 | 108 | 9 | 31 | |
| | 1438 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1634 | | 105 | 2 | 32 | 109 | 10 | 1 Syl. La
Amicus, 50 | |
| | 1952 | | | | | | | | |
| | 119 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1643 | | 114 | 11 | 32 | 118 | 19 | 10 | |
| | 1961 | | | | 1. Eu
pales, 28 | | | | |
| | 1448 | | | | | | | | |
| The Medontidz succeed unto the Athe-
man Kings, after the death of Codrus.
See L.2. C.26. 6.10. | 1646 | | | | | | 1 | | |
| | 1964 | | 117 | 14 | 4 | 121 | 1. Me-
lon, 20 | 13 | |
| | 151 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1666 | | | | | | 3 | | |
| | 1984 | | 137 | 34 | 24 | 141 | 1. Aga
fines, 36 | 33 | |
| | 171 | | | | | | | | |
| Vaphres reigneth in Egypt. See
L.2. C.26. 9.5. | 1673 | Temple | | | | | | | |
| | 1991 | I | 144 | 1. Solomon, 40. | 31 | 148 | 8 | 40 | |
| | 178 | | | | | | | | |
| Salomon began to build the Temple
480. years compleat after the delivrance
ment of Egypt. | 1676 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1994 | I | 147 | 4 | 34 | 151 | 11 | 43 | |
| | 181 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1681 | | 6 | 152 | 9 | 33 | 156 | 16 | 48 |
| | 1999 | | | | 1. Lan-
thens, 45. | | | | |
| | 1684 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1684 | | 9 | 155 | 12 | 4 | 159 | 19 | 6 |
| | 1002 | | | | | | | 1. Syl.
Alba 39 | |
| | 1692 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1692 | | 17 | 163 | 20 | 12 | 1. Sejac
26.
167 | 27 | 9 |
| | 1010 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1702 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1702 | | 27 | 173 | 30 | 22 | 11 | 3 | |
| | 1020 | | | | | | 1. Archip
pus, 19. | 19 | |
| | | | | | | | | | |

XXXXXX

| | Italian,
World. | Temple | From
Troy
taken. | Israel. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Athens. | Latines. |
|--|------------------------------|---------------|------------------------|----------------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| The 21. Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 130. years. | 1704 | | | | | | | |
| | 29 | 175 | 32 | 24 | 13 | 3 | 21 | |
| | 2022 | | | | | 1 | | |
| The Jewish migration after the taking of Troy 180. years. See L.2, C.17 §.6. | 1709 | | | | | | | |
| | 34 | 180 | 37 | 29 | 18 | 8 | 26 | |
| | 2027 | | | | | 6 | | |
| | Italian,
World,
Temple | Troy. | Inda. | Israel. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Athens. | Latines. |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 3713 | | | I | I | | | | |
| 3031 | 184 | 1. Rehoboam. | 1. Ieroboam. | 22 | 33 | 22 | 12 | 30 |
| 38 | | 17. | | | | 10 | | |
| 3718 | | | | | | | | |
| 3036 | 189 | 6 | 6 | 38 | 1. Chem | 50. | 17 | 35 |
| 42 | | | | | 1. | | | |
| 3721 | | | | | | | | |
| 3039 | 192 | 9 | 9 | 41 | 4 | 4 | 38 | |
| 46 | | | | | 18 | 1. Teresp | 41. | |
| 3723 | | | | | | | | |
| 3041 | 194 | 11 | 11 | 43 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 1. Syl. A |
| 48 | | | | | 20 | | 17. | 26. |
| 3726 | | | | | | | | |
| 3044 | 197 | 14 | 14 | 1. Pyrrhiades. | 24 | 9 | 6 | 4 |
| 51 | | | | | 20 | 22 | | |
| 3730 | | | | | | | | |
| 3048 | 201 | 2 | 18 | 5 | 13 | 10 | 8 | |
| 55 | | 1. Abiam. 2. | | | 27 | | | |
| 3733 | | | | | | | | |
| 3051 | 204 | 3 | 21 | 8 | 16 | 13 | 11 | |
| 58 | | 1. A. 47. | | | 20 | | | |
| 3714 | | | | | | | | |
| 3052 | 205 | 2 | 22 | 2 | 9 | 17 | 14 | 12 |
| 59 | | | | 1. Nadab. 2. | | 11 | | |
| 3735 | | | | | | | | |
| 3053 | 206 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 10 | 18 | 15 | 13 |
| 60 | | | | 1. Baasha. 24 | | 32 | | |
| 3749 | | | | | | | | |
| 3067 | 220 | 17 | 15 | 24 | 32 | 29 | 1. Syl. Ca | 8 |
| 74 | | | | | 46 | | pyr. 28. | |
| 3756 | | | | | | | | |
| 3074 | 227 | 24 | 22 | 1. Operatus. | 35 | 39 | 36 | 8 |
| 81 | | | | 20 | | 11 | | |
| 3758 | | | | | | | | |
| 3076 | 229 | 26 | 24 | 4 | 3 | 41 | 38 | 10 |
| 82 | | | | 1. Ela. 2. | | 55 | | |
| Of the Israelite Kings. See L.2, Ch.19, §.5. | 1759 | | | | | | | |
| 3077 | 230 | 27 | 2 | 4 | 42 | 39 | 11 | |
| 84 | | | | | 56 | | | |
| 3762 | | | | | | | | |
| 3080 | 233 | 30 | 4 | 7 | 45 | 1. Phor | 5 | 14 |
| 87 | | | | | 59 | bar. 31 | | |
| 3768 | | | | | | | | |
| 3086 | 239 | 36 | 10 | 13 | 1. Che | 56. | 7 | 20 |
| 93 | | | | | 65 | | | |
| 3770 | | | | | | | | |
| 3088 | 241 | 38 | 12 | 8 | 15 | 3 | 9 | 22 |
| 95 | | | | 1. Ahab. 22. | | 67 | | |
| 3774 | | | | | | | | |
| 3092 | 245 | 4 | 5 | 19 | 7 | 13 | 26 | |
| 99 | | 1. Iehosphar. | 25 | | 71 | | | |

Of Iehoram his
reign. See L.2, §.7.

Iehosphat dies, and
alone.

Carthage built, L.

The end of the 21. Dyn.
is followed, 1. om.

Like reason with the
C.12, §.7.

was reason alone.

| | <i>Julian, World, Temple.</i> | <i>Troy</i> | <i>Inda.</i> | <i>Israel.</i> | <i>Assyria.</i> | <i>Egypt.</i> | <i>Athens.</i> | <i>Latines.</i> | |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| | 3776
3094
101 | 247 | 3 | 7 | 36
1. Oplate
nes, 50 | 9
73 | 15 | 28 | |
| | 3777
1095
102 | 248 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 10
74 | 16 | 9
1. Syl. Cae
rui, 13. | |
| <i>Of Iehoram his sundrie beginnings so
reigne. See L.2. C.20. §. 1. & 2.</i> | 3790
1108
115 | 261 | 17
1. Iehoram | 21
9
1. Abazid. 2. | 15 | 25
87 | 29 | 10
1. Syl. Tib
rom, 4. | |
| | 3791
3109
116 | 262 | 18
2 | 22
3
1. Iehoram, 17. | 16 | 24
88 | 30 | 2 | |
| | 3793
3111
118 | 264 | 20
0 | 3 | 18 | 26
00 | 1. Meza
des, 20. | 4 | |
| | 3795
3113
120 | 266 | 22
1. Iehoram
alone, 8 | 4 | 20 | 28
92 | 3 | 6 | |
| <i>Iehosaphat dies, and Iehoram
reignes alone.</i> | 3798
3116
123 | 269 | 25
4 | 8 | 23 | 31
95 | 6 | 11
1. Syl. of
27/24, 41 | |
| | 3802
3120
127 | 273 | 3
6
1. Abazid, 1. | 12 | 27 | 35
99 | 10 | 5 | |
| | 3803
3121
128 | 274 | 7
1. Aba-
lid, 7. | 11
1. Iehu, 28. | 28 | 36
100 | 11 | 6 | |
| | 3809
3127
134 | 280 | 7
8
1. Iehu, 40 | 7 | 34 | 42
106 | 17 | 12 | |
| <i>Carthage built. L.2. C.22. §.6.</i> | 3819
3137
144 | 290 | 11 | 17 | 44 | 52
116 | 27 | 22 | |
| | 3825
3143
148 | 294 | 15 | 21 | 48 | 56
120 | 1. Dug.
netur, 28 | 26 | |
| | 3824
3142
149 | 295 | 16 | 22 | 49 | 1. Ceplu
nes, 50.
121 | 2 | 27 | |
| | 3826
3144
151 | 297 | 18 | 24 | 57
1. Ceplu
nes, 50.
122 | 3
122 | 4 | 29 | |
| | 3831
3149
156 | 302 | 23
1. Iehozab, 17. | 12
6 | 8
128 | 9 | 34 | | |
| <i>The end of the 21. Dynastie. The Dy-
nasties following, I omit.</i> | 3833
3151
158 | 304 | 25 | 3 | 8 | 10
120 | 11 | 36 | |
| | 3839
3157
164 | 310 | 31 | 9 | 14 | 16 | 17 | 12
1. Syl. Alla
dus, 19 | |
| <i>Iosab reigned with his Father. Lib.2.
C.22. §.7.</i> | 3845
3163
170 | 316 | 37
15
1. Iosab. | 13
1. Iosab. | 20 | 22 | 23 | 7 | |
| <i>Iosab reignes alone.</i> | 3847
3165
172 | 318 | 39 | 1. Iosab. 16. | 22 | 24 | 25 | 9 | |
| | 3848
3166
173 | 319 | 40
1. Iosab, 16 | 2 | 23 | 25 | 26 | 10 | |

| | Julian,
World
Temple | Troy | Juda. | Israel. | Affria. | Egypt. | Athens. | Latines. | |
|---|----------------------------|------|--|---|---------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| | 3851
3169
176 | 322 | 4 | 5 | 26 | 28 | 8
1. Phere-
lus, 19. | 13 | |
| | 3858
3176
183 | 329 | 11 | 12 | 33 | 35 | 8
1. Phil. of
Syracus, 27 | 13 | |
| | 3862
3180
187 | 333 | 15 | 16
14
1. Jeroboam, 41. | 37 | 39 | 12 | 5 | |
| | 3868
3186
193 | 339 | 21 | 7
38
1. Sardana-
patius, 20. | 45 | 18 | 11 | | |
| | 3870
3188
195 | 341 | 23 | 9 | 3 | 47 | 9
1. Ari-
starchon, 20 | 12 | |
| | 3874
3192
199 | 345 | 27 | 13 | 7 | 1. Afce-
rinus, 5. | 5 | 16 | |
| | Julian,
World
Temple | Troy | Juda. | Israel. | Affria. | Egypt. | Athens. | Latines. | Media. |
| L. 2. C. 22. §. 11. | 3877
3195
202 | 348 | 1. Inter-
regnum ele-
ven years. | 16 | 10 | 4 | 8 | 19 | |
| | 3880
3198
205 | 351 | 4 | 19 | 13 | 1. Boc-
chorus, 44 | 11 | 22 | |
| L. 2. C. 22. §. 12. | 3887
3205
212 | 358 | 11 | 26
20. Sar-
danapa-
lus Latine | 8 | 18 | 29 | | |
| L. 2. C. 23. §. 1. & 4. | 3888
3206
213 | 359 | 10
1. Pythia,
at
Argos, 92. | 27 | 9 | 19 | 30 | 1. Arba-
ses, 28. | |
| | 3890
3208
215 | 361 | 3 | 29 | 11 | 1. The-
stus, 27. | 32 | 3 | |
| L. 2. C. 23. §. 4. | 3892
3210
217 | 363 | 5 | 31
1. Darius
or
Plat. ab. | 13 | 3 | 34 | 5 | |
| | 3895
3213
220 | 366 | 8 | 34 | 4 | 16 | 6
14
1. Syl. Pro-
cus, 23. | 8 | |
| L. 2. C. 23. §. 1. | 3903
3221
228 | 374 | 16 | 1. Interregnum
22 years. | 12 | 24 | 14 | 9 | 16 |
| | 3916
3234
241 | 387 | 29 | 14 | 25 | 37 | 27 | 22 | 1. Sofar-
mus, 20. |
| | 3917
3235
242 | 388 | 30 | 15 | 26 | 38 | 28
1. Argeus,
Hir, 20. | 23 | 2 |
| | 3918
3236
243 | 389 | 31 | 16 | 27 | 39 | 2
15
1. Syl. Ama-
sius, 44. | 3 | |
| | 3924
3242
249 | 395 | 37 | 22 | 33 | 1. Afchis,
Gaster bar-
ab, 6 | 8 | 7 | 9 |
| Zacharia began at the very end of the
year. L. 2. C. 23. §. 1. | 3925
3243
250 | 396 | 38 | 23
15.
Zacharia fixe
domus. | 34 | 2 | 9 | 8 | 10 |

The very early part
of Media.

The beginning of the
L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.

L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.

Some think, L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.
Cassius the first emperor
ten years after whom
each year after for the
three the office became

The Era of Nabon-
L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.

Erech began in the
year. L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.

The year concurred in
Erech. L. 2.

The beginning of the
year, when the L.
2. C. 23. §. 1.

Some referred by S

| | Julian
World
Temple | Troy. | | | Juda. | Israel. | Affria | Egypt. | Athen. | Latine. | Media |
|--|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| | 3926
3244
251 | 397 | | | 39 | ¹⁰
10-11 ann.
month.
17
Menachem | 35 | 3 | 10 | 9 | 11 |
| <i>This year nearly concures with the first
of Menahem.</i> | 3927
3245
252 | 398 | | | 40 | 1 | 36 | 4 | 11 | 10 | 12 |
| | 3930
3248
255 | 401 | | | 43 | 4 | 39 | ¹
1. Saba-
che Echa-
ann. 10. | 14 | 13 | 15 |
| | 3937
3255
262 | 408 | Iphitus | Olym-
piade. | 50 | ¹⁸
1. Peka-
hid. 2. | 45 | 8 | ¹²
1. Af-
lat. 13. | 20 | 22 |
| <i>The beginning of the Olympiads.
L.2. Ch.23. §.5.</i> | 3938
3256
263 | 409 | 1 | 1 | 51 | 2 | 47 | 9 | 2 | 21 | 23 |
| | 3939
3257
264 | 410 | 2 | 1 | 52 | ¹⁹
1. Peka-
hid. 2. | 48 | 10 | 3 | 22 | 24 |
| <i>L.2. Ch.23. §.6.</i> | 3940
3258
265 | 411 | 3 | ¹¹
1. Iosha.
16. | 2 | ²
1. 71-
lat. 29. | 11 | 4 | 23 | 25 | |
| | Julian
World
Temple | Iphitus | Olym-
piade. | Juda. | Israel. | Affria. | Egypt. | Athen. | Latine. | Media | |
| | 3946
3264
271 | 9 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 17 | 10 | 29 | ²
1. Ad-
hid. 40 | |
| | 3955
3273
280 | 18 | 5 | ¹⁰
1. 12-
lat. 16 | 17 | 16 | 26 | 19 | 38 | 10 | |
| | 3959
3277
284 | 22 | 6 | ¹
1. Inter-
regnum 7.
years. | 20 | 30 | 23 | 42 | 14 | | |
| | 3960
3278
285 | 23 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 21 | 31 | ¹³
1. Al-
menia | 43 | 15 | |
| | Julian
World
Temple | Rome.
Nabon | Iphit. | Olym-
piade. | Juda. | Israel. | Affria | Egypt. | Athen. | Roma. | Media |
| <i>Rome built. Lib. 2. Chap. 24. §.5.
Carops the first governing in Athens for
ten years: after whom succeeded six others
each after other for the like time; and
thence the office became Annual.</i> | 3962
3280
287 | 1 | 25 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 23 | 33 | ¹
1. C-
rapt 10 | ¹
1. Roma
luz. 27. | 17 |
| | 3966
3284
291 | 5 | 29 | 8 | 12 | ²⁰
1. Holo-
ca 9 | 27 | 37 | 5 | 5 | 21 |
| <i>The Era of Nabonassar.
L.2. C.25. §.1.</i> | 3967
3285
292 | 6 | 30 | 8 | 13 | 2 | ³
1. Salma-
assar on
Nabonassar
10 | 38 | 6 | 6 | 22 |
| <i>Ezekia began in the very end of this
year. L.2. C.25. §.1.</i> | 3968
3286
293 | 7 | 31 | 8 | ¹⁴
1. 14-
lat. 19. | 3 | 39 | 7 | 7 | 23 | |
| <i>This year concures with the first of
Ezekia, Ibid.</i> | 3969
3287
294 | 8 | 32 | 8 | 15 | 4 | 40 | 8 | 8 | 24 | |
| <i>The beginning of the first Messian
warre. Wherof see L.2. C.27. §.4. It
lasted 20. years.</i> | 3971
3289
296 | 10 | 34 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 42 | 10 | 10 | 26 | |
| <i>Samaria besieged by Salmanassar.</i> | 3972
3290
297 | 11 | 35 | 9 | 4 | 6 | 43 | 11 | 11 | 27 | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|-----|-----------------------|----|---------------------------|--|-----------------------|----|-----------------------|
| The captivity of the ten Tribes, | 1974 | 13 | 10 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 45 | 13 | 29 |
| | 3292 | 8 | 37 | 1 | | | | | |
| | 290 | | | | | | | | |
| | 3976 | 15 | 10 | | 10 | | | | |
| | 3294 | 39 | 2 | 8 | 1. 3294 ¹⁰ | 47 | | 15 | 31 |
| | 201 | 10 | 2 | | 10 ¹⁰ | | | | |
| L.2. C.26. §.7. | 3980 | 19 | 11 | | | | | | |
| | 3298 | 43 | 2 | 12 | Kings of the Chaldeans | 5 | 1. 3298 ¹⁰ | 19 | 35 |
| | 205 | 14 | 2 | | | | | | |
| Senacherib's Army destroyed, and he slain. L.2. C.25. §.2. | 3982 | 21 | 12 | | | 7 | 3 | 21 | 37 |
| | 3300 | 45 | 1 | 14 | | | | | |
| | 207 | 16 | 1 | | | | | | |
| | 3983 | 22 | 12 | | | | | | |
| | 3301 | 46 | 2 | 15 | 1. Merodach or Belshazzar | 5 | 1. 3301 ¹⁰ | 22 | 38 |
| | 208 | 17 | 2 | | | | | | |
| | 3986 | 25 | 13 | | | | | | |
| | 3304 | 49 | 1 | 18 | | 4 | 4 | 25 | 4 |
| | 211 | 20 | 1 | | | | | | 1. 3304 ¹⁰ |
| Merodach gets the whole Empire. This year or in the end of the year foregoing. An Eclipse of ☾ | 3993 | 32 | 14 | | | | | | |
| | 3311 | 56 | 25 | | 1. 3311 ¹⁰ | 11 | 14 | 32 | 8 |
| | 318 | 27 | 4 | | | | | | |
| Two Eclipses of the Moone, in the second year of Mardocempadus. | 3994 | 33 | 15 | | | | | | |
| | 3312 | 57 | 1 | 26 | | 2 | 15 | 33 | 9 |
| | 219 | 28 | 1 | | | | | | |
| | 3997 | 36 | 15 | | | | | | |
| | 3319 | 60 | 4 | 29 | | 5 | 18 | 36 | 12 |
| | 222 | 31 | 4 | | | | | | 1000 ¹⁰ |
| | 3998 | 37 | 16 | 14 | | | | | |
| | 3316 | 61 | 1. 3316 ¹⁰ | 6 | 19 | 37 | 13 | 2 | |
| | 224 | 32 | 1 | | | | | | |
| | 3999 | 38 | 16 | | | | | | |
| | 3317 | 62 | 2 | 7 | 20 | Inter-regnum 1. Deio one year ces. 52. | 5 | 3 | |
| | 224 | 33 | 2 | | | | | | |
| L.2. C.27. §.2. | 4000 | 39 | 16 | | | | | | |
| | 3318 | 63 | 3 | 8 | 21 | 1. Name Panyasis | 2 | 4 | |
| | 225 | 24 | 2 | | | | | | |
| | 4013 | 52 | 19 | | 1. Inter-regnum 2. | 14 | 15 | 17 | |
| | 3331 | 76 | 4 | 16 | 21 | | | | |
| | 228 | 47 | 4 | | | | | | |
| | 4015 | 54 | 20 | | | | | | |
| | 3333 | 78 | 2 | 18 | 23 | 1. 12. Princes | 16 | 17 | 19 |
| | 340 | 2 | | | | | | | |
| The beginning of the second Messianic War, which lasted about 18. years. L.2. Ch.27. §.4. | 4029 | 68 | 23 | | | | | | |
| | 3347 | 92 | 4 | 32 | 37 | 15 | 30 | 31 | 33 |
| | 354 | 63 | 4 | | | | | | |
| L.2. Ch.28. §.3. | 4033 | 72 | 24 | | | | | | |
| | 3351 | 96 | 4 | 36 | 1. 3351 ¹⁰ | 5 | 34 | 35 | 37 |
| | 258 | 67 | 4 | | | | | | |
| | 4035 | 74 | 25 | | | | | | |
| | 3353 | 98 | 2 | 38 | 3 | 7 | 36 | 37 | 2 |
| | 260 | 69 | 2 | | | | | | 1. 3353 ¹⁰ |
| | 4043 | 82 | 27 | | | | | | |
| | 3364 | 106 | 2 | 46 | 11 | 15 | 3 | 45 | 9 |
| | 268 | 77 | 2 | | | | | | |
| | 4052 | 91 | 29 | | | | | | |
| | 3370 | 115 | 3 | 55 | 20 | 24 | 10 | 6 | 18 |
| | 277 | 86 | 3 | | | | | | |
| | 4053 | 92 | 29 | 15 | | | | | |
| | 3371 | 116 | 1. 3371 ¹⁰ | 21 | 25 | 11 | 2 | 19 | |
| | 278 | 87 | 4 | | | | | | |

The Exile
L.2. Ch.27. §.4.

L.2. Ch.27. §.4.

L.2. Ch.27. §.4.

Nabuchodonosor
with his Father, and
brother, and
L.2. Ch.27. §.4.

Zedekiah
L.2.

Nabuchodonosor
L.2. Ch.27. §.4.

Jerusalem destroyed
L.2. Ch.27. §.4.

1. 3371¹⁰

Nabuchodonosor
L.2. Ch.27. §.4.

| | Julian,
World,
Temple | Rome,
Nabon | Iphit: | Olym-
piads | Juda. | Chaldean | Egypt. | Rome. | Media | Lydia. |
|--|-----------------------------|----------------|--------|----------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>The Expedition of the Scythians.</i>
L. 2. C. 28. §. 3. & 4. | 4054
3372
279 | 93
88 | 117 | 30
1 | 2 | 3
Nabu-
lassar 25 | 26 | 12 | 3 | 20 |
| | 4055
3373
380 | 94 | 118 | 30
2 | 16
1. Sogias,
31 | 2 | 27 | 13 | 4 | 21 |
| L. 2. C. 28. §. 2. | 4073
3391
298 | 112
107 | 136 | 34
4 | 19 | 20 | 1. Neco
17 | 31 | 22 | 39 |
| | 4075
3393
400 | 114
109 | 138 | 35
3 | 21 | 22 | 3 | 4
Anax-
Murtas | 24 | 41 |
| | 4076
3394
401 | 115
110 | 139 | 35
3 | 22 | 23 | 4 | 2 | 7
1. C. Jax
1000 AD | 42 |
| | 4084
3402
409 | 123
118 | 147 | 37
2 | 30 | 31 | 12 | 10 | 9 | 3
1. Sady
sited 10 |
| L. 2. C. 28. §. 1. & 2. | 4085
3403
410 | 124
119 | 148 | 37
4 | 31
1. I. I. I. I. I.
17
maria | 32 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 2 |
| Nabuchodonosor had reigned one year
with his Father; which is to be regarded in A.
chronicall observations concerning his time.
Lib. 2. C. 28. §. 6. & C. 25. §. 1. | 4086
3404
411 | 125
120 | 149 | 38
1 | 18
1. I. I. I. I. I.
11 | 33 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 3 |
| | 4089
3407
414 | 128
123 | 152 | 38
4 | 4 | 4
1. Nabu-
odonosor the
Great, 44 | 17 | 15 | 14 | 6 |
| | 4090
3408
415 | 129
124 | 153 | 39
1 | 5 | 2 | 1. P. I. I. I.
12. | 16 | 15 | 7 |
| | 4096
3414
421 | 135
130 | 159 | 40
3 | 11
1. I. I. I. I. I.
11
maria | 8 | 7 | 22 | 21 | 4
1. H. I. I. I.
11, 17. |
| Zedekia his inuase to Babylon, L. 2. C. 28.
§. 6. | 4099
3417
424 | 138
133 | 162 | 41
2 | 4
Zedekia 11
years | 11 | 10 | 1. I. I. I. I. I.
11, 12 | 24 | 4 |
| | 4102
3420
427 | 141
136 | 165 | 42
1 | 7 | 14 | 1. I. I. I. I. I.
11, 12 | 4 | 27 | 7 |
| Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor; with which
18. for the more part, and partly with which 19. this
year concures. | 4106
3424
431 | 145
140 | 169 | 43
1 | 11 | 18 | 5 | 8 | 31 | 11 |
| | | Rome,
Nab: | Iphit: | Olym-
piads | Captivi
11c. | Caldean | Egypt. | Rome. | Media | Lydia. |
| Jerusalem destroyed. | 4107
3425 | 146
141 | 170 | 43
2 | 1 | 19 | 6 | 9. | 32 | 12 |
| Egypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor
L. 3. C. 1. §. 8. & 9. | 4111
3429 | 150
145 | 174 | 44
2 | 5 | 23 | 10
1. I. I. I. I. I.
11, 12 | 13 | 36 | 16 |
| | 4116
3434 | 155
150 | 179 | 45
2 | 10 | 28 | 6
1. I. I. I. I. I.
11, 12 | 18 | 8
1. I. I. I. I. I.
11, 12 | 21 |
| Nabuchodonosor lines wile; and his
Kingdom is governed by others for him
during seven years L. 7. C. 1. §. 12. | 4125
3443 | 164
159 | 188 | 47
4 | 19 | 37
1. I. I. I. I. I.
11, 12 | 15 | 27 | 10 | 30 |
| | 4127
3445 | 166
161 | 190 | 48
2 | 21 | 39
1. I. I. I. I. I.
11, 12 | 17 | 29 | 12 | 32 |

| | Indian, Rome, World, Nabon. | Ipbis. | Olympiads. | Persia. | Egypt. | Rome. | Greece | Jewry and from Cyrus. |
|---|-----------------------------|--------|------------|---|--|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| | 4197 236 | 260 | 65 | 6 | | 17 | Hesperia the son of Polydorus was in Athens. | 21 |
| | 3515 221 | | 4 | | | | | |
| | 4204 243 | 267 | 67 | ¹¹ Babylon which had a bridge, lately destroyed. | | 24 | | 28. |
| | 3522 218 | | 3 | | | | | |
| The Tarquines expelled Rome. L.4. C.7. §.1. | 4205 244 | 268 | 67 | 14 | | 25 | | 29 |
| | 3523 219 | | 4 | | | | | |
| The Carthaginians first league with Rome. L.5. C.1. §.2. | 4206 245 | 269 | 68 | 15 | | Brutus and Publicola | Consuls | 30 |
| | 3524 240 | | 1 | | | | | |
| L.3. C.5. §.4. | 4211 250 | 274 | 69 | ^{10.} Darius was captured against his expectation. | | | | 35 |
| | 3529 245 | | 2 | | | | | |
| | 4212 251 | 275 | 69 | | | | the name of the ancient king of Persia. | 36 |
| | 3530 246 | | 3 | | | | | |
| | 4222 261 | 285 | 72 | 34 | | Sp. Cassius Longinus. Consul. | The battle of Marathon | 46 |
| | 3540 256 | | 1 | | | | | |
| | 4226 265 | 289 | 73 | | Egypt rebelled against Darius. | | | 30 |
| | 3544 260 | | 1 | 35 | | | | |
| | 4228 267 | 291 | 73 | ⁴ Xerxes | | | | 52 |
| | 3546 262 | | 2 | 21 | | | | |
| The Law Agraria in Rome propounded for division of lands: which bred great commotion. | 4229 268 | 292 | 73 | | Egypt recovered by Xerxes. | Proc. Virginius. Sp. Cassius | Conf. | 53 |
| | 3547 263 | | 4 | | | | | |
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| | 4273 311 | | 84 | | | | | 90 |
| | 3500 206 | 335 | 2 | 24 | | | | 18 |
| | 4273 312 | | 84 | | | | | 97 |
| | 3591 307 | 336 | 4 | 25 | | | | 19 |
| | 4278 317 | | 86 | | | | | 102 |
| | 3596 312 | 341 | 1 | 30 | | | | 24 |
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L. 4. c. 1. p. 970
L. 4. c. 1. p. 972
L. 4. c. 1. p. 974
L. 4. c. 1. p. 976
L. 4. c. 1. p. 978
L. 4. c. 1. p. 980
L. 4. c. 1. p. 982
L. 4. c. 1. p. 984
L. 4. c. 1. p. 986
L. 4. c. 1. p. 988
L. 4. c. 1. p. 990
L. 4. c. 1. p. 992
L. 4. c. 1. p. 994
L. 4. c. 1. p. 996
L. 4. c. 1. p. 998
L. 4. c. 1. p. 1000

| | Indian, and World | Rome, and Nab. | Iphig. | Olympiads | Persia. | Egypt. | Rome. | Greece. | Notes From Cyrus Daniel. |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------------|------------|-----------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|
| L.3. c.11. §.4. | 4318
2626 | 357
352 | 381 | 96
1 | 10 | 6 | | Achilles warais in Asia. | 142
64 |
| L.3. c.11. §.7. | 4320
2628
4321
2629 | 359
354
360
355 | 383
384 | 96
4 | 12 | 8
9 | | The victory of Co-ron at Gnidus &c. | 144
66
145
67 |
| | 4325
2642 | 364
359 | 388 | 97
4 | 17 | | 1. Perseus the first known of his line. 2. That had his regal seat beyond the Pyrenees. | 1. He was able to slay the Camillus over the Falstis. | 149
71 |
| L.4. c.7. §. 1.
L.3. c.11. §.9. | 4326
2644 | 365
360 | 389 | 98
1 | 18 | | Rome taken & burnt by the Gauls. | The Peace of Antalcidas. | 150
72
151 |
| | 4327
2645 | 376
361 | 390 | 98
2 | 19 | 1. Neclanebu. 18 | | | 71 |
| | 4332
2650 | 371
366 | 395 | 99
3 | 24 | 6 | M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death. | The Lacedaemonians take the Citadel of Thebes by reason. | 156
78 |
| L.3. c.11. §. 11. | 4336
2654 | 375
370 | 399 | 100
3 | 28 | 10 | | He took the tower of the Citadel, and made strong walls upon the Lacedaemonians. | 160
82 |
| | 4340
2658 | 379
374 | 403 | 101
3 | 32 | 14 | 1. Robert of the people continued 3 years in office, pronounced for the Latins, against the French. That was at the Council of Sens. | | 164
86 |
| L.3. c.12. §.1. | 4343
2661 | 382
377 | 406 | 102
2 | 35 | 17 | | The famous battle of Leutra. | 167
89 |
| L.3. c.12. §.4 | 4345
2663 | 384
379 | 408 | 102
4 | 37 | | 1. Tacitus 8. En- f. Tacitus. Tacitus de- clare the flame of him- selves were. | The rapid growth of the Theban Empire. | 169
91 |
| | 4351
2669 | 390
386 | 414 | 104
2 | | | 4. Marcus Perseus re- bell against Ariarxes, and was twice captured. | The great Battle of Mantinea. Epami-ondas dies. | 175
97 |
| L.3. c.12. §.8. | 4352
2670 | 391
386 | 415 | 104
2 | 10
1. Ochus. | | 1. Eachus betroy- edly Agassus. | Peace in Greece. The Athenians withdraw themselves by converting their treasure to ransom of the. | 97 Ionathas
176 about the
some his
98 Priest. |
| | 4354
2672 | 393
388 | 417 | 105
1 | 3 | 3 | | 1. Philip King of Macedonia 24. years, and part of the 25. | 178
100 |
| L.4. c.1. §.4. | 4359
2677 | 398
392 | 422 | 106
3 | 8 | 8 | | 6 The Phocian war begins. | 183
105 |
| | 4364
2682 | 403
398 | 427 | 107
2 | 11 Ochus re- conquers E- gypt. | 12. Neclane- bus flies into Ethiopia. | | 11 | 188
110 |
| L.4. c.1. §.6. | 4368
2686 | 407
402 | 431 | 108
3 | 17 | | | 15 The end of the Phocian War. | 192
114 |
| L.5. c.1. §.4. + | 4369
2687 | 408
403 | 432 | 108
4 | 18 | | | 16 Timoleon his voyage into Sicil. | 193
115 |
| | 4370
2688 | 409
404 | 433 | 109
1 | 19 | Nabonassar, Novemb. the 17. | | 17 Philip maffeths Illyria, and drives the Thellolais to follow him | 194
116 |
| After this, the years
From Cyrus & Daniel
are too few, by One. | 4375
2693 | 414
409 | 438 | 110
2 | 11
1 Arxes 3. | | | 22 | 199
121 |

Yyyyyy a

| | Indian
and
World | Rome,
and
Nab: | Iphst: | Olympi-
ads: | Persia. | Ægypt. | Rome. | Greece. | Jews
From Cyrus,
Daniel. |
|--|------------------------|----------------------|--------|-----------------|---|--|---|---|---|
| | 4376 | 415 | 439 | 110 | 2 | | | 23
The battle of Clusium.
Philip defeats Captoine
Grecus the Greek. | 2
199
121 |
| | 3694 | 410 | | 3 | | | | 25 | |
| | 4378 | 417 | 441 | 111 | 12
1. Darius 6 years
or somewhat more | Nabon.
Novemb. 15 | | 25
Philip slain by Perseus.
1. Alexander the great 12
years and four months. | 4
201
123 |
| | 3696 | 412 | | 1 | | | | 2 | 5 |
| | 4379 | 418 | 442 | 111 | 2 | | | Thebes razed by
Alexander. | 201
124 |
| | 3697 | 413 | | 2 | | | | 3 | 6 |
| | 4380 | 419 | 443 | 111 | 3 | | | Alexander pas-
seth into Asia. | 203
125 |
| | 3698 | 414 | | 3 | | | | | |
| | 4381 | 420 | 444 | 111 | 4
The battle of
Issus. | | | 4 | 7 |
| | 3699 | 415 | | 4 | | | | | 204
126 |
| L. 4. C. 2. p. 4. | 4382 | 421 | | 112 | | | 1. The Gauls enter
into league with
the Romans. | 5
Alexander winnes
Tyre and Egypt. | 8
205
127 |
| L. 4. C. 2. p. 5. 6.
7. & l. 5. C. 2. p. 8. | 3700 | 416 | 445 | 1 | 5 | | | | 8
Alexander is re-
surrected by him |
| | | Rome. | | | | | | | |
| | | Indian,
World. | | Iphst. | Olymp. | | | | |
| | 4383 | 422 | | 112 | 6
The battle
of Arbela. | | | | 9
206
128 |
| An Eclipse of ☾ | 3701 | 417 | 446 | 2 | | | | | |
| | 4384 | 423 | | 113 | 7
Darius slain
by Belshur. | | | | 10
207
129 |
| L. 4. C. 2. p. 13. | 3702 | 418 | | 3 | | | | | |
| | | | | | Maccedon. | Ægypt. | | Greece. | Romans. |
| | 4385 | 424 | | 113 | 8
Alexander con-
queth Candace; 7
the year is d. c. c. lxxvi
merand Philizen. | | | | 11
130 |
| | 3703 | 419 | 448 | 4 | | | | | |
| | 4386 | 425 | | 113 | 9. Alexander pas-
seth over India into
Clype and California. | | | | 12
131 |
| | 3704 | 420 | 449 | 1 | | | | | |
| Alexander died 12. days
after the summer Solstice.
The constellation Antares
was then 434. years
before the reign of
Alexander. 24. 1. the sum-
mer, year, which agree
1. the eclipse, Ptolemy
imageth l. 5. c. 8. | 4390 | 429 | | 114 | 13. Alexan-
der dies at
Babylon. | Nabon.
Novemb. 12 | | | 16
135 |
| | 3708 | 424 | 453 | 1 | | | | | |
| | 4391 | 430 | | 114 | 1. Aridenis, 6.
and 4. months. | 1. Ptolemie
Laga. 39.
& 3. | L. 3. c. 3. s. 1. 2. | The Lathian
Warre. | 1 Ono-
dis, 23 |
| | 3709 | 425 | | 115 | | | | | 4 |
| | 4394 | 433 | | 115 | 4 | 1. Ptolemie 3. Nab.
slaine in B. S. 3. 11.
c. 9. | L. 4. c. 3. s. 8.
& 9. | Villeries of
Emmenes. | 139 |
| | 3712 | 428 | 457 | 1 | | | | | 5 |
| | 4395 | 434 | | 115 | 5. Antigonus
sett against
Emmenes. | 5 | | | 140 |
| | 3713 | 429 | 458 | 2 | | | | | 7 |
| Ardenis slaine by O-
mipias. Antigonus de-
feated by Emmenes. | 4397 | 430 | | 115 | 7 | 7 | | | 142 |
| | 3715 | 421 | 460 | 1 | | | | | 8 |
| Emmenes betrayed to
Antigonus. Olympi-
ads by Callimenes. Anti-
gonus recovereth Asia | 4398 | 437 | | 116 | 1. Cassander. | 8 | | Thebes recov-
ered by Cassan-
der. | 143 |
| | 3716 | 422 | 461 | 1 | | 10. | | | 12 |
| These place the beginning of
Alexand. on the twelfth year
of Darius, by which account
he reigned 33. years. | 4402 | 447 | | 117 | 5 | Nabonassar.
Novemb. 9. | 12
Darius was beaten at
Greece by Ptolemie
and Seleucus. | | 147 |
| | 3720 | 426 | 465 | 1 | | | | | 13 |
| Peace betwene Alexan-
ders Captains: with divi-
sion of Ptolemies. | 4403 | 443 | | 117 | 6 | 13 | | | 14 |
| | 3721 | 427 | 466 | 2 | | | | | 14 |

| | Indian, and World. | Rome, Nabon. | Iphit. | Olymp. | Macedon. | Egypt. | Syria and the Kingdom of the Greeks. | Greece. | Romans. | Jews. |
|--|--------------------|--------------|--------|--------|----------|-----------------------|--|------------------------------|---------|--------|
| | | 4404 | 443 | | 117 | | 1 | | | 14 |
| The Era of the Kingdom of the Greeks. | | 3732 | 438 | 467 | 3 | 7 | 14 | 1. Seleucus. L. 4 c. 5. 5-7. | | 149 |
| Alexanders Cap. tains assume the name of Kings. | | 4400 | 445 | | 118 | | 16 | 3 | | 16 |
| | | 3734 | 440 | 469 | 1 | 9 | Platonasacromia's Demetrius at Cyprus. | 2 | | 161 |
| L. 4. c. 6. 5-4. | | 4413 | 452 | | 119 | | 10 | 10 | | 23 |
| | | 3731 | 447 | 476 | 4 | 16 | 23 | 10 | | 158 |
| | | 4414 | 453 | | 120 | | 24 | 11 | | 159 |
| | | 3722 | 448 | 477 | 1 | 17 | | 11 | | 4 |
| | | 4417 | 456 | | 120 | | 27 | 14 | | 162 |
| | | 3725 | 451 | 480 | 4 | | 14 | 18 | | 8 |
| L. 4. c. 6. 5-7. | | 4421 | 460 | | 121 | 1. Demetrius. | 31 | 18 | | 166 |
| | | 3739 | 455 | 484 | 4 | 6. | | | | |
| | Indian, World. | Rome, Nabon. | Iphit. | Olymp. | Macedon. | Egypt. | Syria. | Greece. | Rome. | Jews. |
| | | 4427 | 466 | | 123 | | 24 | | | Daniel |
| | | 3745 | 461 | 490 | 2 | 1. Pyrrhus 7 months. | 37 | 24 | | 172 |
| | | 4428 | 467 | | 123 | | 38 | 25 | | 2 |
| | | 3746 | 462 | 491 | 2 | 1. Lyfimachus | 5 | 25 | | 173 |
| | | 4429 | 468 | | 123 | | 19 | 26 | | 3 |
| | | 3747 | 463 | 491 | 4 | 2 | 1. Ptolemy Philadelphus | 26 | | 174 |
| The translation of the Bible by the Septuagint. | | 4432 | 471 | | 124 | | 29 | | | 6 |
| | | 3750 | 466 | 495 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 20 | | 177 |
| L. 4. c. 6. 5-9. & C. 7. 5-2. | | 4433 | 472 | | 124 | 6. Lysimachus fleins. | 5 | 20 | | 7 |
| | | 3751 | 457 | 496 | 4 | Seleucus 7. mon | | | | 178 |
| L. 4. c. 7. 5-3. & 7 | | 4434 | 473 | | 125 | | 6 | 2 | | 8 |
| | | 3752 | 468 | 497 | 1 | 1. Antigonus Gonatas. | 2. Nabon. Neuch. | 19 | | 179 |
| | | 4436 | 475 | | 125 | 1. Antigonus Gonatas. | 8 | 3 | | 10 |
| | | 3754 | 470 | 499 | 3 | 26. | 22 | | | 181 |
| L. 5. c. 2. 5-6. | | 4438 | 477 | | 126 | | 3 | 5 | | 12 |
| | | 3756 | 472 | | 1 | 3 | | 35 | | 182 |
| | | 4439 | 478 | | 126 | | 4 | 6 | | 13 |
| | | 3757 | 473 | | 502 | | 2 | 26 | | 184 |
| L. 4. c. 7. 5-5. | | 4441 | 480 | | 126 | | 6 | 8 | | 15 |
| | | 3759 | 475 | 504 | 4 | | | 38 | | 186 |
| The translation by the Septuagint finished, the 17. of Philadelphus. | | 4445 | 484 | | 127 | | 10 | 12 | | 19 |
| | | 3762 | 479 | | 508 | | 4 | 42 | | 190 |
| | | 4446 | 485 | | 128 | | 11 | 13 | | 191 |
| | | 3764 | 480 | | 509 | | 1 | 47 | | 191 |
| The more ancient Greek Calendar from before the Christian Era. | | 4450 | 489 | | 129 | | 15 | 17 | | 5 |
| | | 3768 | 484 | | 513 | | 1 | 47 | | 195 |



| | <i>Julian and
World.</i> | <i>Rome.
Nabon.</i> | <i>Iphig.</i> | <i>Olymp.</i> | <i>Mace-
don.</i> | <i>Egypt.</i> | <i>Syria and the
Kingdom of
the Greeks.</i> | <i>Greece.</i> | <i>Romani.</i> | <i>Lower,
Daniel.</i> |
|--|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|---|---|--|--|
| | 4453 | 492 | 516 | 129 | 18 | 25 | 3
1. Antiochus Thaps
10 16 | | | 8 <i>L. Valerius.</i> |
| | 4771 | 487 | | 4 | | | | | 198 <i>T. Othacilius.</i> | |
| <i>L.5. c.1. §.6.</i> | 4454 | 493 | 517 | 130 | 19 | 26 | 2 | | <i>Dulius his
victorie at
Sea.</i> | 9 <i>C. Dulius.</i> |
| | 4457 | 496 | 520 | 130 | | 29 | 5 | | <i>Regulus pas-
sido into A
fricke.</i> | 199 <i>Cn. Cornelius.</i>
112 <i>M. Atil. Reg.</i> |
| | 4458 | 497 | 521 | 131 | 23 | 30 | 6 | <i>Marcus Cury
nensis Prator of
the Achaens.</i> | | 203 <i>Cn. Cornelius.</i>
13 <i>L. Manlius.</i> |
| <i>L.5. c.1. §.8.</i> | 4776 | 492 | 521 | 132 | 28 | 35 | 55 | <i>Aratus recovers
Sicyon and voya-
ges to the Achaens.</i> | <i>Regulus taken
prisoner.</i> | 207 <i>Q. Cadius.</i>
18 <i>L. Cadius.</i> |
| | 4781 | 497 | 526 | 2 | | | 60 | | | 208 <i>C. Furius.</i>
<i>C. Atilius.</i> |
| <i>The Roman Consul beates a
Lithuan.
The beaming of the Partis
an Kingdoms.</i> | 4464 | 503 | | 132 | | 29 | 12 | | <i>Regulus his
death.</i> | 19 <i>C. Atilius.</i>
209 <i>L. Manlius.</i> |
| | 4782 | 498 | 527 | 2 | | | 61 | | | 20 <i>P. Claudius,
Pulcher, &
L. Iunius.</i> |
| | 4465 | 504 | 528 | 132 | 30 | 37 | 13 | <i>Shipwreck, and on
happy fight of the
Romans at sea.</i> | | 210 <i>L. Cadius.</i> |
| | 4467 | 506 | 530 | 133 | | | 15 | | | 212 <i>M. Fabius.</i> |
| | 4468 | 501 | 532 | 2 | 32 | | 64 | | | 213 <i>M. Fabius.</i> |
| <i>Amilcar the Cartha-
ginian in Sicil.</i> | 4469 | 508 | 533 | 133 | 34 | 3 | 4
1. Solonius Cadius
66 20 | | | 214 <i>C. Atilius.</i> |
| <i>L.5. c.1. §.11.</i> | 4472 | 511 | 535 | 134 | 2 | 6 | 4 | | <i>Lucilius his
great victorie
at Aratris.</i> | 217 <i>C. Lucil. C. Atil.</i>
218 <i>A. Posthumius</i>
<i>Q. Lucilius.</i> |
| | 4473 | 512 | 536 | 134 | 2 | 7 | 5 | <i>Aratus wins
Corinth.</i> | <i>Peace granted
to Carthage.</i> | 219 <i>A. Manlius.</i>
<i>C. Claudius.</i> |
| <i>The warre of the Mer-
cenaries with the Car-
thaginians. L.5. c.2.</i> | 4791 | 507 | 537 | 135 | 3 | | 8
Nabon
Oli. 22 | | | 1. Simon
the last 28
319 |
| | 4474 | 513 | 537 | 1 | | | 71 | | | <i>M. Sempronius</i> |
| <i>The warre with the
Mercenaries ended.</i> | 4479 | 515 | 539 | 135 | 5 | 10 | 8 | | <i>The Romans as a
Soldiers from the
Carthaginians.</i> | 3 <i>Gracchus.</i>
221 <i>Falco.</i> |
| | 4794 | 510 | 545 | 137 | 3 | 16 | 14 | | | 9 <i>Lepidus.</i> |
| | 4482 | 521 | 545 | 1 | | | 79 | | | 227 <i>Malleolus.</i> |
| | 4483 | 522 | 546 | 137 | 2 | 17 | 15 | | <i>A Roman Embas-
sador sent by Quere
to the</i> | 10 <i>M. Aemilius.</i>
228 <i>M. Iunius.</i> |
| | 4484 | 517 | 546 | 2 | | | 80 | | <i>Quere of
Ilyria subdued by
the Romans.</i> | 12 <i>L. Posthumius.</i>
229 <i>C. Fulvius.</i> |
| <i>L.5. c.2. §.7.</i> | 4485 | 524 | 548 | 137 | 4 | 19 | 17 | | | 10 <i>L. Aemilius.</i>
229 <i>C. Atilius.</i> |
| | 4802 | 519 | | 4 | | | 82 | | | 227 <i>M. Marcellus.</i>
20 <i>P. Cornelius.</i> |
| <i>L.5. c.5. §.1.</i> | 4489 | 528 | 552 | 138 | 8 | 23 | 5
1. Antiochus the
Great, 35
89 | | <i>Marcellus his vi-
ctorie over the Gauls
about Milan</i> | 16 <i>L. Aemilius.</i>
229 <i>C. Atilius.</i> |
| <i>Flamininus was as-
sassin this year.</i> | 4492 | 531 | 555 | 139 | 11 | 26 | 2 | | | 227 <i>M. Marcellus.</i>
20 <i>P. Cornelius.</i> |
| <i>See L.5. c.2. §.8.</i> | 4493 | 532 | 556 | 139 | 12 | | 4
1. Philo-
pator 27. | | | 228 <i>M. Minucius.</i>
21 <i>L. Veturius.</i> |
| <i>L.5. c.5. §.2.</i> | 4811 | 527 | | 4 | | | 90 | | | 219 <i>C. Lucilius.</i> |
| | 4494 | 533 | 557 | 140 | 4 | 2 | 3 | | | |
| | 4812 | 528 | | 1 | 1. Phi-
lip, 43. | | 91 | | | |

| | Italian
world | Rome
Nab. | Iph.
Iph. | Op.
Iph. | Macedon. | Egypt. | Syria & King-
dom of the
Greeks. | Greece. | Rome. | Lower
and
Daniel | Consuls. |
|--|------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|----------|--|--|---|-------|-------------------------------|----------|
| Hannibal takes
Saguntum. | 4495 | 534 | 140 | | | 3 | 4 | Demetrius
Philip the
first out of
the world | 22 | L. Aemilius | |
| The beginning of
the second Punic
War. | 3813 | 539 | 558 | 2 | 21 | 3 | 92 | | 240 | M. Linius | |
| The occurrence of
this year is referred
by Polybius I. c. to the
year of the 14. Olympiad. | 4496 | 535 | 140 | | | 4 | 5 | The battle of
Ticinus and
Trebia. | 23 | P. Cor. Scipio | |
| This battle of the
Ticinus was fought in
the spring, the Olympian
year began at the sum-
mer Solstice. | 3814 | 540 | 559 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 92 | L. 5. c. 4 | 241 | T. Sempronius | |
| Hannibal and Ma-
cellus, M. C. C. 4. 5. 5. | 4497 | 536 | 140 | | | 5 | 6 | Philip and
the Achaean
and more
power is to
be great | 24 | C. Flaminius | |
| The 2 Scipios
flam in Spain. Hs-
nibal wins Tarcin. | 3815 | 541 | 560 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 94 | The battles of
Thrasymene. | 242 | Cn. Servilius | |
| Hannibal at
the walls of Rome. | 4498 | 537 | 141 | | | 6 | 7 | | 25 | C. Terent. Varr. | |
| | 3816 | 532 | 561 | 1 | 5 | Nabonassar year
begins Octob. 16. | 95 | The great bat-
tle of Cannae. | 243 | L. Aem. Paul | |
| | 4499 | 538 | 141 | | | 7 | 8 | Posthumus the
Roman Consul
slain by the Gauls. | 244 | L. Posthumus
T. Semp. Grac | |
| | 3817 | 533 | 562 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 96 | | 247 | C. Fabius | |
| | 4502 | 541 | 142 | | | 10 | 11 | Syracus's women
by Marcellus.
Capua besieged. | 247 | Ap. Claudius | |
| | 3820 | 536 | 565 | 1 | 9 | 10 | 99 | Tang Scipio sent into
Spain. Capua won.
The Romans
Greece. | 248 | Cn. Fulvius | |
| | 4503 | 542 | 142 | | | 11 | 12 | | 2 | Cn. Fulvius | |
| | 3821 | 537 | 566 | 2 | 10 | 11 | 100 | | 248 | P. Sulpicius | |
| | 4507 | 546 | 143 | | | 14 | 15 | The battle at
Metaurus. | 252 | M. Linius | |
| | 3825 | 541 | 570 | 2 | 14 | 15 | 104 | Scipio drives the
Carthaginians
quite out of Spain. | 7 | Q. Caelius | |
| | 4508 | 547 | 143 | | | 15 | 16 | | 253 | L. Vetturius | |
| | 3826 | 542 | 571 | 3 | 15 | 16 | 105 | Scipio invades
Africa. | 9 | Cetibegus | |
| | 4510 | 549 | 144 | | | 17 | 19 | King Syphax
taken. | 256 | Servilius
and
Servilius | |
| | 3828 | 544 | 573 | 1 | 17 | 1. Ptolemy E-
piphanes, 24. | 107 | | 11 | T. Claudius | |
| | 4511 | 550 | 144 | | | 18 | 20 | Hannibal van-
quished by Scipio | 257 | M. Servilius | |
| | 3829 | 545 | 574 | 2 | 18 | 2 | 108 | Scipio triumphs
over Carthage. | 258 | Leptinus | |
| | 4512 | 551 | 144 | | | 19 | 21 | | 15 | T. Q. Flaminius | |
| | 3830 | 546 | 575 | 3 | 19 | 3 | 109 | | 261 | Sex. Aelius | |
| | 4513 | 552 | 144 | | | 20 | 22 | | 16 | Cetibegus | |
| | 3831 | 547 | 576 | 4 | 20 | 4 | 110 | | 17 | L. Furius | |
| | 4516 | 555 | 145 | | | 21 | 23 | | 262 | Marcellus | |
| | 3834 | 550 | 579 | 4 | 21 | Philip overcame
at the river Asopus.
The Romans. | 112 | | 18 | M. Cato | |
| | 4517 | 556 | 145 | | | 22 | 24 | | 264 | L. Valerius | |
| | 3835 | 551 | 580 | 5 | 22 | The battle at
Cynocephala. | 114 | | 21 | L. Quinctius | |
| | 4518 | 557 | 146 | | | 23 | 27 | | 267 | Cn. Domitius | |
| | 3836 | 552 | 581 | 1 | 23 | Peace be-
tween Philip &
the Romans. | 115 | | 22 | Acilius Glabrio | |
| | 4519 | 558 | 146 | | | 24 | 28 | | 268 | Nasica | |
| | 3837 | 553 | 582 | 2 | 24 | 26 | 116 | | 23 | L. Scipio | |
| | 4522 | 563 | 147 | | | 27 | 31 | | 269 | C. Lelius | |
| | 3840 | 560 | 585 | 1 | 27 | 28 | 119 | | | | |
| | 4523 | 562 | 147 | | | 29 | 32 | | | | |
| | 3841 | 557 | 586 | 2 | 29 | 30 | 120 | | | | |
| | 4524 | 565 | 147 | | | 31 | 33 | | | | |
| | 3842 | 558 | 587 | 3 | 31 | 31 | 121 | | | | |

| | Italian
world | Name
Nab | Olym
piads | Macedon. | Egypt. | Syria & King
dom of the
Greeks. | Greece. | Rome. | Israel
and
Daniel | Consuls. |
|--|------------------|-------------|---------------|--|--------|---------------------------------------|---------|---|-------------------------|----------------|
| 5.5.5. p.9. | 4527 | 566 | 148 | | 18 | 36 | | Scipio driven to
banish himselfe
from Rome. | 26 | Lepidus |
| | 3845 | 561 | 2 | 34 | | 124 | | | 272 | Flamininus |
| | 4528 | 567 | 148 | | 19 | 6 | | | 27 | Sp. Posthumus |
| | 3846 | 562 | 3 | 35 | | 1. Seleucus Philopater, 13 | | | 271 | Q. Martius. |
| 5.5.6. p.2. | 4531 | 570 | 149 | | 22 | 4 | | Scipio, Hannibal and
Philopomen die.
Tullius places Scipio
Tullius runs great canals | 30 | Marcellus |
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